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JANUARY	MAY	SEPTEMBER
S. ... 4 11 18 25 ... M. ... 5 12 19 26 ... T. ... 6 13 20 27 ... W. ... 7 14 21 28 ... Th. 1 8 15 22 29 ... F. 2 9 16 23 30 ... S. 3 10 17 24 31 ...	S. ... 3 10 17 24 31 M. ... 4 11 18 25 ... T. ... 5 12 19 26 ... W. ... 6 13 20 27 ... Th. ... 7 14 21 28 ... F. 1 8 15 22 29 ... S. 2 9 16 23 30 ...	S. ... 6 13 20 27 ... M. ... 7 14 21 28 ... T. 1 8 15 22 29 ... W. 2 9 16 23 30 ... Th. 3 10 17 24 ... F. 4 11 18 25 ... S. 5 12 19 26 ...
FEBRUARY	JUNE	OCTOBER
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MARCH	JULY	NOVEMBER
S. ... 1 8 15 22 29 M. ... 2 9 16 23 30 T. ... 3 10 17 24 31 W. ... 4 11 18 25 ... Th. ... 5 12 19 26 ... F. ... 6 13 20 27 ... S. ... 7 14 21 28 ...	S. ... 5 12 19 26 ... M. ... 6 13 20 27 ... T. ... 7 14 21 28 ... W. 1 8 15 22 29 ... Th. 2 9 16 23 30 ... F. 3 10 17 24 31 ... S. 4 11 18 25 ...	S. ... 1 8 15 22 29 M. ... 2 9 16 23 30 T. ... 3 10 17 24 ... W. ... 4 11 18 25 ... Th. ... 5 12 19 26 ... F. ... 6 13 20 27 ... S. ... 7 14 21 28 ...
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# THE INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTRE JANUARY—JUNE 1942

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA 1942

India Office	1
Government of India	1
" Bengal	1
" Punjab	2
" Sind	3
" Orissa	3
" Assam	3
" Madras	4
" Bombay	4
" United Provinces	5
" Bihar	5
" Central Province	5
" N. W. Frontier Province	6
Federal Court of India	6
Bengal Judicial Department	6
Bombay Judicial Department	6
Madras Judicial Department	6
Bihar and Orissa Judicial Department	7
C. P. and Berar Judicial Department	7
Punjab Judicial Department	7
United Provinces Judicial Department	8
Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow	8
" " Sind	8
Indian States (With Salutes)	8
" " (Without Salutes)	18
ALL INDIA POPULATION FIGURES 1941.	25
HINDU AND MUSLIM POPULATION IN PROVINCES AND STATES	28

### CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

January 1942	29
February 1942	39
March 1942	51
April 1942	64
May 1942	79
June 1942	88

### NOTE ON INDIAN HISTORY

The Rigveda	98
Unitary Indian Empire	99

Chandragupta and Ashoka	...	...	100
Gupta Dynasty	...	...	100
Mediaeval India	...	...	101
The Mahammedan Rule	...	...	102
The British Rule	...	...	102
INDIA IN HOME POLITY	...	...	107
“ United nations ” prospect in June 1942	...	...	107
Russia's Wonderful recovery not enough	...	...	107
The secret of Soviet recovery	...	...	108
The foresight of Soviet rulers—her industries transported beyond the Volga	...	...	109
Distant help to her from the allies	...	...	109
Russia and allied strategy	...	...	110
Hope of a “ second front ”	...	...	110
Remained yet to be realised	...	...	111
British dissatisfaction with War Cabinet	...	...	111
Air raids into Germany—substitute for a “ second front ”	...	...	111
Comparison between Allied and Axis Air Power	...	...	112
Allied “ undertaking to open a Second front ” in 1942	...	...	112
Russia's indifference to Allied debacle in the Far East	...	...	113
An estimate of this debacle	...	...	114
Allied Successes in Pacific and Indian Ocean Areas	...	...	114
A six months' Balance Sheet	...	...	115
Burman disaffection and revolt	...	...	116
Many interpretations of this failure	...	...	117
Racial and colour arrogance	...	...	117
China's “ life lines ” and India	...	...	117
India's place in this strategy	...	...	118
The story of “ Jungle warfare ”	..	...	119
Why did not Japan invade India ?	...	...	119
Air attack on Japan by U. S.	...	...	120
China's Military Mission to U. S.	...	...	120
New High Command	...	...	121
India's helplessness and China's fears	...	...	121
The motives of Generalissimo's visit	...	...	122
India's relation with China and Japan	...	...	122
Reflected in Rabindranaths correspondence with “ Yone Noguchi ”	...	...	123
“ Asia for Asia ” cry	...	...	123
Rabindranath and renewal of Indo-Chin Comradeship	...	...	123
“ The ancient bonds of history that unite ” the two peoples	...	...	124
China's awakening and the world's future	...	...	125
“ Cheena Bhavan ”—nucleus of a new brotherhood	...	...	125
The Bay of Bengal area and China	...	...	125
Material and spiritual ties	...	...	126
Hopes of the future	...	...	126
Can be realized by process of re-education	...	...	127
Masses in the West weary and disillusioned	...	...	127
The East may light a new way	...	...	128
British failures and China's fears	...	...	128
Modern China's glorious history	...	...	129

How China discovered herself	...	...	129
The Generalissimo embodies the spirit of new China	...	...	130
The Indian National Congress and China	...	...	130
The Chinese Government had to know conditions in India	...	...	131
Basic Principles and policies of new China	...	...	132
Political affiliations of China's leaders in post-Republican days	...	...	133
Soviet help and advice to China	...	...	133
Japan's move to Counter China's recovery	...	...	134
A remarkable century and its prophets	...	...	134
Through rivalry of material interests to co-partnership	...	...	135
India's role in this regroupings of peoples	...	...	136
The ideal role that India could play	...	...	136
Her political subjection stands in the way	...	...	137
"Die-hard" recognition of the need for India's help	...	...	137
This recognition "too late" and "far from enough"	...	...	138
A debate in the House of Lords	...	...	138
An exposure of the "die-hard" game	...	...	139
A Sampling of advices and threats to India from outside	...	...	139
A sample of British opinion	...	...	140
British politicians' excursion into Indian politics	...	...	141
Churchill tradition and failure of the Cripp's mission	...	...	141
Sir Stafford Cripps' difficulties	...	...	142
How they missed the Central issue of the controversy	...	...	142
Helpless rage of the Indian people	...	...	143
Jap. bombs smashed the idea of acceptance of Cripps proposals	...	...	143
Resentment with Burma evacuation methods did the same work	...	...	144
Prof. Coupland's Study of India	...	...	144
The Story of the "Intensification of antagonism between Hindus and Muslims"	...	...	145
India's lack of faith and Britain's suspicion	...	...	146
Loose use of the words—"National Government"—by Sir Stafford Cripps.	...	...	146
Reports of negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps	...	...	147
Communal question did not form a major subject of discussion	...	...	147
Muslim League and All-India Momin Conference	...	...	147
Angry reaction to the "Non-accession" clause	...	...	148
The Hindu Mahasabha goes into the heart of the question...	...	...	148
The Sikh All-Parties Committee's Stand	...	...	149
They call for a redistribution of the Punjab	...	...	149
"Depressed Classes" fear of "Unmitigated system of Hindu rule".	...	...	150
"Depressed Classes" leaders did not State what they wanted	...	...	151
"Vote-value" of Social degradation	...	...	151
The builders of India-to-be	...	...	152
Representative character of the Non-party Leaders' Conference	...	...	152



The Sparu-Jayakar Memorandum	...	152(a)
British Cabinet's idea of an Indian Defence member	...	152(a)
The politicians of the Army Headquarters at Delhi Simla	...	152(b)
The crux of the differences—Clause (e)	...	152(c)
Gandhiji's reaction to the Cripp's Mission	...	152(d)
The history of his conversation to this idia	...	152(d)
Struggle with the implications of his own idea	...	152(e)
He softens in his attitude to India's participation in the War	...	152(e)
A "free India" could not "let china down"	...	152(f)
Non-violence and recognition of "United Nations" necessities	...	152(f)
The fear of anarchy and Gandhiji's prescription	...	152(f)
The anger of a section of the U S. Press and public	...	152(g)
Why they have accepted the British belief	...	152(g)
The driving force of U. S. finance-capital	...	152(h)
What British "die-hards" think	...	152(i)
What India and China think	...	152(i)
Post-war world envisaged by U. S. publicists	...	152(i)
The conflict between the "collectivism" and the "free enterprise system"	...	152(j)
"Profound collaboration" between U. S. and the United Kingdom	...	152(j)
India's instinct understands the meaning of this collaboration	...	152(k)
Failure of the Government and the helplessness of the people	...	152(k)
Rising prices struck hard on the fibre of India's being	...	152(l)
Breakdown of supply arrangements	...	152(l)
Food front in "total war"	...	152(m)
Comparison between India and Britain	...	152(m)
No human Government is found equal to "total war" conditions	...	152(n)
"Grow more food" Campaign	...	152(o)
India's food and other countries' need	...	152(p)
Indian industries and British policy	...	152(p)
British monopoly of war-work in India	...	152(p)
A question of political ethics	...	152(q)
A note of interrogation described India	...	152(r)
THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL	...	152(t)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	...	152(t)
Four crores for Civil Defence	...	152(t)
One lakh for promotion of communal harmony	...	152(t)
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB	...	152(u)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	...	152(u)
Increased surplus in 1941—42	...	152(u)
Estimates for 1942—43	...	152(u)
Increased provision for Industries	...	152(v)
THE GOVERNMENT OF SIND	...	152(v)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	...	152(v)
Lloyd Barrage Debt	...	152(v)
No fresh taxation	...	152(w)
THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY	...	152(w)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	...	152(w)
Governor explains Budget details	...	152(w)
Air Raid Precautions	...	152(x)

THE GOVERNMENT OF BEHAR	152(x)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	152(x)
THE GOVERNMENT OF CENTRAL PROVINCES	152(y)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	152(y)
THE GOVERNMENT OF UNITED PROVINCES	152(y)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	152(y)
Increase in Police Force	152(z)
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS	152(z)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	152(z)
THE GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA	152(zi)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43	152(zii)
Civil Defence	152(zii)
THE COUNCIL OF STATE	153
List of members	153
THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY	153
List of members	153
PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE	155
BUDGET SESSION—NEW DELHI—18TH. FEB.—2ND. APRIL 1942—155	
C-in-C's tribute to Indian Army	155
Indian troops' Heroism in Malaya	156
Syrian Operations	156
Tribute to the 4th Indian division	157
At Singapore and Burma	157
Official Bills passed	158
Aid to Burma evacuees	158
Discussion of Railway Budget	159
Transfer of defence to an Indian	160
Companies Act Amending bill	161
General discussion of Budget	161
Home guard for Indian defence	162
Supply of Hindi and Urdu works to libraries	162
Indian companies act amend. bill	162
Official motions passed	163
Official bills passed	163
Wheat storage in North India	163
Subsidies to civil flying clubs	163
Civil Defence	164
India and eastern group councils	164
Indians in artillery corps	164
Indian evacuees from Burma	164
The finance bill debate	165
Cantonment act amend. bill	167
Indianisation of military units	167
Administration of law of content	167
Rights of land-owners in cantonment	167
Official bills passed	168
India's outstanding war efforts	168
Motor vehicles amend. bill	168

## THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

169

BUDGET SESSION—NEW DELHI—11TH. FEB.—1ST. APRIL 1942	169
Official Bills introduced	169
Detention of Sj. Sarat Bose	169
Ban of Hindu Mahasabha	169
Other Adjournment Motions	169
Grievances against income tax debt	169
Plea for Aid to Cotton Growers	170
Adjournment Motions ruled out	170
Non-official Bills	170
Indian Medical Council Act	170
Penal code Amending Bill	171
Boilers Act Amend. Bill	171
Bill to Help coffee industry	171
Tributes to Chiang-kai-shek	171
Railway Budget for 1942-43	172
Income-tax administration	174
Sikh celebration and Police action	174
Release of political prisoners	174
Debate on the Railway Budget	175
Official Bills passed	176
Voting on Railway demands	176
Financial Expenditure for 1942-43	177
Defence Expenditure	177
Share of income tax	178
New taxation Proposals	178
Budget at a Glance	178
Income tax Surcharge	178
Excess profits tax	179
Postal rates increased	179
Schemes of Savings	179
Surcharge on incomes	179
Excess profits tax	180
Indirect taxation	180
Revised Estimates 1941-42 revenue	181
Expenditure-defence services	181
Civil Expenditure 1941-42-Supply department	182
Financial Year, 1942-43 revenue	182
Defence expenditure	183
Civil estimates	183
The Financial position	183
Ways and means	183
General discussion of Budget	185
Protective duties on Industries	186
Voting on Budget demands	186
Industrial Development	186
Dearness allowance	187
Release of Political prisoners	187
Govt. Servants' Pensions	187
Tribute to Rangoon Postal Workers	187
Inadequacy of Postal staff	188

Inadequacy of Moslems in Govt. Depts.	...	...	188
Corruption in the supply Dept	...	...	188
Department of Production	...	...	189
Govt. Policy Re. Civil Defence	...	...	189
Debate on the Finance bill	...	...	189
Weekly Holidays Bill	...	...	194
Motor Vehicles Amend. Bill	...	...	194
Release of Political Prisoners	...	...	194
GENERALISSIMO AND MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S VISIT...			195
COMRADESHIP-IN-ARMS OF TWO GREAT COUNTRIES...			195
The Generalissimo	...	...	195
The Arrival in India	...	...	197
Viceroy's address of Welcome	...	...	197
The Generalissimo's reply	...	...	198
Generalissimo's Busy day	...	...	199
Viceroy's speech at banquet	...	...	200
The Generalissimo's reply	...	...	201
Generalissimo at ceremonial parade	...	...	201
More interviews	...	...	202
Madame Chiang's message to Indian Women	...	...	202
Madame Chiang's stirring address	...	...	203
Visit to Khyber Pass	...	...	204
Return from Peshawar	...	...	205
Press Conference	...	...	205
China's Publicity organisation	...	...	206
Students' Welcome	...	...	206
Generalissimo and Madame Chiang meets the press	...	...	206
Madame Chiang answers questions	...	...	206
Visit to Calcutta	...	...	207
Assembly's Welcome to Generalissimo	...	...	207
Mr. Aney's speech	...	...	207
Meeting with Mahatma Gandhi	...	...	209
Visit to Santiniketan	...	...	209
Meeting with Bengal Premier	...	...	210
Farewell message to India	...	...	210
China Day	...	...	211
Messages exchanged	...	...	212
THE TANAKA MEMORANDUM			212
Technique of Penetration	...	...	213
Transportation is mother of Defence	...	...	214
"Trouble is our chance"	...	...	214
Japan and Russia	...	...	214
Proposed New railways	...	...	214
England must not know	...	...	215
Russia again	...	...	215
"The Chinese Nuisance"	...	...	215
Schedule of Conquest	...	...	215
U S. an Obstacle	...	...	215
"Belgium of Far East"	...	...	216
Killing Chinese Industry	...	...	216
The Railroad to Political power	...	...	216

Blinding the World	...	...	217
Wanted more petroleum	...	...	217
Break Russo-Chinese friendship	...	...	217
Organised exploitation of Manchuria	...	...	218
Fooling international opinion	...	...	218
BRITISH WAR CABINET'S PROPOSALS			219
FOR CREATION OF AN INDIAN UNION	...	...	219
Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission	...	...	219
Cripps at Delhi Press Conference	...	...	219
"A great friend of India"	...	...	219
Appeal to Press	...	...	220
BRITISH WAR CABINET'S PROPOSALS	...	...	220
Complete Transfer of Responsibility	...	...	220
CRIPPS' BROADCAST ON THE PROPOSALS	...	...	221
Defence of India	...	...	221
"The most vital question"	...	...	222
Single constitution	...	...	222
Appeal to Indian Leaders	...	...	222
The C-in-C's Position	...	...	223
Definite and Precise	...	...	223
RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE			224
Azad-Cripps correspondence	...	...	226
Annexure	...	...	228
Second Formula for Defence	...	...	229
Working Committee Formula	...	...	229
Sir Stafford Cripps' Formula	...	...	230
Azad's Letter to Cripps	...	...	231
Cripps' Reply to Azad	...	...	234
Azad's Reply to Cripps	...	...	235
The Congress President at a Press Conference	...	...	236
Jawaharlal meets the Press	...	...	238
Statement made by Congress President	...	...	241
Jawaharlal's statement to the Press	...	...	242
CRIPPS EXPLAINS BREAKDOWN OF NEGOTIATIONS	...		242
Immediate Difficulties	...	...	243
"An impossible course"	...	...	243
Why talks failed	...	...	244
"The Essential need"	...	...	244
A "Genuine Effort"	...	...	244
An overwhelming tragedy	...	...	245
A duty and an obligation	...	...	245
Plea for united efforts	...	...	245
Call to youth	...	...	246
Statement at a Press Conference	...	...	246
"Frank and friendly spirit"	...	...	246
SAPRU-JAYAKAR MEMORANDUM	...	...	247
THE HINDU MAHA SABHA MEMORANDUM	...	...	249
India should not be divided	...	...	249

Objection to right of non-accession	...	250
Interim arrangements vague and unsatisfactory	...	250
Election of constitution-making body	...	250
THE MUSLIM LEAGUE MEMORANDUM	...	251
Complete picture not available	...	252
THE LIBERAL FEDERATION'S MEMORANDUM	...	253
An Indian Defence member essential	...	253
STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE MEMORANDUM	...	254
Based on Unwarranted Assumption	...	254
Establishment of Responsible Government	...	254
Perpetuating British Dominion	...	255
Congress Support urged	...	255
MOMIN CONFERENCE MEMORANDUM	...	255
Suggested changes	...	256
THE DEPRESSED CLASSES' VIEWS	...	256
MODERATE SIKHS' MEMORANDUM	...	256
CRIPPS EXPLAINS BREAKDOWN IN COMMONS	...	257
"Our sincerity of purpose Demonstrated"	...	257
"Moment chosen a difficult one"	...	257
British Government's Objective	...	258
Conflicting demands	...	258
Clause relating to Interim period	...	258
India Press both helpful and fair	...	259
A legacy of the past	...	259
Congress attitude to Dominion Status	...	260
Provinces and right of non-accession	...	260
Position of Indian States	...	261
Minorities other than Muslims	...	261
Defence control	...	262
Formula evolved as regards Defence Member	...	262
Form of Interim Government	...	263
Cabinet anxious to make a reality of the offer	...	263
Issues on which final break came	...	264
India's determination to defend country	...	264
Door not closed	...	265
THE HUR OUTRAGES IN SIND		265
HISTORY OF SEVENTY YEARS OF CRIME	...	265
Murder in Mosque	...	265
Hur Brotherhood	...	266
Muslim resentment	...	266
The Hurs of Today	...	267
The Boy in the Box	...	267
Sukkur Collector's Letter	...	268
Another letter	...	268
Story of three Women	...	268
The larger box and the smaller	...	269
Pir Pagaro convicted	...	269

After Release	...	269
A prophecy	..	269
Further Outrages	...	270
The Difficulties	...	270
Round up of Hurs	...	271
Military Patrols	...	271
Notorious Hurs arrested	...	272
Hurs use strange weapons	...	272
Boomerangs	...	272

#### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

##### PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE—BARDOLI—

DECEMBER 23 TO DECEMBER 31—1942	...	274
---------------------------------	-----	-----

Political situation	...	274
Gandhiji's letter to the President	...	274
Working Committee Instructions	...	274
Soviet Union and China	...	275
Indians in Malaya and Burma	...	276
Orissa Ministry	...	276
A. I. C. C. meeting at Wardha	...	276

##### PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

WARDHA—JANUARY 13 TO JANUARY 17, 1942	...	276
---------------------------------------	-----	-----

Independence Day	...	277
Pledge	...	277
Re-functioning of Congress Committees	...	277
Primary membership	...	278
The Punjab Assembly Party	...	278
Assam	...	278
Provincial contributions to the A. I. C. C.	...	278
Disciplinary action	...	278
Funds of the West Kistna Godavari District	...	278
Local Bodies	...	278

##### PROCEEDINGS OF THE A. I. C. C. MEETING—WARDHA—

JANUARY 15 AND 16, 1942	...	279
-------------------------	-----	-----

The President's statement	...	279
Minutes	...	280
Condolence	...	280
Srinivasa Iyengar	...	280
Rabindra Nath Tagore	...	280
A. I. C. C. members and other Congressmen	...	280
Gandhiji's speech	...	280
Pandit Jawaharlal's speech	...	283
Political situation	...	283
Babu Rajendra Prosad's Speech	...	284
Instructions	...	285
A. I. C. C. CIRCULARS	...	285

##### PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

WARDHA—MARCH 17-18, 1942	..	287
Minutes	...	288

Late Seth Jammalal Bajaj	...	...	288
Constructive Programme	...	...	288
Punjab	...	...	288
PROCEEDINGS ON THE WORKING COMMITTEE			
DELHI—MARCH 29 TO APRIL 11, 1942	...	...	288
Draft Declaration	...	...	288
National Week	...	...	288
Treasurer	...	...	289
Working Committee	...	...	289
PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE			
ALLAHABAD APRIL 27 TO MAY 1, 1942	...	...	289
Draft resolutions for the A. I. C. C.	...	...	289
The Madras resolutions	...	...	289
PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE			
ALLAHABAD—APRIL 29 TO MAY 2, 1942	...	...	290
Minutes	...	...	290
The President's Statement	...	...	290
Resolutions—Late Seth Jammalal Bajaj	...	...	291
Rejection of Cripps' Proposals	...	...	291
Banned Resolutions	...	...	292
Evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma	...	...	292
Non-violent non-co-operation	...	...	293
Amendments moved	...	...	294
Non-official Resolutions	...	...	294
Congress and Muslim League	...	...	294
Formation of Popular Govt. in Madras	...	...	295
A. I. C. C. CIRCULARS	...	...	295
NATIONAL WEEK—APRIL 6—13	...	...	300
WORK FOR WOMEN IN THE EMERGENCY PERIOD	...	...	300
The problem of Panic	...	...	301
Volunteer corps	...	...	301
Committees	...	...	301
Problem of Grain shortage	...	...	301
Problem of clothing	...	...	301
MEDICAL UNIT FOR RELIEF OF EVACUEES	...	...	302
President's appeal	...	...	302
THE ALL PARTIES LEADERS' CONFERENCE			
THIRD SESSION—NEW DELHI—21ST. AND 22ND. FEB., 1942	...	...	302
THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	...	...	302
Expansion of Executive Council	...	...	303
All portfolios must be held by Indians	...	...	304
Whitehall Regime must end	...	...	305
Constitutional rule in the provinces	...	...	305
Premier's reply to leaders' appeal	...	...	306
Home Member's remarks condemned	...	...	307
Plea for abolition of India office	...	...	307



SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—22ND. FEB. 1942	...	307
PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS	...	307
Popular Govts. in Provinces	...	307
Demand for National Govt.	...	308
Mr. Jayakar's Speech	...	308
President's concluding speech	...	310
THE C. P. NON-PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE		
FIRST SESSION—NAGPUR—7TH. FEBRUARY, 1942	...	311
The Presidential address	...	311
Sir S. Radhakrishnan's speech	...	312
Resolutions	...	312
THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE		
WORKING COMMITTEE—DELHI—21ST. FEBRUARY, 1942		313
Resolutions	...	313
Danger of war to India	...	313
Sufferings of Muslims in Far East	...	313
Sapru Conference demand	...	313
COUNCIL MEETING—DELHI—22ND. FEBRUARY 1942	...	313
Civil Defence Work	...	314
Mr. Fazlul Huq Condemned	...	314
Sympathy for Muslim Kazaks	...	314
League and Ministries	...	315
Reference of Holy Prophet in text books	...	315
ANNUAL SESSION—ALLAHABAD—3RD. TO 6TH. APRIL, 1942		315
THE WELCOME ADDRESS	...	315
MR. JINNAH'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	...	316
Cripps' proposals	...	317
Vital Factor for Muslims	...	317
The present	...	318
Preference for All-India Union	...	318
Slaughter of Muslim Nation	...	319
RESOLUTIONS—2ND. DAY—ALLAHABAD—5TH. APRIL 1942		320
Condolence	...	320
Emergency power for Mr. Jinnah	...	320
Moulana Hasrat Mohani's Amendment ruled out	...	320
Muslims and the War Emergency	...	321
RESOLUTIONS—3RD. DAY—ALLAHABAD 6TH. April, 1942		321
Expulsion of Mr. Fazlul Huq	...	322
Assistance to Evacuees	...	322
Status of Baluchistan	...	322
Alarming Grain Shortage	...	322
Restrictions on Allama Mashriqi	...	323
THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE		
PLENARY SESSION—SERAJGUNJ—15TH. FEBRUARY 1942		323
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	...	323
Governor's action	...	323

Defence Act measures	...	...	324
Division of India	...	...	324
A practical Issue	...	...	324
League Position	..	...	325
RESOLUTIONS	...	...	325
THE PUNJAB MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION			326
General Secretary's Report	...	...	326
Punjab Organisation	...	...	326
Pakistan Conference	...	...	326
Muslim Girls' Federation	...	...	327
Primary Organisation	...	...	327
Rural Propaganda	...	...	327
SECOND SESSION—RAWALPINDI—7TH. & 8TH. MARCH, 1942			328
Presidential Address	...	...	328
Resolutions—Warning to Br. Government	...	...	328
Resolutions—2nd. Day—8th. March, 1942	...	...	329
THE ALL INDIA MOMIN CONFERENCE			329
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS—DELHI—6TH. APRIL, 1942			329
Amery's Figures challenged	...	...	329
THE JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA CONFERENCE			
THIRTEENTH SESSION—LAHORE—20TH. MARCH, 1942			330
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	...	...	330
Britain to blame for the deadlock	...	...	330
Position of Muslims in a free India	...	...	331
"Only practicable solution"	...	...	331
Differences among Muslims deplored	...	...	331
Disturbance at the Conference	...	...	331
RESOLUTIONS—LAHORE—22ND. MARCH 1942	...	...	332
Maulana Azad's advice to Muslims	...	...	332
Resolutions	...	...	332
THE ALL INDIA AHRAR CONFERENCE			
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION—LAHORE—21ST. & 22ND. FEB. 1942	...	...	332
Civil Disobedience tabooed	...	...	332
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION—LAHORE—15TH. MARCH 1942	...	...	333
Connection with Azad Muslims severed	...	...	333
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION—LAHORE—17TH. & 18TH. AUGUST 1942	...	...	333
Dissociation from Congress Decision	...	...	333
THE ALL INDIA AZAD MUSLIM BOARD			
RESOLUTIONS—DELHI—1ST. & 2ND. MARCH, 1942	...	...	334
National Policy for Muslims	...	...	334
Sympathy for Muslim countries	...	...	335
RESOLUTIONS—2ND. DAY—DELHI—2ND. MARCH 1942	...	...	335
Cable to Mr. Churchill and Cripps	...	...	335

## THE HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY CONFERENCE

CALCUTTA—21ST. JUNE 1942	...	...	335
Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad's observations	...	...	335
Mr. Fazlul Huq's opening speech	...	...	335
Congress President's Message	...	...	336
Lord Bishop's Message	...	...	336
Resolutions	...	...	336

## THE ALL INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA

LUCKNOW—28TH. FEBRUARY 1942	...	...	337
New Committee elected	...	...	337
RESOLUTIONS—LUCKNOW—1ST. MARCH 1942	...	...	337
Immediate grant of full freedom	...	...	337
Civil Defence	...	...	338
Repeal of Arms Act	...	...	338
Anti-National speeches	...	...	338
Student-contact Movement	...	...	338
Migration of Kazaks	...	...	338
Pakistan scheme in Assam	...	...	338

## THE TAMILNAD HINDU MAHASABHA CONFERENCE

THIRD SESSION—COIMBATORE—20TH. JUNE 1942	...	...	339
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	...	...	339
Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission	...	...	339
Balkanisation of India	...	...	340
Separate Nation Theory	...	...	340
The Invasion Fear	...	...	341
India's Defence Problem	...	...	341
Appeal to Hindus	...	...	341

## THE AKHAND HINDUSTHAN CONFERENCE

ANNUAL SESSION—DELHI—1ST. FEBRUARY 1942	...	...	342
Presidential Address	...	...	342
Resolutions	...	...	342

## THE SIKH POLITY

THE SIKH ALL PARTIES COMMITTEE	...	...	343
Cripps' Proposals rejected	...	...	343
Fought for England	...	...	343
Punjab Population	...	...	344
CENTRAL AKALI DALS' STATEMENT	...	...	344
Cripps' Proposals Anti-National	...	...	344
COMMUNAL PACT IN THE PUNJAB	...	...	344
Premier explains terms	...	...	344
Details of the Pact	...	...	344
Premier's Undertaking	...	...	345
Plan for an All-Punjab Front	...	...	345
Government not concerned with Political controversies	...	...	345
Sikh Leader's Statement	...	...	346

## THE ALL INDIA NATIONALIST LEAGUE

WORKING COMMITTEE—26TH. FEB. 1942	...	...	346
-----------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Resolutions	...	...	346
-------------	-----	-----	-----

Muslim League Criticised	...	...	346
--------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Chiang's visit to India	...	...	347
-------------------------	-----	-----	-----

WORKING COMMITTEE—DELHI—6TH. APRIL 1942	...	...	347
---	-----	-----	-----

Cripps' Proposals unacceptable	...	...	347
--------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

## MADRAS BACKWARD CLASSES CONFERENCE—

FOURTH SESSION—MADRAS—31ST. JANUARY 1942	...	...	348
--	-----	-----	-----

Chairman's Address	...	...	349
--------------------	-----	-----	-----

Resolutions	...	...	349
-------------	-----	-----	-----

## THE A. I. DEPRESSED CLASSES' CONFERENCE

EIGHTH SESSION—MEERUT—1ST. FEBRUARY 1942	...	...	349
--	-----	-----	-----

Presidential Address	...	...	349
----------------------	-----	-----	-----

## THE ALL INDIA KISAN CONFERENCE

SIXTH SESSION—BIHTA (PATNA)—30TH. MAY 1942	...	...	350
--	-----	-----	-----

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	...	...	350
----------------------	-----	-----	-----

SECOND DAY—BIHTA (PATNA)—31ST. MAY 1942	...	...	352
---	-----	-----	-----

Evacuation of Civilians	...	...	352
-------------------------	-----	-----	-----

National Govt. to resist Fascism	...	...	353
----------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

## THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

354

ANNUAL SESSION—NEW DELHI—16TH. MARCH 1942	...	...	354
---	-----	-----	-----

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS	...	...	354
-----------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Tribute to Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor	...	...	354
--	-----	-----	-----

Problems before Indian States	...	...	355
-------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Safeguarding standards of Administration	...	...	355
--	-----	-----	-----

Civil Lists and Privy Purse	...	...	356
-----------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Princes and the War Effort	...	...	356
----------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Unstinted contribution	...	...	356
------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Co-ordination of effort with British India	...	...	356
--	-----	-----	-----

Co-operation in Civil Defence Measures	...	...	357
--	-----	-----	-----

Conditions of service	...	...	357
-----------------------	-----	-----	-----

Continuous Reinforcement necessary	...	...	357
------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

National War Effort	...	...	358
---------------------	-----	-----	-----

Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission	..	...	358
------------------------------	----	-----	-----

RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—17TH. MARCH 1942	...	...	359
---	-----	-----	-----

Late Duke of Connaught	...	...	359
------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Tribute to Departed Rulers	...	...	359
----------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Resolutions on the War	...	...	359
------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Princes and Cripps' Mission	...	...	359
-----------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Chancellor's Review of Chamber's Activities	...	...	360
---	-----	-----	-----

## FEDERATION OF INDIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

ANNUAL SESSION—DELHI—8TH. MARCH 1942	...	...	361
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Presidential Address	...	...	361
----------------------	-----	-----	-----

Resolutions—Expansion of Key Industries urged	...	...	361
---	-----	-----	-----

Eastern Group Council must be re-organised	...	...	361
--	-----	-----	-----

Administration of Income-Tax and E. P. Tax Laws	...	362
Scorched Earth Policy in India opposed	...	363
Plea for cultivating food grains	...	363
War risks Insurance	...	363
ALL INDIA ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYERS		
9TH. ANNUAL MEETING—DELHI—8TH. MARCH 1942	...	364
Presidential Address	...	364
THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE		
13TH. ANNUAL MEETING—DELHI—8TH. MARCH 1942	...	365
Presidential Address	...	365
THE A. I. MUSLIM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE		
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING—BOMBAY—11TH. MARCH 1942	...	365
Presidential Address	...	365
THE A. I. TRADE UNION CONGRESS		
19TH. SESSION—CAWNPORE—8TH. FEBRUARY 1942	...	366
Pt. Nehru's Opening Address	...	366
Pandit Balkrishna Sharma's Address	...	367
Dr. Pillai's Speech	...	367
Presidential Address	...	368
SECOND DAY-RESOLUTIONS—CAWNPUR—9TH. FEB. 1942	...	369
Attitude to War	...	369
THE ALL INDIA MANUFACTURERS' CONFERENCE		
SECOND SESSION—POONA—21ST. MARCH 1940	...	309
Welcome Address	...	209
Presidential Address	...	370
Resolutions	...	371
Industrial Policy	...	371
Statistis	...	371
Industrial Finance	...	371
Separation of Portfolios for Industry and Commerce	...	371
Economic Councils	...	372
War Risk Insurance and Compensation	...	372
Appeal for Public Co-operation	...	372
INDIAN DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT		
H. OF COMMONS—LONDON—24TH. FEB. 1942	...	373
Sir George Schuster's Suggestion	...	373
H. OF COMMONS—SECOND DAY—25TH. FEB. 1942	...	374
Sir Stafford Cripp's Reply	...	374
H. OF COMMONS—LONDON—11TH. MARCH 1942	...	376
Cabinet plan for Indian Settlement	...	376
H. OF COMMONS—LONDON—28TH APRIL 1942	...	377
Cripps explains breakdown of Indian negotiations	...	377
Mr. Amery's reply	...	377
H. OF LORDS—LONDON—3RD. FEBRUARY 1942	...	378
Meet Congress Half-way	...	382
Lord Faringdon's Speech	...	385
H. OF LORDS—LONDON—29TH. APRIL 1942	...	385
Devonshire on Cripps' Mission	...	385

# Administration of India 1942

British India consists of the 11 Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, North-West Frontier, Orissa, Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces, plus the Chief Commissionerships of British Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Anadamanas and Nicobar Islands, Panth Piploda, and does not include any Indian States.

## Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

### India Office

*Secretary of State for India*—The Right Hon. Mr. L. S. Amery, (April, 1940.

*Permanent Under-Secretary of State*—Sir Findlater Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.I.E, C.S.I., L.L.D.

*Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State*—The Duke of Devonshire

*Advisers to the Secretary of State*—Sir H. Strakosch, G.B.E. Sir A. A. L. Parsons, K.C.I.E. Sir H. Williamson, C.I.E., M.B.E., Sir J. Clay, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. O.B.E. E. Raghavendra Rao, Lt.-Col. Sir H. Suhrawardy, O.B.E. Sir J. A. Woodhead, K.C.S.I. Dewan Bahadur S.E. Ranganathan, Sir Courtenay Latimer, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

*High Commissioner of India*—Sir Azizul Huq, Kt.

*Trade Commissioner for India*—Sir David Meek, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E.

### Government of India

(Area—1,808,679, Sq. miles with a population of 352,837,778 of people—nearly one-fifth of human race)

#### Viceroy & Governor-General

His Excellency The Most Hon'ble The Marquess of Linlithgow, P.C., K.T., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D., (18th April 1936)

#### Members of the Executive Council

His Excellency General Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., British Service, Commander-in-Chief in India (War.)

The Hon. Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (Defence.)

The Hon. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker (Commerce.)

The Hon. Sir Hormusji P. Mody, K.B.E. (Supply.)

The Hon. Sir Sultan Ahmed (Law.)

The Hon. Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Home.)

The Hon. Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (India's Representative at the British War Cabinet and on the Pacific War Council in London.)

The Hon. Dr. B. R. Ambedker (Labour)  
The Hon. Sir E. O. Benthall (War Transport.)

The Hon. Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Finance.)

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammed Usman, K.C.I.E. (Posts and Air.)

The Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney (Indians Overseas.)

The Hon. Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E. (Civil Defence.)

The Hon. Sir Jogendra Singh (Education, Health and Lands.)

The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari P.C. (Information and Broadcasting—Died on 8th January 1942)

The Hon. Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao (Civil Defence—Died on 15th June 1942.)

*President, Legislative Assembly*—The Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

*President Council of State*—The Hon. Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., L.L.D., Bar-at-Law.

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

##### (a) IN CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

Congress Party	40
Muslim League Party	25
Non-Party	25
Independent Party	10
Congress Nationalists	11
European Group	9
Officials	20

TOTAL 140

##### (b) IN COUNCIL OF STATE

Independent Progressive Party	10
Congress Party	6
Muslim League	6

TOTAL 22

### Government of Bengal

Area :—82,955 sq. miles ; Population—60,314,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand).

#### Governor

H. E. Sir John Arthur Herbert, G. C. I. E. assumed office on the 18th November, 1939.

## Council of Ministers

Coalition formed 12th December, 1941.

(1) The Hon. Mr. Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, (*Home, Publicity & Finance*) (*Moslem-Progressive Coalition*).(2) The Hon. Nawab Khwaja Habibulla Bahadur of Dacca, *Agriculture & Industries and Commerce & Labour* (*Moslem Progressive Coalition*).(3) The Hon. Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, *Public Health and Local Self-Government and Civil Defence* (*Hindu Progressive Coalition*).(4) The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mr. Abdul Kerim, *Education* (*Muslim Progressive Coalition*).(5) The Hon. Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, *Revenue, Judicial and Legislative* (*Hindu Progressive Coalition*).(6) The Hon. Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, *Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness* (*Muslim Progressive Coalition*).(7) The Hon. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, *Communication and Works*, (*Muslim Progressive Coalition*).(8) The Hon. Mr. Upendra Nath Barman, *Forests & Excise* (*Scheduled Caste Progressive Coalition*).

## Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Mrs. Hasina Murshed, M.B.E. M.L.A., (*Muslim Progressive Coalition*).

## Numerical strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY—(Total seats—250)

I. Progressive Coalition Party consists of:—

1. Hon. Ministers	...	8
2. Progressive Assembly Party	...	51
3. Congress Parliamentary Party	...	26
by Mr. Sarat Ch. Bose	...	26
4. Independent Scheduled Caste group	...	14

5. Krishak Proja group ... 16

6. Anglo-Indians ... 3

7. Nationalists ... 14

8. Europeans ... 25

II. Congress lead by

Mr. Kiron Sankar Roy ... 25

III. Muslim League ... 43

IV. Unattached ... 25

250

(b) IN COUNCIL—(Total seats—63 including 3 seats—two Hindus and one Muslim—vacant at present).

(i) Congress Parliamentary Party (Orthodox) ... 7

(ii) Congress Parliamentary Party ... 7

(iii) Muslim League (Opposition) ... 17

(iv) Progressive Coalition ... 16

(v) Progressive ... 5

(vi) European	...	6
(vii) Unattached	...	8

60

Capital and its population:—

Calcutta—21,09,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand).

Summer capital and its population:—

Darjeeling—25,900 (Provisional to the nearest thousand).

Receipt and expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year—

Receipts—1,56,97,9000

Expenditure—16,76,38,000

## Government of the Punjab

(Area—186,380 sq. miles, Population 23,000,000).

## Governor

Sir Bertrand Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., (April 7, 1941.)

## Council of Ministers

(1) The Hon. Khan Bahadur Major Sudar Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, K.B.E., Premier (*Muslim—Unionist*).(2) The Hon. Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Ohobu Ram, Minister of Revenue, (*Hindu—Unionist*).(3) The Hon. Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister, (*Hindu—National Progressive*).(4) The Hon. Major Nawabzada Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, O.B.E., Minister of Public Works, (*Muslim—Unionist*).(5) The Hon. Main Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, (*Muslim—Unionist*).

(6) The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development.

Political designation of the Ministry: Unionist.

Date of formation of Ministry:—April 1, 1937.

Parliamentary Secretaries:—(1) Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Parliamentary Secretary, (*Muslim—Unionist*). (2) Mrs. Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, M.B.E., Parliamentary Secretary (*Muslim—Unionist*). (3) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary, (*Muslim—Unionist*). (4) Chaudhari Tikka Ram, M.B.E., Parliamentary Secretary, (*Hindu—Unionist*). (5) Sheikh Faiz Mahammad, M.B.E., Parliamentary Secretary, (*Muslim—Unionist*). (6) Sayed Amjad Ali Shah, M.B.E., Parliamentary Priv. Secretary, (*Muslim—Unionist*). (7) Bhagat Hans Raj, Parliamentary Private Secretary, (*Hindu—Unionist*). (8) Nawabzada Mahummad Faiyaz Ali Khan, Parliamentary Private Secretary, (*Muslim—Unionist*). (9) Sir William Roberts, K.T., C.I.E., Parliamentary Private Secra-

tary, (Christian—Unionist). (10) Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Parliamentary Private Secretary, (Muslim—Unionist), (11) Sardar Jagjit Singh Man, Parliamentary Secretary, (Sikh—Khalsa National). (12) Sardar Gopal Singh, Parliamentary Secretary, (Sikh—Khalsa National). Rai Sabib Thakur Rupudaman Singh, Parliamentary Secretary, (Sikh—National Progressive).

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

The total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly is 175 including the Hon'ble Speaker. They are divided into parties as follows:—

*Government supporters* :—Unionist Party—97. Khalsa National—10. Independent—3. National Progressive—4. Sardar Baldev Singh's Party—7. Total—121.

*Opposition* :—Congress Party—36. Independent Members—17. Total—53.

*Capital and its population*—Lahore—4,29,747.

*Summer capital and its population*—Simla—18,144.

*Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year 1942—43.*—Receipts—Rs. 14,49,18,000. Expenditure—Rs. 13, 63,50,000.

#### Government of Sind

(Area—46,378 Sq. miles; Population—4,535,008.)

##### Governor

Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (April, 1, 1941.)

##### Council of Ministers

Coalition—Formed on 10-10-1942

The Honourable Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, K.C.S.I., (*Premier in charge, Finance Department and Civil Defence Department*). (Muslim League.)

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub S. Khulro (*Minister-in-charge, Revenue, Registration and Co-operation Departments*). (Muslim League.)

The Hon. Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali, (*Minister-in-charge, Education, Excise, Forest, Agriculture, Rural Reconstruction and Labour Departments*.)

The Hon. Haji Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, (*Minister-in-charge, Home, Legal, Political & Miscellaneous Departments*) (Muslim League.)

The Hon. Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas Rochlani, (*Minister-in-charge, Public Works Department and Local Self-Government Department*) (Independent.)

The Hon. Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhvani, (*Minister-in-charge, Medical, Public Health, Veterinary and Industries Departments*) (Independent.)

#### Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh K. Gabole. (Baloch).

(2) Syed Nur Muhammad Shah (Muslim League).

(3) Mrs. Jenubai Ghulamali Allana. (Muslim League).

(4) Mr. Muhammad Yusif Khan Chandio (Muslim League).

(5) Seth Lulimal Rewachand Motwani. (Hindu Maha Sabha).

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Sets 60

Congress 9; Hindu Independent Party 8; Muslim League 14; Strength of other party in the Assembly not known.

*Capital and its Population*—Karachi, 386,655.

*Budget for 1942—'43* Revenue Receipts Rs. 4,80,74,000—Expenditure on Revenue Accounts Rs. 4,96,01,000

#### Government of Orissa

(Area—82,000. Sq. miles; Population—87,28,544.

##### Governor

H. E. Sir William Hawthorne Lewis, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P., (April 1, 1941).

##### Council of Ministers

Coalition, formed Nov. 24, 1941. *Personnel* :—

(1) Hon'ble Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo of Parlakimedi (*Prime Minister*)-Home Affairs (excluding Publicity) Local Self-Government and Public Works.

(2) Hon'ble Pandit Godavaris Misra—Finance, Home Affairs (Publicity), Development and Education.

(3) Hon'ble Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan—Law and Commerce, Revenue and Health.

*Speaker, Legislative Assembly*—Hon'ble Sri Mukunda Prasad Das.

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Sets—60.

Congress 31; Nationalist Coalition 26, Independent 2.

*Capital and its population*, Cuttack 74,297, No Summer Capital.

*Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year.* Receipts Rs. 1,97,07,000; Expenditure—Rs. 1,96,95,000.

#### Government of Assam

(Area—67,334 Sq. miles; Population 10,930,388)

*Governor*—Sir Andrew Gourlay Clow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.; (May 4, 1942);



**Council of Ministers**

Coalition; Formed August 25, 1942;

**Personnel:**

(1) Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla, M.A., B.L. (*Muslim League*);  
*Prime Minister*.

(2) Naba Kumar Datta (*Assam United Party*).

(3) Maulvi Munawwar Ali, B.A., LL.B. (*Muslim League*).

(4) Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, B.A. (*Assam United Party*).

(5) Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri, B.L. (*Muslim League*).

(6) Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, L.M.P. (*Assam United Party*).

(7) Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, B.L. (*Muslim League*).

(8) Khan Bahadur Maulavi Savidur Rahaman, M.A., B.L. (*Muslim League*).

(9) Miss Mavis Dunn, B.A., B.T., B.L. (*Assam United Party*).

(10) Rupnath Brahma, B.L. (*Assam United Party*). Appointed Minister on August 28 1942).

No Parliamentary Secretaries.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

*Legis. Assembly*:—Total sets 108. Congress 31 (including the Speaker); People's 10; European 9; Independent 4; Assam United 53 (of this 32 belong to the Muslim League).

*Legis. Council*:—Muslim 7 including the President, Mrs. Rahman, the rest belonging to the Assam United Party and also to the League Party; Europeans 2; Plains, Tribal 1, Scheduled Hindu 1; Ahom Community 1; Caste Hindu 1 (the latter 4 members belong to the Assam United Party); Independents 9 (Marwaris 3 and Caste Hindus 6).

*Capital and its Population*—Shillong; 38,192. No Summer Capital.

*Receipt and Expenditure for Current-year*:—Receipts: Rs. 3,33,73,000. Expenditure: Rs. 3,87,18,000.

**Government of Madras**

(Area 1,24,363 Sq. Miles. Population 4,98,40,564).

*Governor*:—Capt. the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C.; Assumed charge March 12, 1940.

**Advisory Council**

Advisory Council formed October 30, 1939; Present Personnel:

(1) Sir George Boag, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.

(2) Sir Hugh Hood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. I.C.S.

(3) T. G. Rutherford, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(4) S. V. Ramamurty, C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

*Legis. Assembly*: Total Seats 215 (vacant 30.) Congress 142; Justice 14; Anglo-Indian 2; Muslim League 12; European 4; Independents 8; National Democrats 3; Total 185.

*Legis. Council*: Total seats 55 (vacant 13) Congress 23; Justice 4; Muslim League 2; National Democrats 2; Independents 8. Those who have not intimated their party affiliation 3; Total 42.

*Capital and its Population*—Madras: 7,77,481.

*Summer Capital and its Population*—Ootacamund: 292,850.

**Budget for Current year**

Receipts: Rs. 18,97,86,400.

Expenditure: Rs. 18,94,27,800.

**Government of Bombay.**

(Area:—76,448 sq. miles; Population 20,849,840)

*Governor*—H. E. Sir Lawrence Roger Lumley, G.C.I.E., T.D., (Sept., 18, 1937).

**Advisory Council**

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers:—

Council formed Nov. 4, 1939; Present Personnel:

(i) Henry Foley Knight, C.I.E., I.C.S. Portfolio: Finance.

(ii) Charles Holditch Bristow, C.I.E., I.C.S., Portfolio: Home.

(iii) Godfrey Ferdinando Stratford Collins, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E. I.C.S. Portfolio: Revenue.

**Numerical strength of Parties**

(a) *In Assembly*—(Total seats—175)

Congress—86, Muslim League—25, Independents—13, Independent Labour—14, Progressive—12, Peasants and Peoples—7, Peasants and Workers—7, Democratic Swaraj—4, (Vacant seats 7): Total—175.

(b) *In Council*—(Total seats—30).

Congress—10, Muslim League—3, Independents—9, Progressive—1, Democratic Swaraj—3, Liberal—1, (Vacant seats 3): Total—30.

*Capital and its population*:—Bombay City—1,489,883.

*Summer capital and its population*:—Poona—338,448.

Receipts and expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year:—

Receipts—Rs. 15,18,16,000.

Expenditure—Rs. 15,17,18,200.

**Govt. of the United Provinces**

(Area—1,12,191 sq. miles; Population—5,63,46,456).

**Governor**—H. E. Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., (December 6, 1939).

**Advisory Council**—formed on November 4, 1939. **Personnel** :—

(1) Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., M.Sc., LL.B., (Cantab), D. Litt. (Agra) Bar-at-Law, C.S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S.

**Portfolios** :—Education, Industries, Local-Self-Government and Public Health.

(2) Sir Tennant Sloan, M.A. (Glas), K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.

**Portfolios** : Home Affairs, Finance, Justice and Jails.

(3) Mr. A. G. Shirreff, B.A., J. P., I. C. S.

**Portfolios** : Revenue, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forests, Communications and Irrigation.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

(a) IN ASSEMBLY—(Total seats—228).

Government supporters: Congress 147, Opposition: Muslim League 36, Independent 24, Unattached (generally vote with Opposition) 21: Total 228.

(b) IN COUNCIL—(Total seats—60)

Government supporters: Congress 14; Opposition: Nationalist 13, Independent 8, Unattached (including 11 who have not intimated Party affiliations) 24: Total—59 (excluding President).

**Capital and its population**—

Allahabad; 2,60,630.

**Summer Capital and its population**—Naini Tal—21,313.

**Receipts and expenditure on Revenue Accounts for the current year**—

**Receipt**—Rs. 17,12,32,132.

**Expenditure**—Rs. 17,08,29,584.

**Government of Bihar**

(Area—69,348 Sq. Miles; Population—37,985,581.

**Governor**—H. E. Sir Thomas Alexandar Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (August 6, 1939).

**Advisory Council**

The Congress having resigned the Governor assumed the Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers:—

Council formed Nov. 4, '39,

**Personnel**

1. E. R. J. R. Cousins, C.I.E., I.C.S.

2. R. E. Russell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

**In Assembly**—(a) Total number of M.

L. A.'s 147 (excluding 5 seats vacant due to death of members.)

(b) Number of Muslim member (seats) 38 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death of members.

(c) Number of M. L. A.'s belonging to congress party 96 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death of members.

(d) Number of Muslim League party in the Assembly. There is no such recognised party. But there are five members who owe allegiance to Muslim League.

**In Council**—(a) Total number of members 29

(b) Number of seats retained by the Muslim members 8.

(c) Number of members belonging to the Congress Party 10.

(d) Members belonging to the Muslim League Party 2. There is no such recognised party in the Council but two members have informed that they owe allegiance to the Muslim League.

**Capital and its population**—Patna—196,415.

**Summer Capital and its population**—Ranchi—62,562.

**Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year** :

**Receipts**—6,43,25,000.

**Expenditure**—5,80,42,000.

**Government of C. P.**

(Area—1,81,559 Sq. Miles; Population—1,68,22,018.)

**Governor**—H. E. Sir Henry Twynan K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., (October 2, 1940)

**Advisory Council**—The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed the Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

Council formed Nov. 11, 1939.

**Personnel**—(i) Sir Geoffrey Pownall Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(ii) Henry Challen Greenfield, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

**Total Seats**—112.

Government supporters: Congress 71. Opposition: Independent 17, United 5, Muslim League 10, Unattached 8, Total—111 (excluding Speaker).

**Capital and its Population**—Nagpur: 3,01,287,

**Summer Capital and its Population**—Pachmarhi: 6,693.

**Receipts and expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year**:

**Receipts**—Rs. 5,31,44,482.

**Expenditure**—Rs. 5,11,59,628.

## Govt. of N. W. F. Provinces

(Area—36,356 Sq. Miles; Population—30,38,067.)

**Governor**—H. E. Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (March 2, 1937.)

**Advisory Council**—J. G. Acheson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor.

### Numerical strength of Parties

Total seats—50. Congress—23, Nationalist—3, Muslim League—13, Liberals (Democratic)—2, Independents—3, No party 1. Died Convicted and resigned—5.

Population of the Capital—Peshawar City 130967. Peshawar Cantonment—42453.

Estimated revenue receipts—Rs. 1,96,54,000. Estimated revenue expenditure—Rs. 1,95,86,000.

## Federal Court of India

**Chief Justice of India**—The Hon. Sir Maurice Lindford Gwyer, K.C.B., K.C.S.I. D.C.L., (Appointed in 1937)

### Judges

The Hon. Mr. Justice Srinivasa Varadachariar, Kt. (App. in 1939)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, K.C.S.I., (Appointed in 1941).

## Bengal Judicial Department

### High Court—Calcutta

**Chief Justice**—The Hon'ble Sir Harold Derbyshire, M.C., K.C., Barrister-at-Law—(12-11-1934).

**Puisne Judges**—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torrick Ameer Ali, Kt, Barrister-at-Law (30-11-1931.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice George Douglas McNair, Barrister-at-Law (16-11-1933).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M.A., B.L., (13-11-1933).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Alan Gerald Russell Henderson, B.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., (12-11-1934).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Rupendra Coomarr Mittra, M.Sc., M.L. (12-11-1934.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Nural Azeem Khundkar, B.A., LL.B. Barrister-at-Law (8-11-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Benegal Nursing Rau, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S., (16-1-1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Norman George Armstrong Edgley, M.A., (Oxon), I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. (8-11-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., D.L. (9-11-1936).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., (1-3-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Francis Lodge, B.A., (Cantab), I.C.S., J.P., (7-11-1938).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Frederick William Gentle, Barrister-at-Law, (10-11-1941).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Amarendra Nath Sen, Barrister-at-Law., (7-11-1938).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thomas James Young Roxburgh, C.I.E., B.A. (Cantab), I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law., (15-11-1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram. B.L. (Addl.) (11-11-1940).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sudhi Ranjan Das, B.A. (Cal), LL.B. (Lond), Barrister-at-Law, (Addl.) (1-12-1942).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abraham Lewis Blank, M.A. (Oxon) I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. (Addl.) (2-2-1942.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Radhabinod Pal, M.A., D.L. (Offg.) (1-12-1942).

## Bombay Judicial Department.

### High Court—Bombay.

**Chief Justice**—The Hon. Sir J. W. F. Beaumont, K.C. M.A., (Cantab.) Kt. (20-6-1930).

The Hon. Mr. Justice H. J. Kania, LL.B., Advocate (O. S.) (19-6-1933.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. J. Wadia, B.A. (Bom & Cantab), Bar at-Law, I.C.S. (6-12-1933.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice H. V. Divatia, M.A., LL.B. (19-6-1933.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. S. R. Macklin, B.A. (Oxon), I.C.S. (18-6-1935.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. B. Wassoodew, LL.B. (29-11-1937.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. C. Sen, B.A. (Cal. & Cantab), I.C.S. (4-8-1941)

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. C. Chagla, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law. (4-8-1941).

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. S. Lokur, LL.B. (24-8-1942.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. B. Blagden, Bar-at-Low. (offg.) (13-11-1942.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. A. Somjee, M.A., LL.B. (O. S.), Bar-at-Law. Addl. Judge (1-12-1942.)

\* The Honourable Mr. Justice Wassoodew retires on 14-1-1943. The Hon. Mr. Justice Eric Weston, I.C.S., to be a Puisne Judge in the vacancy that will be caused by the retirement of the Hon. Mr. Justice Wassoodew.

## Madras Judicial Department

### High Court—Madras

**Chief Justice**—The Hon. Sir Lionel Leach (E.), Bar-at-law. 10th. Feb. 33.

*Puisne Judges*

The Hon. Mr. Justice V. Mockett, M.B.E. (E). Bar-at-law. 25th. July, 32.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. J. King. (E). I.C.S. 24th. Oct. 11.

The Hon. Mr. Justice S. Wadsworth. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law. 20th. Oct. 13

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. P. Lakshmana Rao, Diwan Bahadur (B). Advocate. 28th. Aug. 16.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahman Kt., Khan Bahadur, (M). Advocate. L.L.D. 7th. Aug. 37.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar. (B). Advocate. 27th. July, 35.

The Hon. Mr. Justice B. Somayya. (B). Advocate. 2nd. Feb. 39.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri. (B). Advocate. 15th Mar. 39.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. C. Horwill. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law. 26th. Oct. 15.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. C. Happell. (E). I.C.S. 4th. Oct. 21.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Bell. (E). Bar-at-law. 15th. Jan. 42.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. Kunhi Raman, Diwan Bahadur. (N). B.A., B.L. Bar-at-law. 10th. July 11.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Byers. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

*Temporary Additional Judges*

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, Rao Bahadur (B). Advocate. 8th. July 27.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. N. Kuppuswami Ayyar. B.A., M.L.

**Behar & Orissa Judicial Dept.****High Court—Patna**

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Arthur Trevor Harries, Barrister-at-Law. 10-10-1938.

*Puisne Judges*—The Hon. Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law. 28-1-1929.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Clifford Monmohan Agarwala, Barrister-at-Law. 11-7-1933.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sukhdev Prashad Varma, Barrister-at-Law. 22-1-1934.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Francis George Rowland, I.C.S. 21-8-1936.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manohar Lal, M.A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law. 3-6-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Subodh Chandra Chattarji. 28-9-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Herbert Ribton Meredith, I.C.S. 1-10-1940.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Peter Hilary Lloyd Brough, M.C., Barrister-at-Law. 19-10-1942.

The Hon. Mr. Justice James Greig Shearer, I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law. Addl. (8-5-'42).

**C. P. & Berar Judicial Dept.****High Court—Nagpur**

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Gilbert Stone, Barrister. Date of appointment, 9-1-1936. On leave from 22-6-42.

*Judges*—(1) The Hon. Sir Frederick Louis Grille, Kt., M.A. (Cantab), Barrister, I.C.S. (9-1-1936) Officiating Chief Justice from 22-6-42.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Wasudeorao Ramechandra Paranjik. Officiating vice No. 1 from 22-6-42.

2. The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Bhawani-shankar Niyogi, C.I.E., M.A. LL.M. 9-1-1936.

3. The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Evelyn Pollock, B.A. (Cantab), Barrister, I.C.S. 9-1-1936.

4. The Hon. Mr. Justice Harold George Gruer, M.A. (Aber), Barrister, I.C.S. 9-1-1936. On leave from 22-6-42.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Kenelm George Digby, B.A. (Cantab) Barrister. I.C.S., J.P. Officiating vice No. 4 from 22-6-42.

5. The Hon. Mr. Justice Vivian Bose, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister. 9-1-1936.

**Punjab Judicial Department****High Court—Lahore**

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir John Douglas Young. (7-5-1934)

*Puisne Judges* :—

The Hon. Mr. Justice Tek Chand Kt. (27-1-1927).

do Dalip Singh (4-10-1926)

do Monroe (7-12-1931)

do Bhide (2-10-1933)

do Abdul Rashid (2-10-'33)

do Din Mohammad (2-5-'36)

do Blacker (23-11-1937)

do Ram Lal (9-2-1938)

do Sale (14-11-1939)

do Beckett (23-9-1940)

do Muhammad Munir (Addl.) (28-9-'42)

do Marten (Addl.) (20-11-1942)

**United Provinces Judicial Dept.****High Court—Allahabad***Chief Justice*—Hon. Mr. Iqbal Ahmad

B.A., LL.B.

*Puisne Judges*—Hon. Mr. H. J. Col-  
lister, J.P., I.C.S.Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. W. Allsop,  
J.P., I.C.S.Hon. Mr. Justice U. S. Bajpai, M.A.,  
LL.B.Hon. Mr. Justice M. Ismail, Khan  
Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.Hon. Mr. Justice K. K. Verma, B.A.,  
LL.B.Hon. Mr. Justice H. B. L. Braund,  
Bar-at-Law (on deputation).Hon. Mr. Justice T. N. Mulla, Rai  
Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.Hon. Mr. Justice A. H. De B. Hamil-  
ton, J.P., I.C.S.Hon. Mr. Justice S. K. Dar, B. A.,  
LL.B.*Acting Puisne Judges* :—Hon. Mr. Justice G. P. Mathur, Rai  
Bahadur, B.A., LL.B.Hon. Mr. Justice P. P. M. C. Plow-  
den, J.P., I.C.S.**Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow***Chief Judge*—Hon. Sir George  
Thomas, Kt., Bar-at-Law, (23-7-1938).*Judges*—Hon. Mr. Justice J. R. W.  
Bennett, I.C.S. (13-7-1940)Hon. Mr. Justice Ghulam Hasan,  
(16-9-1940)Hon. Mr. Justice W. Y. Madeley,  
I.C.S. Acting Judge. (21-7-1941)Hon. Mr. Justice P. C. Agarwal, Rai  
Bahadur, Additional Judge, (16-11-1940)**Chief Court of Sind***Chief Judge* :—The Hon. Sir Godfrey Davis, Barris-  
ter-at-Law. (15-4-1940)*Judges* :—The Hon. Mr. Justice Charles M.  
Lobo, LL.B. (15-4-1940)The Hon. Mr. Justice Eric Weston,  
B.A. (Cantab), I.C.S. (15-4-1940)The Hon. Mr. Justice Halim Badrud-  
din Tyabji, Barrister-at-Law. (15-4-1940)**Indian States (with Salutes)**(Area—712,508 Sq. miles ; Population—  
81,810,845).**Assam State***Manipur*—H. H. Maharaja Sir Chura  
Chand Singh, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. Maharaja  
of—

Date of Birth—15th April, 1885

Date of succession—18th September, 1891

Area of State in Sq. miles—8638 (Appro-  
ximately)

Population of State—4,45,606

Revenue—Nearly Rs. 9,59,620.

Salute in guns—11.

**Baluchistan State***Kalat*—His Highness Beglar Begi  
Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Wali  
of—

Date of Birth—1864

Date of succession—1893

Area of State in Square miles—73,278

Population of State—328,281

Revenue—Rs. 17,78,000 nearly

Salute in Guns—19.

**Baroda State***Baroda*—His Highness Farzand-i-  
Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglisbia Maharaja Sir  
Pratapsingh Gaekwar, G.C.I.E., Sena Khas

Khel, Shamsber Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—29th June, 1908

Date of succession—7th. February,  
1939

Area of State in sq. miles—8,164

Population of State—28,550,10

Revenue—Rs. 245,23 lacs

Salute in guns—21.

**Bengal States***Cooch Behar*—H. H. Maharaja Jagad-  
dipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maha-  
raja of—

Date of Birth—15th December, 1915

Date of succession—20th December,  
1922

Area of State in sq. miles—131,835

Population of State—6,39,898

Revenue—About Rs. 38½ lakhs

Salute in guns—13.

*Tripura*—H. H. Maharaja Manikya  
Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Baha-  
dur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—19th August, 1908

Date of succession—13th August, 1923

Area of State in sq. miles—4,116

Population of State—382,450

Revenue—Rs. 33,42,104 (including  
the revenue of the zamindari in Bri-  
tish India)Indian States Forces—Tripura In-  
fantry

Salute in guns—13.

*Bihar & Orissa States*

**Kalahandi**—H. H. Maharaja Pratapkeshori Deo, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—5th October '19  
Date of succession—19th September '39  
Area in sq. miles—3,745  
Population—3 99,751  
Revenue—Rs. 6,43,000  
Salute in guns—9

**Mayurbhanj**—Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—

Date of birth—18th February, '01  
Date of succession—23rd April, '28  
Area in sq. miles—4,243  
Population—9,89,887  
Revenue—Rs. 84 lacs  
Salute in guns—9

**Patna**—H. H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—31st March '12  
Date of succession—16th January '24  
Area in square miles—2,511  
Population—16,32,220  
Revenue—Rs. 11,02,251  
Salute in guns—9

**Sonpur**—H. H. Maharaja Singh Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—

Date of birth—28th June 1874  
Date of succession—8th August '02  
Area in square miles—906  
Population—226,751  
Revenue—Rs. 3,74,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

*Bombay Presy. States*

**Balasnor**—H. H. Babi Shri Jamiat Khanji Munavvar Khanji Nawab

Saheb Bahadur, Nawab of—  
Date of birth—10th November 1894  
Date of succession—31st December '15  
Area in square miles—189  
Population—52,525  
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Cavalry—60,  
Infantry—177, Guns—10  
Salute in guns—9

**Bansda**—H. H. Maharawal Shri Indrasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—

Date of birth—16th February 1888  
Date of succession—21st Sept. '11  
Area in square miles—215  
Population—40,125  
Revenue—Rs. 7,98,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

**Baria**—Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaoil Shree Sir Ranjitsinhji, K.C.S.R., Ruler of—

Date of birth—10th July 1886  
Date of succession—20th Feb. '08  
Area in sq. miles—813  
Population—1,89,206  
Indian State Forces—1 Cavalry  
(Irregular) Strength 17. 1 Company

Ranjit Infantry, Strength 153. 1  
Platoon Militia, Strength 50  
Salute in guns—9

**Bhor**—H. H. Meherban Srimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao, Pant Sachiv of—

Date of birth—20 September 1878  
Date of succession—17th July '22  
Area in square miles—925  
Population—130,420  
Revenue—Rs. 600,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

**Cambay**—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bdr. Nawab of—

Date of birth—16th May '11  
Date of succession—21st January '15  
Area in sq. miles—392  
Population—87,761  
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—119 Infantry ; 166  
Police Forces ; 15 Body guards  
Salute in guns—11

**Chhota Udepur (Mohan)**—H. H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji Raja of—

Date of birth—16th November '06  
Date of succession—29th August '23  
Area in sq. miles—89,034  
Population—1,62,145  
Revenue—Rs. 13 08,248  
Salute in guns—9

**Datta**—H. H. Maharana Shri Bhavansinhji Hamirsinhji, Maharana of—

Date of birth—12th September 1899  
Date of succession—20th November '25  
Area in sq. miles—347  
Population—19,541  
Revenue—Rs. 1,75,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

**Dharampur**—H. H. Maharana Shri

Vijoyadevi Mohandevji, Raja of—  
Date of birth—3rd December 1884  
Date of succession—26th March '21  
Area in sq. miles—704  
Population—1,12,031  
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000  
Salute in guns—9

**Idar**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Shri Himmat Singhji Sahib Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—2nd September 1899  
Date of succession—14th April '31  
Area in sq. miles—1,669  
Population—3 07,798  
Revenue—Rs. 24,66,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—15

**Janjira**—H. H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad Khan Sidi Ahmad Khan, Nawab of—

Date of birth—7th March '14  
Date of succession—2nd May '22  
Area in sq. miles—379

Population—1,10,368  
 Revenue—Rs. 11,00,000  
 Salute in guns—11

**Jawhar**—Shrimant Yeshwantrao Maharaj,  
 Raja of—

Date of birth—11th December '17  
 Date of succession—11th December '27  
 Area in sq. miles—308  
 Population—65,291  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,20,000  
 Salute in guns—9

**Khairpur**—H. H. Mir Faiz Mahomed  
 Khan Talpur, Mir of—

Date of birth—4th January '13  
 Date of succession—December '35  
 Area in sq. miles—6,050  
 Population—227,168  
 Revenue—Rs. 25 84 (lacs)  
 Indian State Forces—Khairpur "Faiz"  
 Light Infantry, 215 ; Khairpur Camel  
 Transport Corps, 72  
 Salute in guns—15

**Kolhapur**—Col. H. H. Shri Sir Rajaram  
 Chhatrapati Maharaj, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,  
 Maharaja of—

Date of birth—30 July 1897  
 Date of succession—6th May '22  
 Area in sq. miles—3,217.1  
 Population—9,57,157  
 Revenue—Rs. 126,86,527  
 Salute in guns—19

**Lunawada**—Lieut. H. H. Maharana Shri  
 Virbhadrasinghji, Rajaji Saheb of—

Date of birth—8th June '10  
 Date of succession—2nd October '30  
 Area in sq. miles—388  
 Population—95,162  
 Revenue—About Rs. 5,50,000  
 Dynastic Salute—9 guns

**Mudhol**—H. H. Srimant Raja Bhairavsinh  
 (minor), Raja of—

Date of birth—15 October '29  
 Date of succession—9th November '37  
 Area in sq. miles—369  
 Population—62,832  
 Revenue—Rs. 4,85,000 nearly  
 Indian State Force—Mudhol Sajjan Sinh  
 Infantry—115  
 Salute in guns—9

**Rajpipla**—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri  
 Sir Vijaya Singhji Chhatrasinhji, K.C.S.I.,  
 Maharaja of—

Date of birth—30 January 1890  
 Date of succession—26th September '15  
 Area in sq. miles—1,517.50  
 Population—2,48,068  
 Revenue—Rs. 24,32,000  
 Indian State Forces—Rajpipla Infantry  
 152 ; Rajpipla Bodyguard 25  
 Salute in guns—13

**Sachin**—His Highness Nawab Sidi  
 Muhammad Haider Muhammad Yakut

Khan, Mubharizud Daula, Nusrat Jung  
 Bahadur, Nawab of—

Date of birth—11th September '09  
 Date of succession—19th November '30  
 Area in sq. miles—57.80  
 Revenue—Rs. 4,00,00/-  
 Indian State Forces—Sachin Infantry 80  
 Salute in guns—9

**Sangli**—Captain H. H. Raja Shrimant  
 Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias  
 Appasaheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—14th Feb. 1890  
 Date of Succession—15th June 1903  
 Area in sq. miles—1,136  
 Population—2,93,498  
 Revenue—Rs. 16,80,241  
 Salute in guns—9

**Sant**—Maharana Shri Jorawarsinhji  
 Partapsinhji, Raja of—

Date of birth—24th March 1881  
 Date of succession—31st August 1896  
 Area in sq. miles—394  
 Population—83,531  
 Revenue—485,826  
 Salute in guns—9

**Savantvadi**—(Minor) H. H. Raja Bahadur  
 Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle

Date of birth—13th August '27  
 Date of succession—5th July '37  
 Area in sq. miles—930  
 Population—2,52,170  
 Revenue—Rs. 6,13,478  
 Salute in guns—9

### Central Indian States

**Ajaigarh**—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Bhupal  
 Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—13th November 1866  
 Date of succession—7th June '19  
 Area in sq. miles—802  
 Population—84,790  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

**Alirajpur**—H. H. Maharaja Pratap Singh,  
 K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—12th Sept. 1881  
 Date succession—14th February 1891  
 Area in sq. miles—836  
 Population—112,754  
 Revenue of the State—Rs. 5,35,000  
 State Forces—Alirajpur Cavalry—23  
 Alirajpur Pratap Infantry—80  
 Salute in guns—11

**Baoni**—H. H. Azam-ul-Umara Iftikhar-  
 ud-Daulah Imad-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Jah  
 Mibin Sardar Nawab Mohammad  
 Mushtaq-ul-Hasan Khan Safdar Jung,  
 Nawab of—

Date of birth—7th February 1896  
 Date of succession—28th October '11  
 Area in sq. miles—121  
 Population—25,256

Revenue—Rs. 2,25,000

Salute in guns—11

**Baraundha** ( Pathar Kachar )—Raja Gaya

Parshad Singh, Raja of—

Date of birth—1865

Date of succession—9th July '09

Area in sq. miles—218

Population—15,912

Revenue—Rs. 45,000 nearly

Salute in guns—9

**Barwani**—His Highness Devisinghji  
Rana of—

Date of birth—19th July '22

Date of Succession—21st April '30

Area in sq. miles—1,178

Population—1,76,632

Revenue—Rs. 11,04,510

Salute in guns—11

**Bhopal**—Lt. Col. H. H. Itikhar-ul-Mulk  
Sikandar Saulat Nawab Haji Muham-  
mad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur.

G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., C.V.O., Nawab of—

Date of birth—9th September 1894

Date of succession—17th May '26

Area in sq. miles—7,000

Population—700,000

Revenue—Rs. 62,10,000 nearly

Indian State Forces—Bhopal ( Victoria )

Lancers—141 ; Bhopal Sultania

Infantry—772 ; Bhopal Gohar-i-Taj

Own Company—164

Salute in guns—19

**Bijawar**—H. H. Maharaja Govind Singh  
Minor, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—17th June '34

Date of succession—11th Nov. '41

Area in sq. miles—973

Population—1,20,928

Revenue—Rs. 3,55,278

Salute in guns—11

**Charkhari**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja

Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Armardan Singh Ju  
Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—29th December '03

Date of succession—6th October '20

Area in sq. miles—880

Population—1,23,405

Revenue—Rs. 8,26,000 nearly

Salute in guns—11

**Chhatarpur**—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani  
Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—16th August, '04

Date of succession—5th April, '32

Area in sq. miles—1,130

Population—1,61,267

Gross Revenue Nearly—Rs. 12,00,000

Indian States Forces—412

Salute in guns—11

**Datia**—Major H. H. Maharaja Lokendra  
Sir Govind Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I.,  
Maharaja of—

Date of birth—21st June 1886

Date of succession—5th August '07

Area in sq. miles—911

Population—148,659

Revenue—Rs. 19,00,000 nearly

Indian State Forces Datia 1st Govind

Infantry—200

Datia Govind Infantry (B Company)—117

Salute in guns—15

**Dewas (Senior)**—His Highness Maharaja  
Sir Vikramsinha Rao Puar, K.C.S.I.,

B.A., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—4th April '10

Date of succession—21st December '37

Area in sq. miles—449'50

Population—89,479

Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000

Salute in guns—15

**Dewas (Junior Branch)**—H. H. Maharaja  
Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar,  
Maharaja of—

Date of birth—13th August 1887

Date of succession—4th February '34

Area in sq. miles—419

Population—70,513

Revenue—Rs. 6,83,000

Salute in guns—15

**Dhar**—Lieut. H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao  
Puar Saheb Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—24th November, '20

Date of succession—1st August, '26

Date of Investiture—16th March, '40

Area in sq. Miles—1,799'34

Population—2,53,210

Revenue including Feudatories and Jagirs

Rs. 3,00,000

Indian State Forces—Dhar Light Horse

66 ; Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard) 263

Salute in guns 15

**Indore**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj

Rajeshwar Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao

Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of,

Date of birth—6th September '08

Date of succession—26th February '26

Area in sq. miles—9,902

Population—over 15,00,000

Revenue—Rs. 1,21,81,100

Indian State Forces—Indore Holkar

Escort—141

Indore 1st Battalion, Maharaja Holkar's

Infantry Companies "A" & "B"—380

Indore Holkar Transport Corps—266

Salute in guns—19

**Jaora**—Lt. Col. H. H. Fakhrnd-Daulah  
Nawab Sir Mohammad Itikhar Ali

Khan Bahadur, Saulat-i-Jang, G.B.E.,

K.C.I.E., Nawab of—

Date of birth—17th January 1883

Date of succession—6th March 1895

Area in sq. miles—601

Population—1,16,738

Revenue—Rs. 16,00,000

Salute in guns—13



**Jhabua**—H. H. Raja Udai Sing, Raja of—  
Date of birth—6th May 1875  
Date of succession—26th April 1895  
Area in sq. miles—1,336  
Population—123,932  
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

**Khilchipur**—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir  
Durjansalsingh K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
Date of birth—26th August 1897  
Date of succession—19th January '08  
Area in sq. miles—273  
Population—45,625  
Revenue—Rs. 2,42,000  
Salute in guns—9

**Malhar**—H. H. Raja Sir Brijnath Singhji  
Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Raja of—  
Date of birth—22nd February 1896  
Date of succession—16th Dec. '11  
Area in square miles—407  
Population—68,991  
Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000 (nearly)  
Salute in guns—9

**Nagod**—(Unchehra)—H.H. Raja Mahendra  
Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—  
Date of birth—5th February '16  
Date of succession—26th Feb. '26  
Area in Sq. miles—501'4  
Population—87,911  
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 (nearly)  
Salute in guns—9

**Narsinghgarh**—H. H. Raja Sir Vikram  
Singhji Sahib Bdr. K.C.I.E. Raja of—  
Date of birth—21 Sept. '09  
Date of succession—23rd April '24  
Area in sq. miles—734  
Population—1,24,281  
Revenue—Rs. 7,09,291 (nearly).  
Salute in guns—11

**Orchha**—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-Bundel-  
khand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev  
Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—14th April 1899  
Date of succession—4th March '30  
Area in sq miles—2,080  
Population—314,661  
Revenue—Rs. 13,00,000 (nearly)  
Salute in guns—15

**Panna**—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir  
Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I.,  
K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—31st January 1894  
Date of succession—20th June '02  
Area in sq. miles—2,596  
Population—2,12,130  
Revenue—Rs. 9,50,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

**Rajgarh**—H. H. Raja Rawat Bikramaditya  
Singh Bahadur (minor), Raja of—  
Date of birth—18th December '36  
Date of Succession—Do Do  
Area in sq. miles—962

Population—1,48,609  
Revenue—Rs. 8,63,200  
Salute in guns—11

**Ratlam**—Major-General H. H. Maharaja  
Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,  
K.C.V.O.

Date of birth—13th January 1880  
Date of succession—29th Jan. 1893  
Area in sq miles—693  
Population—1,26,117  
Revenue—Rs. 10 lacs  
Indian State Forces—Shree Lokendra  
Rifles—Authorised Strength—161  
Salute in guns—13 permanent, local 15

**Rewa**—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab  
Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,  
Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—12th March '03  
Date of succession—31st October, '18  
Area in sq. miles—13,000  
Population—18,20,306  
Salute in guns—17  
Revenue—Rs. 60,00,000

**Sailana**—H. H. Raja Sahib Sir Dileep  
Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Raja of—  
Date of birth—18th March 1891  
Date of succession—14th July '19  
Area in sq. miles—297  
Population—40,288  
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000  
Indian State Forces—1. Cavalry 30 ;  
2. Infantry 44 ; 3. Police 130  
Salute in guns—11

**Samthar**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Singh  
Deo Bahadur K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
Date of birth—26th August 1864  
Date of succession—17th June 1896  
Area in sq. miles—180  
Population—33,216  
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

**Sitamau**—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh,  
K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
Date of birth—2nd January 1880  
Area in sq. miles—201  
Population—26,549  
Revenue—Rs. 2,55,076  
Salute in guns—11

#### Gwalior State

**Gwalior**—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-  
Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-nsh-Shan,  
Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran,  
Umdat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja  
Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George  
Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Sinath,  
Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i-  
Malik-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-  
Inglistan, Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—26th June '16  
Date of succession—5th June '25  
Area in sq. miles—26,367

Population—3,523,070  
 Revenue—Rs. 241'81 lacs nearly  
 Indian State Forces—  
   Gwalior 1st Yayaji Lancers—526  
     " 2nd Alijah "—526  
     " 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao  
   Scindia's Own Lancers—526  
     " 1st Maharani Sakhya Raya's  
     Own Battalion—763  
     2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's  
     Own Battalion—765  
     3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own  
     Battalion—772  
     " 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion  
     —772  
     " 7th Scindia's Battalion (Train-  
     ing)—488  
     " Mountain Battery—260  
     Scindia's Horse Artillery—138  
     " Sappers Artillery—178  
     " Pony Transport Corps—479  
 Salute in Guns—21

#### Hyderabad State

Hyderabad—Lt.-General H. E. H. Asaf  
 Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wal Mamalik,  
 Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula,  
 Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan  
 Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Faithful Ally  
 of the British Government, G.C.S.I.,  
 G.B.E., Nizam of—  
 Date of birth—6th April 1886  
 Date of succession—29th August '11  
 Area in sq. miles—100,465  
 Population—17,877,986  
 Revenue—Rs. 894.98 lacs  
 Indian State Forces—Hyderabad 1st  
   Imperial Service Lancers, 544  
   Hyderabad 2nd Imperial Service  
   Lancers, 544  
 Salute in guns—21

#### Jammu & Kashmir State

Jammu & Kashmir—Lieut-General H. H.  
 Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maha-  
 raja Shri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar  
 Mahindar, Spar-i-Saltanat-i-Englishia,  
 G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Maha-  
 raja of—  
 Date of birth—September 1895  
 Date of succession—September 25  
 Area in sq. miles—84,471  
 Population—40,21,616  
 Revenue—Rs. 257.92 lacs  
 Indian States Forces—  
   1. 1st Line Troops (Fighting Service)  
 Jammu and Kashmir Body Guard  
   Cavalry—653  
   2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain  
     Battery 314  
   3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain  
     Battery 262  
   4. 1st " " " Infantry 679

5. 2nd " " " Rifles 690  
 6. 3rd " " " " 679  
 7. 4th " " " Infantry 690  
 8. 5th " " " Light " 679  
 9. 6th " " " " " 772  
 10. 7th " " " " " 690  
 11. 8th " " " " " 679  
 12. 9th " " " " " 679  
 1st Line (Troops Administrative "Service)  
 13. J & L A. T. C. 365  
 14. Jammu & Kashmir Infantry  
   Training Battalion 1969  
 15. Jammu & Kashmir Army  
   Training School 26  
 16. Auxiliary Service  
 17. Jammu & Kashmir Military  
   Transport 299  
 18. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 68  
 19. " Fort Dept. 117  
 20. Military Veterinary Corps 21  
 21. Military Medical Corps 40  
 Salute in guns—21

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle  
 Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—  
 Date of Birth—9th November '01  
 Date of succession—22nd January '22  
 Area in sq. miles—275  
 Population—44,631  
 Revenue—3,53,758  
 Salute in guns—9

Cochin—H. H. Sir Kerala Varma, Maha-  
 raja of—  
 Date of birth—29th Vrishchigon 1039 M.E.  
 Date of succession—13th April '41  
 Area in sq. miles—1480  
 Population—1,422,875  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,21,46,238  
 Indian State Forces—34 officers and  
   370 men  
 Salute in guns—17

Pudukkottai—H. H. Sri Brihadamba Das  
 Raja Rajagopala Tondaiman Bahadur,  
 Rajah of—  
 Date of birth—23rd June '22  
 Date of succession—24th October '28  
 Area in sq. miles—1,179  
 Population—4,38,348  
 Revenue—Rs. 20,74,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

Travancore—H. H. Sri Padmanabha  
 Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma  
 Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan  
 Maharaja Raja Ramaraja Bahadur  
 Shamsher Jang, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—7th November '12  
 Date of succession—1st September '24  
 Area in sq. miles—7,661.75  
 Population—6,070,018  
 Revenue—Rs. 250.73 lakhs  
 Salute in guns—19 ; Local 21

Mysore—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamaraja  
 Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—18th July '19  
 Date of succession—8th September '40  
 Area in sq. miles—29,493  
 Population—73.29 lakhs including Civil  
 & Military Station, Bangalore  
 Revenue—Rs. 4,65,68,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Mysore Lancers  
 495; Horse 136; Bodyguard 125;  
 1st Infantry 772; 2nd Infantry 1133;  
 Palace Guard 500  
 Salute in guns—21

### *Punjab States*

**Bahawalpur**—Major His Highness Rukn-  
 ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang, Saif-ud-  
 Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlis-ud-  
 Daula, Wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Al-  
 Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V  
 Abbasi, Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,  
 K.C.V.O., Nawab Ruler of—  
 Date of birth—30th September '04  
 Date of succession—4th March '07  
 Area in sq. miles—22,000  
 Population—Over one million  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,40,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Bahawalpur 1st  
 Sadiq Infantry; Bahawalpur 2nd  
 Haroon Infantry; H. H. the Nawab's  
 Own Body Guard Lancers  
 Salute in guns—17

**Bilaspur (Kahlur)**—H. H. Raja Anand  
 Chand, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—26th January '13  
 Date of succession—18th Nov. '27  
 Area in sq. miles—448  
 Population—1,10,000  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

**Chamba**—H. H. Raja Lakshman Singh,  
 the Ruler of Chamba State (minor)  
 Date of birth—8th December '24  
 Date of Succession—7th Dec. '35  
 Area in sq. miles—3,127  
 Population—16,59,38  
 Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11  
 Council of Administration appointed by  
 the Government to carry on Minority  
 Administration. President—Lt.-Col.  
 H. S. Strong, C.I.E. Vice-President &  
 Chief Secretary—Dewan Bahadur  
 Lala Madho Ram. Member—Rai  
 Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass.

**Faridkot**—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i-Saadat  
 Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar  
 Bans Raja Har Indar Singh Bahadur,  
 Raja of—  
 Date of birth—29th January '15  
 Date of succession—23rd December '18  
 Area in sq. miles—643  
 Population—164,346

Revenue—Rs. 17,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Faridkot Sappers-  
 Headquarters 8. (Field Company)  
 Sappers & Miners 129. Bodyguard  
 Lancers 27. Infantry 112. Band 35  
 Salute in guns—11

**Jind**—Colonel H. H. Farzand-i-Dilband  
 Rasikh-ul-Itkad Daulat-i-Inglishia  
 Raja-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Ranbir  
 Singh. Rajendra Bahadur, G.C.I.E.,  
 G.C.S.I., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—11th October 1879  
 Date of succession—7th March 1887  
 Area in sq. miles—1,259  
 Population—308,183  
 Revenue—Rs. 28,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Jind bodyguard  
 Cavalry 112; Jind Infantry 411; Jind  
 Training Company 259; Jind 2nd Line  
 Infantry 150  
 Salute in guns—13

**Kapurthala**—Colonel His Highness  
 Farzand-i-Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itkad  
 Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan  
 Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur,  
 G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—24th November 1872  
 Date of succession—5th September 1877  
 Area in sq. miles—652  
 Population—3,78,380  
 Revenue—Rs. 34,00,000 roughly  
 Salute in guns—13

**Loharu**—Capt. H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-  
 ud-Din Ahmed, Fakhar-ud-Daula  
 Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—23rd March '11  
 Date of succession—30th Oct. '26  
 Area in sq. miles—223  
 Population—27,592  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,33,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—9

**Malerkotla**—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab  
 Sir Ahmad Ali Khan, Bahadur, K.C.S.I.,  
 K.C.I.E., Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—10th September 1881  
 Date of succession—23rd August '08  
 Area in sq. miles—168  
 Population—80,322  
 Revenue—Rs. 15,81,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Sappers—Head-  
 quarters 16; Lancers (Bodyguard) 40;  
 Infantry 226; Field Company Sappers  
 & Miners 295  
 Salute in guns—11

**Mandi**—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder  
 Sen Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—20th August '04  
 Date of succession—28th April '13  
 Area in sq. miles—1,200  
 Population—2,07,465  
 Revenue—Rs. 12,50,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

**Nabha**—H. H. Farzand-i-Arjmand,  
Aquadat-Paiwand-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia,  
Barar Bans, Sarmur Raja-i-Rajagan  
Maharaja Pratap Singha Malvendra  
Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—21st September '19  
Date of succession—February '28  
Area in sq. miles—928  
Population—263,334  
Revenue—Rs. 24,05,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—13

**Patiala**—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas  
Daulat-i-Inglishia Mansur-ul-Zaman,  
Amir-ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj  
Rajeshwar Shri Maharaja-i-Rajgan  
Shri Yadavindra Singhji, LL.D.,  
Mahendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—7th January '18  
Date of succession—23rd March '38  
Area in sq. miles—5,932  
Population—1,625,520  
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,00,000  
Indian State Forces—

Combatants : Non-Combatants

1. 1st Rajindar Lancers	475	178
2. 2nd Patiala Lancers	212	85
3. War Strength 2nd P. Lrs.	60	0
4. P. H. A.	90	28
5. 1st R. S. Infantry	732	66
6. 2nd Yadavendra „	665	61
7. 3rd P. S. „	662	51
8. 4th Patiala „	662	51
9. Training Battalion	635	45
10. Patiala Transport Corps	99	33
11. S. M. Vety. Hospital	5	9
12. Army Trg. School	39	10
13. Patiala Wireless Section	46	6
14. Deputy Company	227	10
	4609	633

Salute in guns—17

**Sirmur (Nahan)**—H. H. Lt. Maharaja  
Rajendra Prakash Bdr. Maharaja of—

Date of birth—10th January '13  
Date of succession—Nov. '33  
Area in sq. miles—1,141  
Population—1,48,568  
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Head-  
quarters 5 ; Band 23 ; No. 1 Company  
142 ; No. 2 Company 155 ; State Body-  
guard Lancers 31  
Salute in guns—11

**Suket**—H. H. Raja Lakshman Sen, Raja of

Date of birth—1894  
Date of succession—13th Oct. '19  
Area in sq. miles—420  
Population—54,328  
Revenue Rs. 2,67,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

**Bashahr**—H. H. Raja Padam Singh, Raja  
of—

Date of birth—1873  
Date of succession—5th August '14  
Area in sq. miles—3,820  
Population—86,077  
Revenue—Rs. 3,34,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

### *Rajputana States*

**Alwar**—H. H. Shri Sewai Maharaj Tej  
Singhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—19th March '11  
Date of succession—22nd July '37  
Area in sq. miles—3217  
Population—7,49,751  
Revenue—About Rs. 40,00,000  
Indian State Forces—

1. Jey Paltan Infantry 865
2. Pratap Paltan Infantry 331
3. Alwar Mangal Lancers 158
4. Garrison Force 28

Salute in guns—15

**Banswara**—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal  
Sahib Shri Sir Pirthi Singhji Bahadur,  
K.C.I.E., Maharawal of—

Date of birth—15th July 1888  
Date of succession—8th January '14  
Area in sq. miles—1,946  
Population—2,99,918  
Revenue—Rs. 8,17,726  
Salute in guns—15

**Bharatpur**—Lt.-Col. H. H. Maharaja Sri  
Brajindra Sawai Sir Kiishna Singh  
Bahadur, Bahadur Jang, K.C.S.I.,  
Maharaja of—

Date of birth—4th October 1899  
Date of succession—27th August 1900  
Area in sq. miles—1,982  
Population—4,96,437  
Revenue—Rs. 34,25,000 nearly

Indian State Forces—Jaswant House-  
hold Infantry—772 ; 2nd Ram Singh's  
Own Infantry—353 ; 3rd Baretha  
Infantry—353

Salute in guns—17

**Bikaner**—General H. H. Maharajadiraj  
Rajeswar Narendra Shiromani Maha-  
rajah Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B.,  
A.-D.-C., LL.D., Maharajah of—

Date of birth—13th Oct. 1880  
Date of succession—31st Aug. 1887  
Area in sq. miles—23,317  
Population—12,93,000  
Revenue—Rs. 1,58,11,000

Indian State Forces—

- |                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Ganga Risala (Camel Corps)     | 532 |
| Sadul Light Infantry           | 773 |
| Dungar Lancers                 |     |
| (including H. H. 's Body Guard | 342 |
| Bijey Battery                  | 245 |
| Camel Battery                  | 20  |

Artillery Training Centre 158  
2nd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry 697

3rd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry 362  
 Training Battalion 413  
 Motor Machine Gun Sections 100  
 Salute in gun—Personal 19, Permanent 17,  
 Local 19

**Bundi**—His Highness Hadendra Siromani  
 Deo Sar Buland Raj Maharajadhiraj  
 Maharao Raja Sir Ishwari Singhji  
 Sahib Bahadur, G.C.I.E.  
 Date of birth—8th March 1893  
 Date of succession—8th August '27  
 Area in sq. miles—2,220  
 Population—2,49,374  
 Revenue—Rs. 16,51,000  
 Salute in guns—17

**Dholpur**—Lt. Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula  
 Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja  
 Sri Sawai Maharaj-Rana Sir Udaibhan  
 Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang  
 Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-  
 Raja of—  
 Date of birth—25th February 1893  
 Date of succession—29th March '11  
 Area in sq. miles—1,200  
 Population—2,30,183  
 Revenue—Rs. 17,50,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—  
 Dholpur Narsingh Infantry 164  
 " Sappers and Miners 75  
 Salute in guns—15

**Dungarpur**—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Mahi-  
 mahendra Maharajadhiraj Maharawal  
 Sri Lakshman Singhji Bahadur,  
 K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—  
 Date of birth—7th Mar. '08  
 Date of succession—15th Nov. '18  
 Area in sq. miles—1,460  
 Population—2,74,282  
 Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000  
 Salute in guns—15

**Jaipur**—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i  
 Hindustan Raj Rajindra Sri Maha-  
 rajadhiraja Sri Sawai Man Singh  
 Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—21st August '11  
 Date of succession—7th September '22  
 Area in sq. miles—16,682  
 Population—26,31,775  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,35,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Jaipur Infantry—772  
 Jaipur Lancers—526; Trpt. Corps—570  
 Salute in guns—17

**Jaisalmer**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Raj  
 Rajeshwar Param Bhattarak Sri  
 Maharawalji Sir Jawahir Singhji Deb  
 Bahadur Yadukul Chandrabhal  
 Rukan-ud-Daula, Muzaffar Jang,  
 Bijaimand K.C.S.I., Ruler of—  
 Date of birth—18th Nov. 1882  
 Date of succession—26th June '14  
 Area in sq. miles—16,062

Population—93,246  
 Salute in guns—15

**Jhalawar**—H. H. Dharmadivakar Praja-  
 vatsal Patit-pawn Maharaj Rana Shri  
 Sir Rajendra Singh Ji Dev Bahadur,  
 K.C.S.I., Maharaj Rana of—  
 Date of birth—15th July 1900  
 Date of succession—13th April '29  
 Area in sq. miles—813  
 Population—1,22,375  
 Salute in guns—13

**Jodhpur**—Air Commodore His Highness  
 Raj Rajeshwar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind  
 Maharajadhiraj Shri Sir Umaid Singhji  
 Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.,  
 A.D.C., I.L.D., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—8th July, '03  
 Ascended the throne—3rd October, '18  
 Area—36,071 sq. miles  
 Population—21,34,848  
 Revenue—Rs. 157,71,521  
 Indian State Forces—  
 Jodhpur Sardar Rissala—508  
 Jodhpur Training Squadron—147  
 Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, Including  
 Training Coy. (163) and State Military  
 Band (89)—864  
 2nd Jodhpur Infantry—669  
 Jodhpur Mule Troops—80  
 Fort Guard—94  
 Salute in guns—17

**Karauli**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal  
 Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal,  
 K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—18th June 1866  
 Date of succession—21st August '27  
 Area in sq. miles—1,242  
 Population—1,52,413  
 Estimated Gross Revenue—6,28,000  
 Salute in guns—17

**Kishengarh**—H. H. Umdae Rajhae  
 Baland Makan Maharajadhiraja Maha-  
 raja Sumair Singhji Sahib Bahadur,  
 (Minor) Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—27th January '29  
 Date of succession—24th April '39  
 Area in sq. miles—858  
 Population—1,04,155  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,50,000  
 Salute in guns—15

**Kotah**—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed  
 Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.,  
 Maharao of—  
 Date of birth—15th September 1872  
 Date of succession—11th June 1889  
 Area in sq. miles—5,684  
 Population—6,85,804  
 Revenue—Rs. 53'68 lacs  
 Salute in guns—19

**Pratabgarh**—H. H. Maharawat Sir Ram-  
 singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharawat of  
 Date of birth—'08

Date of succession—'29  
Area in sq. miles—889  
Population—91,967  
Revenue—Rs. 5,82,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—15

**Shahpura**—H. H. Rajadhiraj Umaid  
Singhji, Raja of—  
Date of birth—7th March 1876  
Date of succession—24th June '32  
Area in sq. miles—405  
Population—61,173  
Revenue—Rs. 3,36,762 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

**Sirohi**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Maharao  
Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. Maharao of—  
Date of birth—27th Sept. 1888  
Date of succession—29th April '20  
Area in sq. miles—1,994  
Population—2,33,870  
Revenue—Rs. 11,48,771  
Salute in guns—15

**Tonk**—H. H. Said-ud-Daula Wazir-ul-  
Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad  
Sadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowlat-i-  
Jung, G.C.I.E., Nawab of—  
Date of birth—13th February, 1879  
Date of succession—23rd June '30  
Area in sq. miles—2,553  
Population—3,53,687  
Revenue—Rs. 19,30,000 B. C. nearly  
Salute in guns—17

**Udaipur (Mewar)**—Lt.-Col. H. H. Maha-  
rajadhiraja Maharana Shri Sir Bhopal  
Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of—  
Date of birth—22nd February 1884  
Date of succession—24th May '30  
Area in sq. miles—12,753  
Population—1,925,000  
Revenue—Rs. 80,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—19

#### *Sikkim State*

**Sikkim**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi  
Namgyal, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—1893  
Date of succession—5th Dec. '14  
Area in sq. miles—2,818  
Population—81,721  
Revenue—Rs. 4,33,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—15

#### *United Provinces States*

**Benares**—H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan  
Singh Bahadur (minor), Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—5th November '27  
Date of succession—5th April, '39  
Area in sq. miles—875  
Population—451,327  
Revenue—Rs. 30,42,921 nearly  
Salute in guns—13 (Local 15)

**Rampur**—Captain H. H. Alijah Farzand-  
i-Dilpazir-i-Daulat-i-Inglisiah Mukhlis-

ud-Daula Nasir-ul-Mulk, Amir-ul-  
Umara, Nawab Sir Saiyid Muhammad  
Raza Ali Khan Bahadur Mustaid  
Jung, K.C.S.I., Nawab of—  
Date of birth—17th Nov. '06  
Date of succession—20th June '30  
Area in sq. miles—892'54  
Population—464,919  
Revenue—Rs. 51,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—15

**Tehri (Garhwal)**—Lt. Colonel H. H.  
Maharaja Narendra Shah, K.C.S.I. of—  
Date of birth—3rd Aug. 1898  
Date of succession—25th April '18  
Area in sq. miles—4,502  
Population—3,18,482  
Revenue—Rs. 18,30,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Tehri H. Q.  
Infantry and Band—100  
Tehri Pioneers Narendra—101  
" Sappers and Miners—129  
Salute in guns—11

#### *Western India States*

**Bhavnagar**—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishna-  
kumersinhji Bhavsinghji, K.C.S.I.,  
Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—19th May '12  
Date of succession—18 July '19  
Area in sq. miles—2,961  
Population—5,00,274  
Revenue—Rs. 109,68,620  
Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers  
—270 ; Bhavnagar Infantry—219  
Salute in guns—13

**Cutch**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Mirza  
Maharao Shri Sir Khengarji, Sawai  
Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharao of—  
Date of birth—23rd Aug. 1866  
Date of succession—1st Jan. 1876  
Area in sq. miles—8,249'5  
Population—5,00,800  
Revenue—Rs. 31,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—17 Perm. 19 Local

**Dhrangadhra**—Major H. H. Maharaja  
Shri Ghanshyamsinhji Ajitsinhji,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—31st May 1889  
Date of succession—February '11  
Area in sq. miles—1,167  
Population—95,946  
Revenue—Rs. 25,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—13

**Dhol**—H. H. Thakor Shaheb Shri Chan-  
drasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—  
Date of birth—26th Aug. '12  
Date of succession—20th Oct. '39  
Area in sq. miles—282'7  
Population—27,639  
Revenue—Rs. 289,281  
Salute in guns—9

**Gondal**—H. H. Maharaja Shri Bhaga-

**vatsinhji Sagramji G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,**  
**Maharaja of—**  
 Date of birth—24th Oct. 1865  
 Date of succession—14th Dec. 1869  
 Area in sq. miles—1,024  
 Population—2,05,846  
 Revenue—Rs. 50,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

**Junagadh—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir**  
**Mahabatkhanji, Rasulkhanji K.C.S.I.,**  
**G.C.I.E., Nawab of—**  
 Date of birth—2nd Aug. 1900  
 Date of succession—22nd Jan. 11  
 Area in sq. miles—3,336.9  
 Population—545,152  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,00,00,000  
 Indian State Forces—Junagadh Lancers  
 —178 ; Junagadh Mahabatkhanji  
 Infantry 201  
 Salute in guns—15

**Limbdi—Thakor Saheb Shri L. Chhatra-**  
**salsji Digvijaysinhji, Thakore Saheb of—**  
 Date of birth—19th Feb. '40  
 Date of succession—6th Jan. '41  
 Area in sq. miles—343.96  
 (exclusive of about 207 sq. miles in  
 the Collectorate of the Ahmedabad).  
 Population—44,000 nearly  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—9

**Morvi—H. H. Maharaja Shri Lakhdhirji**  
**Waghji, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—**  
 Date of birth—26th Dec. 1876  
 Date of succession—11th June '22  
 Area in sq. miles—822  
 Population—113,023  
 Revenue—Rs. 50 lacs nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

**Nawanagar—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharaja Jam**  
**Shri Sir Digvijaysinhji Ranjitsinhji**  
**Jadeja, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., A.D.C., Maha-**  
**raja Jam Sahib of—**  
 Date of birth—1st Sept. 1895  
 Date of succession—2nd April '33  
 Area in sq. miles—3,791  
 Population—5,04,006  
 Revenue—Rs. 94,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—15

**Palanpur—Lt. Colonel H. H. Nawab Shri**  
**Taley Muhammad Khan Bahadur,**  
**G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Nawab Sahib of—**  
 Date of birth—7th July 1883  
 Date of succession—28th Sept. '18  
 Area in sq. miles—1,774.64  
 Population—3,15,855  
 Revenue—Rs. 11,64,987  
 Salute in guns—13

**Palitana—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Baha-**  
**dursinhji Mansinhji, K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,**  
**Thakor Saheb of—**  
 Date of birth—3rd April '00  
 Date of succession—29th Aug. '05

Area in sq. miles—288  
 Population—62,150  
 Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—9

**Porbandar—Captain H. H. Maharaja Shri**  
**Sir Natwaisinhji Bhavsinhji, K.C.S.I.,**  
**Maharaja Rana Sahab of—**  
 Date of birth—30 June '01  
 Date of succession—10th Dec. '08  
 Area in sq. miles—642.25  
 Population—1,46,648  
 Revenue—Rs. 26,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—13

**Radhanpur—H. H. Nawab Saheb Murta-**  
**zakhan Jorawarkhan Babi Bahadur**  
**Nawab of—**  
 Date of birth—10th Oct. 1899  
 Date of succession—7th April '37  
 Area in sq. miles—1,150  
 Population—70,530  
 Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000 to 10,00,000  
 Salute in guns—11

**Rajkot—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Pradu-**  
**mnasinhji, Thakor Saheb of—**  
 Date of birth—21th Feb. '13  
 Date of succession—17th August, '40  
 Area in sq. miles—2824  
 Population—1,03,033  
 Revenue—Rs. 13,40,872 nearly  
 Salute in guns—9

**Wadhwan—H. H. Thakore Saheb Shri**  
**Surendrasinhji, Thakore Saheb of—**  
 Date of birth—4th January, '22  
 Date of succession—27th July '34  
 Area. 242.6 sq. miles excluding the  
 area in the British Indian District of  
 Ahmedabad.  
 Population—50,934  
 Revenue—Rs. 6 Lacs  
 Salute—Permanent 9 guns

**Wankaner—Captain H. H. Maharana**  
**Shri Sir Amarsinhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,**  
**Maharana Rajsaheb of—**  
 Date of birth—4th January 1879  
 Date of succession—12th June 1881  
 Area in sq. miles—417  
 Population—55,024  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,67,000  
 Salute in guns—11

## Indian States (without Salutes)

### *Baluchistan State*

**Las Bela—Mir Ghulam Muhammed**  
**Khan, Jam of—**  
 Date of birth—December 1895  
 Date of succession—March '21  
 Area in sq. miles—7,132  
 Population—50,696  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,78,000 nearly

### *Bihar & Orissa States*

**Āthgarh—Raja Sreekoran Radhanath**

**Bebarta Patnaik, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—28th Nov. '09  
 Date of succession—22nd June '18  
 Area in sq. miles—168  
 Population—55,508  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,76,000

**Athmalik—Raja Kishor Chandra Deo**  
 Date of birth—10th November '04  
 Date of succession—3rd November '18  
 Area in sq. miles—730  
 Population—59,749  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,81,000 nearly

**Bamra—Raja Bhanuganga Tribhuban Deb, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—25th Feb. '14  
 Date of succession—1st January '20  
 Area in sq. miles—1,988  
 Population—1,34,721  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,81,000 nearly

**Baramba—Raja Sree Narayan Chandra Birbar Mangraj Mahapatra, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—10th January '14  
 Date of succession—20th Aug. '22  
 Area in sq. miles—142  
 Population—52,924  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,03,000 nearly

**Baud—Raja Narayan Prasad Deo of—**  
 Date of birth—14th March '04  
 Date of succession—10th March '13  
 Area in sq. miles—1,264  
 Population—124,411  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,72,000 nearly

**Bonai—Raja Indra Deo, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—6th January 1884  
 Date of succession—19th February '02  
 Area in sq. miles—1,296  
 Population—68,178  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,36,000 nearly

**Daspalla—Raja Kishore Chandra Deo**  
 Date of birth—16th April '08  
 Date of succession—11th December '13  
 Area in sq. miles—568  
 Population—53,833  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,41,993

**Dhenkanal—Raja Sankara Mahendra Bahadur, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—5th Nov. '04  
 Date of succession—16th Oct. '18  
 Area in sq. miles—1,463  
 Population—2,33,691  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,13,000 nearly

**Gangpur—Raja Bhawani Shankar Sekhar**  
 Date of birth—14th May 1898  
 Date of succession—10th June '17  
 Area in sq. miles—2,492  
 Population—3,09,271  
 Revenue—Rs. 6,76,000 nearly

**Hindol—Raja Bahadur Naba Kishor Chandra Singh Mardraj Jagadeb, M.B.A.S., F.R.S.A., Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—14th June 1891

Date of succession—10th February '06  
 Area in sq. miles—312  
 Population—48,896  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,45,000

**Keonjhar—Raja Shri Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo, Ruler of—**  
 Date of birth—26th December '05  
 Date of succession—12th August '26  
 Area in sq. miles—3,217  
 Population—529,786  
 Revenue—Rs. 15'56 lakhs nearly

**Khandpara—Raja Harihar Singh, Mardraj Bhamabar Ray, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—26th August '14  
 Date of succession—26th December '22  
 Area in sq. miles—244  
 Population—64,289  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

**Kharsawan—Raja Sriram Chandra Singh**  
 Date of birth—4th July 1892  
 Date of succession—6th February '02  
 Area in sq. miles—157  
 Population—44,805  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,18,000 nearly

**Narsinghpur—Raja Ananta Narayan Mansingh Harichandan Mahapatra**  
 Date of birth—9th September '08  
 Date of succession—5th July '21  
 Area in sq. miles—207  
 Population—48,448  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,29,000

**Nayagarh—Raja Krishna Chandra Singh Mandhata, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—15th August '11  
 Date of succession—7th Dec. '18  
 Area in sq. miles—552  
 Population—1,61,409  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,92,210

**Nilgiri—Raja Kishore Chandra Mardraj Harichandan, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—2nd Feb. '04  
 Date of succession—6th July '13  
 Area in sq. miles—284  
 Population—73,109  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,14,589

**Pal Lahara—Raja Muni Pal, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—26th November '03  
 Date of succession—18th April '13  
 Area in sq. miles—452  
 Population—23,789  
 Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

**Rairakhol—Raja Bir Chandra Jadumani**  
 Date of birth—1894  
 Date of succession—3rd July '06  
 Area in sq. miles—833  
 Population—31,225  
 Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

**Ranpur—Raja Birbar Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—About 1887  
 Date of succession—12th July 1899



Area in sq. miles—203

Population—41,282

Revenue—Rs. 65,000

**Seraikella**—Raja Aditya Pratap Singh

Deo, Ruler of—

Date of birth—30th July, 1887

Date of succession—9th Dec. '31

Area in sq. miles—449

Population—156,374

Revenue—Rs. 418,000 nearly

**Talcher**—Raja Kishore Chandra Birbar

Harichandan, Raja of—

Date of birth—9th June 1880

Date of succession—18th December 1891

Area in sq. miles—399

Population—86,482

Revenue—Rs. 8,97,668 gross

*Maratha States—(Bombay Presy)*

**Akalkot**—Meherban Shrimant Vijayasingh

Fatehsingh, Raja Bhonsle, Raja of—

Date of birth—13th Dec. '15

Date of succession—4th April '23

Area in sq. miles—498

Population—92,605

Revenue—Rs. 7,58,000 nearly

**Aundh**—Meherban Bhavanrao alias Bala

Sahib, Pant Pratinidhi of—

Date of birth—24th Oct. 1868

Date of succession—4th November '09

Area in sq. miles—501

Population—88,762

Revenue—Rs. 3,38,278-12-1

**Phaltan**—Major Raja Shrimant Malojirao

Mudhojirao alias Nana Saheb Naik

Nimbalkar, Raja of—

Date of birth—11th September 1896

Date of succession—17th October '16

Area in sq. miles—397

Population—58,761

Revenue—Rs. 8,56,000

**Jath**—Lt. Raja Shrimant Vijayasinghrao

Ramrao Daffe, Raja of—

Date of birth—21st July '09

Date of succession—14th August '28

Area in sq. miles—981

Population—91,099

Revenue—Rs. 4,24,000

**Jamkhandi**—Meherban Shankarrao

Parashramrao alias Appasaheb

Patwardhan, Raja Saheb of—

Date of birth—5th Nov. '06

Date of succession—25th Feb. '24

Area in sq. miles—524

Population—1,14,282

Revenue—Rs. 10,06,715

**Kurundwad (Senior)**—Meherban Chinta-

manrao Bhalchandrao alias Balasaheb

Patwardhan, Chief of—

Date of birth—13th Feb. '21

Date of succession—10th September '27

Area in sq. miles—182'5

Population—88,760

Revenue—Rs. 3,76,000 nearly

**Kurundwad (Jr.)**—Meherban Madhavrao

Ganpatro alias Bhausaheb Patwar-

dhan, Chief of—

Date of birth—6th Dec. 1875

Date of succession—29th July 1899

Area in sq. miles—114

Population—34,288

Revenue—Rs. 2,88,000 nearly

**Miraj (Sr)**—Narayanrao Gangadharrao

alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan,

Chief of—

Date of birth—6th September 1898

Date of succession—11th Dec. '39

Area in sq. miles—342

Population—93,938

Revenue—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

**Miraj (Jr)**—Meherban Sir Madhavrao

Harihar alias Baba Saheb Patwardhan,

K.C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—4th March 1889

Date of succession—16th Dec. 1899

Area in sq. miles—196½

Population—40,686

Revenue—Rs. 3,68,515 nearly

**Ramdurg**—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao

alias Rao Saheb Bhawe, Chief of—

Date of birth—16th Sept. 1896

Date of succession—30th April '07

Area in sq. miles—169

Population—33,997

Revenue—Rs. 2,69,000 nearly

**Savanur**—Captain Meherban Abdul

Majid Khan, Diler Jang Bahadur,

Nawab of—

Date of birth—7th Oct. 1890

Date of succession—30th January 1893

Area in sq. miles—70

Population—16,830

Revenue—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

*Mahi-Kantha States*

**Ghodasar**—Thakor Shri Fatehsinghji

Ratansinji Dabhi, Thakor Saheb of—

Date of birth—7th August '09

Date of succession—31st May '30

Area in sq. miles—16

Population—6,708

Revenue—Rs. 51,000

**IloI**—Thakor Shivsinghji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—31st Dec. '10

Date of succession—18th Oct. '27

Area in sq. miles—19

Population—3,349

Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

**Katosan**—Thakor Takhatsinbji Karan-

sinbji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—9th Dec. 1870

Date of succession—January '01

Area in sq. miles—10

Population—4,818

Revenue—Rs. 51,000 nearly

**Khadal**—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Raj-sinhji, Thakor Shri of—

Date of birth—1899

Date of succession—7th February '12

Area in sq. miles—8

Population—2,825

Revenue—Rs. 35,000 nearly

**Malpur**—Raolji Shri Gambhirsinhji Himatsinhji—

Date of birth—27th Oct. '14

Date of succession—23rd June '23

Area in sq. miles—97

Population—16,582

Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 approx

**Pethapur**—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhir-sinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—3rd Oct. 1895

Date of succession—1896

Area in sq. miles—11

Population—3,938

Revenue—Rs. 34,000 (nearly)

**Varsoda**—Thakor Joravarsinhji of—

Date of birth—17th April '14

Date of succession—18th July '19

Area in sq. miles—11

Population—3,424

Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

**Vijayanagar**—Rao Shri Hamir-sinhji,

Date of birth—3rd January '04

Date of succession—27th June '16

Area in sq. miles—135

Population—12,000 (approx)

Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

#### *Rewa Kantha States*

**Bhadarwa**—Shrimant Thakur Saheb Shree Natvarsinghji Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—19th November '03

Date of succession—26th April '35

Area in sq. miles—27 (excluding several Wanta villages under Baroda State)

Population—13,520

Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

**Jambugodha**—Meherban Rana Shri Ranjitsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakore Saheb of—Parmar Rajput. He enjoys full Civil and Criminal powers.

Date of birth—4th January 1892

Date of succession—27th September '17

Area in sq. miles—143

Population—11,385

Revenue—Rs. 142,000/-

**Kadana**—Rana Shri Chatrasalji, Thakor of,

Date of birth—28th January 1879

Date of succession—12th April 1889

Area in sq. miles—130

Population—15,370

Revenue—Rs. 1,32,000 nearly

**Nasvadi**—Thakor Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—24th March '05

Date of succession—13th Sept. '27

Area in sq. miles—1950

Population—4,197

Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

**Palasni**—Thakor Indarsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—16th Aug. 1885

Date of succession—30th May '07

Area in sq. miles—12

Population—1,766

Revenue—Rs. 22,000 nearly

**Sihora**—Thakor Mansinhjee Karansinhjee,

Date of birth—4th November '07

Date of succession—13th June '28

Area in sq. miles—19 (approx)

Population—5300

Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

**Uchad**—Thakor Mohomadnia Jitabawa.

Date of birth—15th October 1895

Date of succession—24th June '15

Area in sq. Miles—8'50

Population—2,330

Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

**Umetha**—Thakor Ramsinhji Raisinhji,

Date of birth—19th August 1894

Date of succession—1st July '22

Area in sq. miles—24

Population—5,355

Revenue—Rs. 73,000 nearly

#### *Central India States*

**Alipura**—Rao Harpal Singh, Rao of—

Date of birth—12th Aug. 1882

Date of succession—26th March '22

Area in sq. miles—73

Population—14,580

Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

**Bakhtgarh**—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of

Date of birth—3rd October 1889

Date of succession—30th May '12

Area in sq. miles—66

Population—10,414

Revenue—Rs. 74,000 nearly

**Garauli**—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan Singh, chief of—

Date of birth—2nd April 1883

Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883

Area in sq. miles—31

Population—4,965

Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

**Jobat**—Rana Bhimsing, Rana of—

Date of birth—10th November '15

Date of succession—20th May '17

Date of getting Ruling Powers—14th March '36

Area in sq. miles—131,20

Population—20 945

Revenue—Rs. 81,550/-

**Kachhi-Baroda**—Maharaj Benimadho Singh

Date of birth—4th October '04

Date of succession—13th June '06

Area in sq. miles—34,53

Population—5000  
Revenue—Rs. 71000/-

**Kathiwar**—Rana Thakur Sahib  
Onkarsinhji, Rana of—

Date of birth—5th December 1891  
Date of succession—8th June, '03  
Area in sq. miles—70  
Population—6096  
Revenue—Rs. 44,880

**Kothi**—Raja Bahadur Sitaraman Pratap

Bahadur Singh, Raja of—  
Date of birth—26th July 1892  
Date of succession—8th August '14  
Area in sq. miles—169  
Population—20,087  
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

**Kurwai**—Nawab Sarwar Ali Khan of—

Date of birth—1st December '01  
Date of succession—2nd October '06  
Area in sq. miles—142  
Population—19,851  
Revenue—Rs. 2,64,000 nearly

**Mota Barkhera**—Bhumia Nain Singh of—

Date of birth—7th November '07  
Date of succession—4th June '12  
Area in sq. miles—39  
Population—4,782  
Revenue—Rs. 53,000 nearly

**Multhan**—Dharmalankar, Dharm-bhushan.

Dharm-Divaker, Shreeman Maharaj  
Bharat Sinhi Sahib, Chief of—  
Date of birth—1893

Date of succession—26th August '01  
Area in sq. miles—100  
Population—11,804  
Revenue—Over Rs. 1,00,000

**Nimkhera**—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia

Date of birth—'11  
Date of succession—27th March '22  
Area in sq. miles—90  
Population—5,358  
Revenue—Rs. 62,000 nearly

**Paldeo**—Chaubey Shiva Prasad, Jagirdar of

Date of birth—1st March '08  
Date of succession—3rd Oct. '23  
Area in sq. miles—53.14  
Population—9,038  
Revenue—Rs. 50,000 nearly

**Piploda**—Rawat Mangal Singh, Rawat of

Date of birth—7th September 1893  
Date of succession—5th Nov. '19  
Area in square miles—35  
Population—9,766  
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

**Sarila**—Raja Mahipal Singh, Raja of—

Date of succession—11th Sep. 1898  
Area in square miles—35.28  
Population—6,081  
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

**Sarwan**—Thakur Mahendra Singh

Date of birth—6th November '09

Date of succession—23rd April '21

Area in sq. miles—71

Population—7,199

Revenue—Rs. 60,000 nearly

**Sohawal**—Raja Bhagwat Raj Bahadur

Singh, C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—7th August 1878  
Date of succession—23rd Nov. 1899  
Area in square miles—213  
Population—38,078  
Revenue—Rs. 1,04,000 nearly

**Tori Fatehpur**—Dewan Raghuraj Singh,

Jagirdar of—

Date of birth—28.1.1895  
Date of succession—7.4.'41  
Area in square miles—36  
Population—6,269  
Revenue—Rs. 31,000 nearly

#### *Central Provinces States*

**Bastar**—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo

Date of birth—25th June '29  
Date of succession—28th Feb. '36  
Area in square miles—13,725  
Population—6,34,915  
Revenue—Rs. 13,20,699

**Chhuikhadan**—Mahant Bhudhar Kishore

Das of—

Date of birth—April 1891  
Date of succession—30th Sept. '03  
Area in sq. miles—154  
Population—26,141  
Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

**Jashpur**—Raja Bijay Bhushan Singh Deo

Date of birth—11th Jan. '26  
Date of succession—8th Feb. '26  
Area in sq. miles—1,923  
Population—2,23,632  
Revenue—Rs. 3,62,342

**Kanker**—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap

Deo, Chief of—

Date of birth—17th September '22  
Date of succession—8th Jan. '25  
Area in sq. miles—1,429  
Population—1,22,928  
Revenue—Rs. 3,88,000

**Kawardha**—Thakur Dharmraj Singh

Chief of—

Date of birth—18th August '10  
Date of succession—4th Feb. '20  
Area in sq. miles—805  
Population—72,820  
Revenue—Rs. 2,93,175 nearly

**Khairagarh**—Raja Birendra Bahadur

Singh, Raja of—

Date of birth—9th November '14  
Date of succession—22nd October '18  
Area in sq. miles—931  
Population—157,400  
Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly

**Korea**—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo,

Raja of—

Date of birth—8th December '31  
 Date of succession—November '09  
 Area in sq. miles—1,647  
 Population—90,500  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,00,199

**Makrai**—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai of  
 Date of birth—24th September '04  
 Date of succession—30th October '18  
 Area in sq. miles—155  
 Population—12,803  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly

**Nandgaon**—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—  
 Date of birth—30th March '06  
 Date of succession—24th June '13  
 Area in sq. miles—871  
 Population—1,47,919  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000

**Raigarh**—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of  
 Date of birth—19th August '05  
 Date of succession—23rd August '24  
 Area in Sq. miles—1486  
 Population—2,41,634  
 Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly

**Sakti**—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—3rd Feb. 1892  
 Date of succession—4th July '14  
 Area in sq. miles—138  
 Population—41,595  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly

**Sarangarh**—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh,  
 Date of birth—3rd Dec. 1888  
 Date of succession—5th Aug. 1890  
 Area in sq. miles—540  
 Population—1,17,781  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly

**Surgeja**—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh  
 Deo C.B.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—4th Nov. 1895  
 Date of succession—31st Dec. '17  
 Area in sq. miles—6,055  
 Population—5,51,307  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,58,500 nearly

**Udaipur**—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad  
 Singh Deo, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—5th June '23  
 Date of succession—8th Dec. '27  
 Area in sq. miles—1,052  
 Population—71,124  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,12,000

#### *Madras State*

**Sandur**—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao  
 Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao  
 Ghorapade, Mamlukatmadar Senapati,  
 Raja of—  
 Date of birth—15th November '08  
 Date of succession—5th May '28  
 Area in sq. miles—167  
 Population—11,684  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000 nearly

#### *Punjab States*

**Dujana**—Jalal-ud-Daula Nawab Mohammad

**Iqtidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaqil-**  
 i-Jan, Nawab of—

Date of birth—20th Nov. '12  
 Date of succession—21st July '25  
 Area in sq. miles—100  
 Population—25,833  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,65,000 nearly

**Kalsia**—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib  
 Bahadur, Raja Sahib of—  
 Date of birth—30th October '02  
 Date of succession—25th July '08  
 Date of investiture with } 6th April '22  
 full ruling powers: }  
 Area in sq. miles—192  
 Population—59,848  
 Revenue—Nearly Rs. 3,50,000

**Patandi**—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali  
 Khan, Bahadur, Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—17th March '10  
 Date of succession—30th Nov. '17  
 Area in sq. miles—53  
 Population—18,097  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,40,000 nearly

#### *Simla Hill States*

**Baghal**—Raja Surendra Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—14th March '09  
 Date of succession—13th Oct. '22  
 Area in sq. miles—124  
 Population—25,099  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

**Baghat**—Raja Durga Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—15th Sept. '01  
 Date of succession—30th Dec. 1941  
 Area in sq. miles—36  
 Population—9,595  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 nearly

**Bhaji**—Rana Birpal, Rana of—  
 Date of birth—19th April '06  
 Date of succession—9th May '13  
 Area in sq. miles—96  
 Population—14,263  
 Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

**Jubbal**—Rana Sir Bhagat Chandra Bahadur  
 K.C.S.I., Ruler of—  
 Date of birth—12th Oct. 1888  
 Date of succession—29th April '10  
 Area in sq. miles—288  
 Population—28,500  
 Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000 nearly

**Keonthal**—Raja Hemendar Sen, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—21st January '05  
 Date of succession—2nd Feb. '16  
 Area in sq. miles—116  
 Population—25,599  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

**Kumharsain**—Rana Vidyadhar Singh,  
 Date of birth—1895  
 Date of succession—24th August '14  
 Area in sq. miles—97  
 Population—12,227  
 Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

**Nalagarh**—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—  
Date of birth—1870  
Date of succession—18th Sept. '11  
Area in sq. miles—256  
Population—52,737  
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly

**Tiroch**—Thakur Surat Singh, of—  
Date of birth—4th July 1887  
Date of succession—14th July '02  
Area in sq. miles—75  
Population—4,219  
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

*Western India States*

**Bajana**—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan,  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—6th December '07  
Date of succession—2nd Feb. '20  
Area in sq. miles—183.12  
Population—14,017  
Revenue—Rs. 1,82,424 average

**Bantwa-Manavadar**—Babi Ghulam  
Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji,  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—22nd December '11  
Date of succession—October '18  
Area in sq. miles—221.8  
Population—14,984  
Revenue—Rs. 5,46,000 nearly

**Chuda**—Thakor Shri Bahadursinhji  
Joravarsinhji, Thakur of—  
Date of birth—23rd April '09  
Date of succession—20th January '21  
Area in sq. miles—78.2  
Population—11,333  
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly

**Jasdan**—Darbar Shree Ala Khachar,  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—4th November '05  
Date of succession—11th June '19  
Area in sq. miles—296  
Population—36,632  
Revenue—Rs. 6,00,000 nearly

**Kotda-Sangani**—Thakore Shri Pradyumna-  
sinhji  
Date of birth—5th December '20  
Date of succession—23-2-30  
Date of Installation—10-12-40  
Area in sq. miles—90  
Population—12,165  
Revenue—Rs. 1,50,000 nearly

**Lakhtar**—Thakore Saheb Shri Balavir-  
sinhji, Karansinhji, Thakor Saheb of—  
Date of birth—11th January 1881  
Date of succession—8th August '24  
Area in sq. miles—247.438  
Population—21,123  
Revenue—Rs. 4,49,000

**Lathi**—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadsinhji,  
Thakor of—

Date of birth—31st March '12  
Date of succession—14th October '18  
Area in sq. miles—41.8  
Population—8,35  
Revenue—Rs. 1,86,000

**Malia**—Thakor Shri Raisinhji Modji, of—  
Date of birth—14th February 1808  
Date of succession—20th Oct. '07  
Area in sq. miles—103  
Population—12,660  
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000

**Muli**—Thakor Shri Harichandrasinhji, of—  
Date of birth—10th July 1899  
Date of succession—3rd December '05  
Area in sq. miles—133.2  
Population—16,390  
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000 nearly

**Patdi**—Desai Shri Raghuversinhji, of—  
Date of birth—8th Jan. '26  
Date of succession—25th Oct. '28  
Area in sq. miles—39.4  
Population—2,508  
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

**Sayla**—Thakore Saheb Shri Madarsinhji,  
Vakhatsinhji, Thakore Saheb of—  
Date of birth—28th May 1868  
Date of succession—25th Jan. '24  
Area in sq. miles—222.1  
Population—13,351  
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000

**Thana Devli**—Darbar Shri Vala Amra  
Laxman, Chief of—  
Date of birth—28th Nov. 1895  
Date of succession—12 Oct. '22  
Area in sq. miles—94.21  
Population—11,348  
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly

**Tharad**—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji  
Thakore of—  
Date of birth—28th Jan. '00  
Date of succession—19th Feb. '21  
Area in sq. miles—1,260.2  
Population—52,839  
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

**Vadia**—Darbar Shree Suragwala Saheb  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—15th March '05  
Date of succession—7th Sept. '30  
Area in sq. miles—90  
Population—13,749  
Revenue—Rs. about 2 lacs

**Zainabad**—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed  
Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—  
Date of birth—21st June '17  
Date of succession—26th January '23  
Area in sq. miles—30  
Population—3,456  
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly

# ALL-INDIA POPULATION FIGURES 1941

The all-India population discovered at the recent census was 388·8 millions as on March 1, 1941. The corresponding 1931 figure was 338·1 millions, representing an increase of 15 per cent. The level of increase in British India is 15·2 per cent and in the States and Agencies 14·3 per cent. The picture is one of general increase, rather higher in British India than in the States and only in part of Baluchistan and a few minor States is a decrease recorded.††

The rate of increase is particularly marked in cities, *i.e.*, towns with not less than 100,000 inhabitants. The number of such towns has appreciably increased from 1931 while the individual increase rates vary from just below 11 per cent to almost a 100 in the case of Cawnpore, which has nearly doubled itself in the decade.

The following table gives the population of provinces, Indian States and Agencies for 1941 and 1931 and also figures of literacy for 1941 :—††

AREA	Population		Increase or decrease per cent.	Literate persons. 1941
	Persons 1941	Persons 1931		
PROVINCES.	388,800	338,119	+ 15·0	47,322·7
	295,827	256,755	+ 15·2	37,016·2
	49,342	44,205	+ 11·6	6,420·9
	20,858	17,992	+ 15·9	4,067·8
	60,314	50,116	+ 20·3	9,720·4
	55,021	48,409	+ 13·6	4,653·3
	40,906	35,614	+ 15·1	3,731·8
	14,114	12,795	+ 10·4	921·5
	28,419	23,581	+ 20·4	3,665·7
	...	...	...	...
1 Madras	...	...	...	...
2 Bombay	...	...	...	...
3 Bengal	...	...	...	...
4 United Provinces	...	...	...	...
Agra	...	...	...	...
Oudh	...	...	...	...
5 Punjab	...	...	...	...

†† All Figures are in thousands.

	AREA	Population		Increase or decrease, per cent.	Literate persons, 1941
		Persons 1941	Persons 1931		
6	Bihar	36,340	32,371	+12.3	3,339.7
	Bihar	28,324	25,729	+12.0	2,685.8
	Chota Nagpur	7,516	6,642	+13.1	653.9
7	Central Provinces & Berar	16,322	15,323	+ 9.8	1,909.7
	Central Provinces	13,220	11,881	+11.3	1,352.8
	Berar	3,602	3,442	+ 4.6	556.9
8	Assam	10,205	8,623	+18.2	1,174.3
9	North-West Frontier Province			+25.2	233.9
10	Orissa	3,038	2,425	+ 8.8	948.2
11	Sind	8,729	8,026	+16.7	473.8
12	Ajmer-Merwara	4,537	3,887	+15.1	97.0
13	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	584	507	+15.6	6.9
	Andaman Islands	34	29	+11.8	...
	Nicobar Islands	31	19	+22.5	...
14	Baluchistan	13	10	+ 8.2	52.3
15	Coorg	502	464	+ 3.3	34.6
16	Delhi	169	163	+44.1	235.7
		917	636		
	STATES & AGENCIES.	92,973	81,367	+ 14.3	10,306.5
17	Assam States	725	626	+15.9	57.4
18	Baluchistan States	356	405	-12.1	8.1
19	Baroda State	2,855	2,448	+16.6	656.8
20	Bengal States	2,142	1,863	+14.9	137.5
21	Central India Agency	7,502	6,648	+12.8	525.4
22	Chattisgarh State	4,054	3,548	+14.2	157.6
23	Cochin State	1,423	1,205	+18.1	504.1
24	Deccan (and Kolhapur) States	2,786	2,458	+13.4	364.5

AREA	Population		Increase or decrease. per cent.	Literate persons. 1941
	Persons 1941	Persons 1931		
25 Gujarat States	1,457	1,265	+15.2	119.2
26 Gwalior State	3,992	3,523	+13.3	296.8
27 Hyderabad State	16,184	14,436	+12.1	1,111.2
28 Kashmir State (including Feudatories)	4,021	3,646	+10.3	264.2
Kashmir	3,945	3,582	+10.1	263.0
Frontier Ilagas in Gilgit	76	64	+18.2	1.2
29 Madras States*	499	453	+10.0	66.1
30 Mysore State	7,329	6,557	+11.8	896.4
31 North-West Frontier Province †	2,378	2,259	+5.3	19.2
32 Orissa States	3,025	2,683	+12.7	268.9
33 Punjab States	5,459	4,497	+21.4	334.8
34 Punjab Hill States	1,094	990	+10.5	80.8
35 Rajputana Agency	13,870	11,571	+18.1	772.5
36 Sikkim State	122	110	+10.9	5.9
37 Travancore State	6,070	5,096	+19.1	2,894.4
38 United Provinces States (Rampur & Benares)	928	856	+8.3	57.6
39 Western India States Agency	4,901	4,222	+16.1	717.2

† Agencies and Tribal areas.

\* Pudukota, Banganapalle and Sandur.



# Hindu & Muslim Population in Provinces & States

## CONGRESS PROVINCES

Provinces	Muslims.	Hindus.
Madras ... ..	3,305,937	41,277,370
Bombay ... ..	1,583,259	15,602,932
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh ...	7,181,927	40,905,586
Bihar (including Chota Nagpur) ...	4,140,327	25,915,043
Orissa ... ..	124,463	5,096,431
C. P. & Berar ... ..	682,854	13,338,223
N. W. F. P. ... ..	2,227,303	142,977
Total ... ..	19,246,070	142,278,562

## NON-CONGRESS PROVINCES

Provinces	Muslims.	Hindus.
Bengal ... ..	27,497,624	21,570,407
Punjab ... ..	13,332,460	6,328,588
Total ... ..	40,830,084	27,898,995

Assam and Sind, strictly speaking, are not Congress Provinces, though in Assam there is a Hindu majority in the population. The population of the two Provinces is noted below.

Provinces.	Muslims.	Hindus.
Assam ... ..	2,755,914	4,931,760
Sind ... ..	2,830,800	1,016,704
Total ... ..	5,586,714	5,948,464
INDIAN STATES		
Total population ... ..	10,657,100	61,467,100
Population under non-Muslim Rulers...	7,364,600	47,204,200
Population under Muslim Rulers ...	3,292,500	14,262,900

# Chronicle of Events

January 1942

Repercussions continued unabated not only in India but even in England, with respect to the retirement of Mahatma Gandhi from active participation in Indian politics. The London *Times* remarked: "Whatever objections the Congress may still sustain to co-operation with the Government, or whatever conditions they may seek to attach to a new line of action, they no longer base their policy upon unresisting Pacifism". Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement declared: "The simple meaning of the Bardoli resolution is that Mr. Gandhi now does not want to carry on Satyagraha on behalf of the Congress. He wants to carry on Satyagraha against war on the ground of non-violence only, and only with those Congressmen whom he finds to be well up to his standard." Mahatma Gandhi himself explained his attitude by saying, "My being relieved of the direction of Congress Civil disobedience does not reduce my responsibility, but increases it manifold. For one thing, my official disconnection with the Congress itself increases my detachment, but since detachment never means indifference, my attachment to every Congressmen increases and I must speak to him more than before."

The All-India Congress Committee concluded its session at Wardha after passing the Bardoli Resolution and endorsing the instructions issued by the Congress Working Committee to Congressmen on constructive programme.

Mahatma Gandhi declared that his successor was not Mr. Rajagopalachari or Sardar Patel but Pandit Jawharlal Nehru.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and twelve other Liberal politicians sent a cable to Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Premier, suggesting the urgency for immediate action regarding the Indian policy.

The Government of India issued two ordinances which gave wide powers to the Government to deal with conditions arising from enemy attack.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha along with other Hindu leaders, was released from jail.—The Government of Bihar issued a Press communique re: the Bhagalpur session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

Sir Akbar Hydari, Member, Governor General's Executive Council died in New Delhi.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made a statement in the House of Commons that the resolutions of various political parties in India and statements by leaders contained no satisfactory response to the Viceroy's appeal for unity.

The Government of India issued orders to release Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriq, the Khaksar leader on account of instructing his followers to abandon the militant side of the Khaksar movement for the duration of the war.

Mr V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement

on the A. I. C. C. decision said: "I am surprised to find why the Government should so stubbornly refuse to respond to the overtures of the Congress which it has been making overtly and covertly ever since the Poona resolution.

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the Jubilee Convocation of the Benares University. In his address, Mahatmaji paid a tribute to the work of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and deprecated the tendency of Persianising Urdu and Sanskritising Hindi. He expressed disappointment at the predominance of English even at the Benares University.

The 'Independence Day' was observed throughout India in accordance with the instructions of the A. I. C. C. on the 26th. January.—In Calcutta Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, addressing a meeting said that they had gathered there to take the 'Independence Pledge' anew. About 12 years ago they had announced at Lahore that the aim of the Congress was the securing of complete independence for India and since then they had been taking this pledge every year on January 26.

- 1st. The *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial on the Congress Working Committee's resolution said: "Mr. Gandhi has asked the Working Committee of the Congress to release him from his leadership and the Committee has agreed. If, therefore, the Congress has any idea of considering fresh negotiations with the Government it is freed from what was a false position."

The *London Times* commenting on Mahatma Gandhi's relinquishment of the leadership of the Congress, in an editorial said that not all the implications of the event were clear, but it could be verily said to have clarified the political situation in one aspect. "Whatever objections the Congress may still sustain to co-operation with the Government, or whatever conditions they may seek to attach to a new line of action, they no longer base their policy upon unresisting Pacifism, which has been Mr. Gandhi's recent reply to the grave menace with which the German and now Japanese aggression has confronted India. To that extent the complication which has always been present while Mr. Gandhi led the Congress has been removed. On the British side, there should be certainly every readiness to meet half-way all claims which take full account both of the stern realities of the Indian Military situation, and of the British undertakings to open a full share of responsibility to India's political leaders."

Mr. Churchill speaking at a Conference of American and British Pressmen at Ottawa, said that he would not comment on Mr. Gandhi's withdrawal from the All-India Congress as he was out of touch with that particular matter at the moment. At another stage, he said that he did not wish to interfere with domestic problems of the Great Dominions though he thought that "we were more united in this war than we were last time."

General Wavell in a New Year Broadcast declared: "We can look back on 1941 with satisfaction in spite of some losses and set-backs. The balance is very definitely in our favour."

- 2nd. Two Ordinances issued by the Government of India gave wide powers to Government to deal with conditions arising from enemy attack.—The first Ordinance empowered provincial Governments to declare that in specified areas the following offences would be punishable with death or whipping as an alternative to the existing penalties: looting, arson, causing grievous hurt with dangerous weapon, sabotage and rape. The second Ordinance, the special Courts Ordinance, enabled provincial Governments to set up special courts in any area in which a special emergency had arisen as a result of an enemy attack on India or a neighbouring country. The said courts would be given special powers to deal quickly and summarily with certain offences which the provincial Government might specify.

The *New Statesman and Nation* wrote from London: "The impact of the war on the Congress and the retirement of Mr. Gandhi are events of the greatest interest and significance. We hope that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery will not once again let the opportunity slip by being content to plead the still unresolved conflict between the Hindus and the Moslems."

The *Spectator* said that the resignation of Mr. Gandhi from the leadership of the All-India Congress was an event of note. The acceptance of his resignation by the Congress Working Committee showed that the Congress had not closed the door of active co-operation in the effort.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress at a Press Conference in Bombay said: "Before proceeding to Bardoli to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee, I had said in a speech at Bombay that nothing had happened during the last 14 months to warrant a change in the attitude of the Congress vis-a-vis the present war: after the conclusion of the deliberations of the Working Committee I must repeat the same thing."

The Government of Bihar issued a press communique re: the Bhagalpur session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, stating, "there has been a considerable volume of ill-informed criticism and comment, both in the public press and elsewhere, of the action taken by the Bihar Government in prohibiting the session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur during the Christmas holidays. In view of these continued misrepresentations of this action, His Excellency the Governor deems it necessary to release with the consent of Mr Savarkar the correspondence which passed between himself and the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in regard to the Bhagalpur session and to explain the setting in which it took place."

At the All-India Women's Conference at Cocanada with Mr. V. L. Pandit in the chair, several resolutions touching the welfare of the Indian women were passed.

3rd. The 12th. Land Mortgage Banks' Conference was held in Madras. Mr. T. Austin, Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, opened the Conference. Mr. T. A. Ramlingam Chettiar, President of the Madras Co-operative Central Land Mortgage Bank, welcomed the delegates. He said: "All parties in the country will co-operate with the Government and put forth their efforts to the utmost if only the Government will make Indians themselves responsible for the Government of the country and the war effort."

His Excellency the Viceroy when he laid the foundation stone of a Home for Indian Seamen at Behala, Calcutta paid a tribute to the magnificent courage, loyalty and devotion of Indian seamen and the part they were playing in India's war effort.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement made at Bombay, said: "Mr. Gandhi said that for him it was no more a question of meeting them half way or finding a formula on which they could agree. The question before him was whether we were prepared to take up the position that the Congress would not participate in the present war on the ground of non-violence alone. We found ourselves unable to go so far despite our utmost desire to do so."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting in Bombay, declared, "We have no sympathy with Hitler. We are under no delusion that he will give us our freedom. We know that our freedom cannot be a gift either from Britain or from Hitler."

Dr. Rajendra Prosad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Acharya J. B. Kripalani and Dr. Profulla Ghosh, issued a statement to the Press from Bombay, saying. "In his letter addressed to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on December 30 last, Mr. Gandhi mentioned that most of the members of the Congress Working Committee differed from his interpretation of the Bombay resolution. This is a fact and the Bardoli deliberations have cleared the position. Mr. Gandhi in a statement to the Press, made soon after the passing of the resolution of the Working Committee, has also pointed out that there are three schools of thought on the issue of war."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and twelve other Liberal politicians sent a cable to Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Premier, suggesting the urgency for immediate action regarding the Indian policy. They suggested *inter alia* the conversion and expansion of the Central Executive Council into a truly National Government consisting entirely of non-officials of all recognised parties and communities and in charge of all portfolios subject to responsibility to the Crown.

Mr. Yusuf Meher Ally, General Secretary of the All India Congress Socialist Party, was arrested at Lahore for defiance of the order of the Punjab Government.

4th. The 2nd. Political Conference of Madras Fourth Circle Congress Committee was

held in Madras. Mr. S. Satyamurti was in the chair. Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit opened the conference.—The conference passed a resolution welcoming the Bardoli decision.

Sri J. P. Srivastava, president of the Agra and Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabha, in a statement commenting on the Bihar Government's action at Bhagalpur, said at Lucknow : "I earnestly appeal to the Viceroy not to allow the Provincial satraps to do anything, in the name of law and order, which would irrevocably alienate in this hour of supreme crisis the sympathy and support of the Agra and Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabha."

The Government of Bihar, in a communique, issued from Patna, announced their decision to release from custody on the morning of January 5, all persons who were under detention in connexion with demonstrations made by the Hindu Mahasabha in Bihar.

The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee met at Lahore,—Mian Iftikaruddin presided. The Committee discussed the internal situations with special reference to the decisions of the All-India Congress Working Committee.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, addressing the Conference of City Fourth Circle Congress Committee in Madras, expressed the view that the Congress wished to make it perfectly clear that it would extend full help to Britain, notwithstanding its adherence to non-violence, if Britain would do the right thing by India. The offer of help had been repeatedly made and the blame for rejecting it would lie certainly not at India's door.

The third party of trainees from India was entertained at a luncheon in London by the British Council. Mr. Lal, acting High Commissioner for India, was present.

5th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier broadcasting from Calcutta, emphasized the vital importance of taking shelter in case of an air raid.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a statement to the *Daily Herald* on Dr. Edward Thompson's appeal to him, said : "In India and elsewhere the pace of events during the past two years has made a tremendous difference to people's minds and none of us, even if we so willed, can ignore this solid background of reality".

The *New York Herald-Tribune*, in a leading article, headed, "Gandhi steps aside," said : "Friends of India note with relief that the National Congress Party is now reaching towards a policy of co-operation with Britain in the war effort. That the Congress responds thus to the logic of events may herald better times for India, once the war aggressors have been put down."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, was released from the Gaya Central Jail, where he was detained for eleven days in connexion with the Bhagalpur session of the Mahasabha.

The Working Committee of the Delhi Provincial Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution taking exception to the Communique issued by the Bihar Government, justifying their action in banning the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur.

Mahatma Gandhi addressing a meeting of the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee and Congress workers in Gujrat declared : "Whatever be my opinion, you must exercise your full judgment in this matter."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Bhai Paramanand, Padamraj Jain, Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, Mr. Ashutosh Lahiry and other workers of the Hindu Mahasabha, numbering about 400, were also released from the Central Jail at Bhagalpur.

The President of the India League in America, Jagjid Singh, sent a message to Mr. Churchill from New York stating : We have been gratified at the recent news from India that the Indian Congress is contemplating a reorientation of its policy and preparing to join the war efforts in India. We are in full accord with the steps suggested to you by our compatriots in India."

A communique issued by the Government of Bengal stated : "The Government are determined so far as it lies in their power now to root out profiteering with a firm hand, at any rate in respect of the necessities of life."

7th. Mr. G. S. Bozman, Secretary, Indians Overseas Department at a Press Conference in New Delhi, explained the arrangements proposed to be made to obtain information about Indians in attacked or occupied areas in the Far East.

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement from Bardoli pointed out *inter alia* : "As far as may be I have been endeavouring to study the internal and external reactions to the Working Committee resolution. My being relieved of the direction of Con-

gress civil disobedience does not reduce my responsibility, but increases it manifold. For one thing my official disconnection with the Congress itself increases my detachment but since detachment never means indifference, my attachment to every Congressman increases, and I must speak to him more than before."

Raja Maheswar Doyal, after his release from Bhagalpur said at Lucknow : "This crowning act of folly and short-sightedness was a blessing in disguise, because while it exposed the nakedness of Government's onslaught on the elementary civil rights of the most important community in India, it served to solidify and consolidate the Hindu opinion behind the Mahasabha.

- 8th. Sir Akbar Hydai died in New Delhi after 17 days of illness. He was Member for Information and Broadcasting, Governor-Generals Executive Council. He was also Leader of the House in the Council of State.

The Madras Legislature Congress Party, adopted by an overwhelming majority a resoluting welcoming the Bardoli decision of the Congress Working Committee and reiterating the National Demand.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India made a statement in the House of Commons that the resolutions of various political parties in India and statements by leaders contained no satisfactory response to the Viceroy's appeal for unity.

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement declared : "If there is any man in this country, or outside, who has interpreted the Bardoli resolution in the sense that Mahatma Gandhi has withdrawn from the Congress leadership, I would say that he knows nothing about Mr. Gandhi or about the Congress..... The simple meaning of the Bardoli resolution is that Mr. Gandhi now does not want to carry on Satyagraha on behalf of the Congress. He wants to carry on Satyagraha against all war on the ground of non-violence only, and only with those Congressmen whom he finds to be well up to his standard."

The happenings in connexion with the banned Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur were described by several Hindu leaders, who had been released from jail, in Calcutta. The Mayor of Calcutta, Mr. P. N. Brahma presided.

A communique from New Delhi stated : "The Government of India are aware of the anxiety and desire for information evinced in many parts of India regarding the welfare of the Indian population in Burma."

Commenting on the appeal to the Prime Minister by thirteen leading Indian "Moderates," the *Times* (London) said that their proposals "to abolish the need of continual reference by cable to the Secretary of State so that the powers of the Crown can be exercised by the Viceroy and his Government," were conceived in a constructive and progressive spirit and expressed an Indian rather than a party point of view.

Lord Samuel, speaking in the House of Lords, said that political parties in India seemed to have gained a greater sense of the world situation. "It was said that it was obvious that no great constitutional changes would be made in India during the course of the great war. I submit that so far from being obvious, such a conclusion is wholly unjustified."

- 9th. The weekly paper *Time and Tide* (London) said :—"Mr. Gandhi's retirement from the leadership of the Indian National Congress gets rid of the basic unreality of the situation."

The *Daily Herald* attacked Mr. Amery in a leading article, describing him as a weak and timorous Minister who would be remembered as a Secretary of State for India who at a time of great emergency and a great opportunity neither measured up to the emergency nor grasped the opportunity.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in a statement from Poona, said : "It is a good sign in my view that opinion favourable to the declaration of India's freedom, at least after the war, is being concentrated and directed against the British Cabinet from all quarters simultaneously from the Congress, the Moderate leaders, the Hindu Mahasabha in India, the Liberal and Radical members of the British Parliament, the British Press and also by spokesmen of American public opinion. Only Mr. Jinnah is taking his stand upon the August declaration."

- 10th. At the second annual Conference of the Bengal Radical Democratic Party in Calcutta, the necessity of helping the anti-fascist movement to grow so as to make the war effort "purposive and democratic" was urged upon the government.

Lord Meston, President of the Liberal Party organization and ex-Governor of

the Punjab in an article in "*Star*" (London) said: "A bold stroke can now satisfy India." Strongly condemning Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan as 'fantastic nonsense', Lord Meston added: "Political agitation is having virtually no effect on the loyalty of the vast majority of the people to our cause. Let a Convention be summoned representative of all leading interests in India including Princes. Let it sit down and work out the broad lines of the constitution in accordance with India's wishes."

The significance of the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli was explained by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at a public meeting in Madras. Mr. K. V. Naidu presided.

His Excellency the Viceroy held a provincial Durbar at Hyderabad. His Excellency spoke on the importance of civil defence work.

- 11th. His Excellency General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-chief in India issued an "Order of the Day". "On leaving India and relinquishing the appointment of Commander-in-chief in the Indian Command, I wish all ranks of the Royal Indian Navy, the British and Indian Armies and the Air Forces the best of fortune for 1942 and the future."

The Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting decided to revive all the Congress Committees including the B. P. C. C. executive and its branch organizations in accordance with the instructions of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President.

Mr. M. N. Roy observed at a rally of the Radical Democratic Party in Calcutta: "At last the war has reached our doors. It is no longer a distant rumbling. It is foolish even now to maintain that we can be indifferent to it, regarding it as a great show which we can only watch. Before long it may penetrate our hearths and homes."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and several delegates who went with him to attend the Bhagalpur session of the Mahasabha, were accorded a reception at a public meeting held by the Bombay Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in Bombay. Mr. Savarkar narrated the story of the Bhagalpur session of the Mahasabha and said that at Bhagalpur he found demonstration of a pan-Hindu spirit, which had not found such expression during the last 400 years.

- 12th. The Orissa Provincial Congress Committee after a lengthy discussion on the Bardoli resolution of the Working Committee, adopted a resolution in favour of Mahatma Gandhi's policy.

- 13th. The Working Committee of the Congress had a brief session at Wardhaganj and adjourned after passing two resolutions relating to the observance of the Independence Day and primary membership of the Congress. The Committee issued instructions to Congressmen on the observance of Independence Day, the refunctioning of Congress Committees and the enrolment of primary members.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, commenting on the Bardoli decision, said *iter alia*: "The Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress was interpreted by the general public as meaning that the Congress refused participation in the war on the ground of their belief in complete non-violence. Mr. Gandhi himself, who was the author of the resolution, took the same view. He says in his recent letter to the Congress President: 'I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present, or all wars, on the ground principally, of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation'."

- 14th. His Excellency Sir Bertram Glancy, Governor of the Punjab, addressing a Durbar at Ambala, made an appeal to the people of India to try to achieve what was being achieved by the Allied Governments on so much vaster a scale in the matter of war strategy.

The Congress Working Committee at Wardha considered the feasibility of holding the annual session of the Congress and decided against it in view of the political situation. The Committee discussed several routine matters connected with the Working of the Congress organization and the advisability of Congress members continuing in local bodies &c.

- 15th. Mahatma Gandhi speaking on the Bardoli resolution at the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Wardha said: "I want you to accept this resolution; I cannot compel you but I can reason with you and I can argue

with you. There is a possibility of groups being formed to canvass support, but I want you to accept this resolution without reserve. I fully commend the Bardoli resolution for your acceptance. The Bardoli resolution is not a copy of Poona. It is faultless. The Poona resolution was a mistake. At one time I decided to divide the House to find who is with me, but in view of the Congress atmosphere and comments about us, my non-violence advised me to ask you to support the resolution."

Mahatma Gandhi declared that his successor was not Mr. Rajagopalachari or Sardar Patel but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. "He has political differences with me, but there is no split amongst us. There is no split in the Congress, we work as one family."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, made a statement at the Wardha Congress Committee meeting saying, "we are now exactly where we stood 16 months ago, we have not moved an inch forward. Nothing has happened that would make us change our attitude. We do want a change and we do want to obtain control of the Government of our country, irrespective of whether there is war or peace.....Our position is that of non-participation and non-co-operation in war effort. That was the position in 1940 and that is the position today. The British Government have not done anything that would invite us to reconsider our position."

- 16th. The All-India Congress Committee concluded its session at Wardha after passing the Bardoli Resolution and endorsing the instructions issued by the Congress Working Committee to Congressmen on constructive programme.—Only 15 members voted against the main resolution in a house of 219. Various amendments which were moved were either withdrawn or negatived.

A communique from New Delhi stated that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of General Sir Alan Fleming Hartley, K.C.S.I., C.B., D.S.O., to be Commander-in-Chief in India (and a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council) in succession to General Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C.

The weekly periodical '*Spectator*' (London) commenting on the Indian Moderates' appeal to Mr. Churchill and their Four-Points Programme for India stated : "This is a document that deserves a warmer welcome than it has so far received. The details of it may be open to challenge.....The test of the programme is its inherent practicability, more than its authorship. The essential fact is that at last a scheme has come out of India which can, with few modifications, be whole-heartedly approved."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in replying to the debate in the All-India Congress Committee meeting, criticised the tendency to be carried away by slogans and catchwords. So far as he could see, Communists, Socialists and Gandhists were equally victims to that tendency. Socialism or Communism never meant the application of abstract theories based on experiences of Western countries without regard to conditions in India.....He for one, would accept that type of freedom, imperfect though it was, and would then try to remedy the defects and build up a new structure of society, which would be free from periodical wars and the use of violence.

- 17th. Mahatma Gandhi addressed representatives of Provincial Congress Committees and members of the Working Committee at Wardha, on the immediate task before Congressmen and the constructive programme. He also replied to questions put by members. Mahatma Gandhi in his speech dealt with various aspects of the constructive programme, with particular reference to the Hindu-Moslem unity, removal of untouchability, the charka and the organization of a volunteer corps. He emphasized that a mere pact between the Congress and the Moslem League would not solve the communal problem ; such a pact, he said, was applicable only to the carrying out of the Parliamentary programme.

Under the auspices of the Calcutta Defence Committee of the Radical Democratic Party, Bengal, a conference was held in Calcutta, in which a decision to launch a campaign to allay panic and to educate the people as to their duties in an emergency, was taken.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in the course of a statement at Wardhaganj, denied that the Congress had rejected the path of honourable settlement with Britain. He agreed with Gandhiji and Rajaji that, if no positive terms had been put forward, it was because the Congress did not want to invite a fresh insult.

Mr. Asaf Ali, a member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview,



declared : "It is now for those who profess to be fighting for freedom, democracy and a just order in the world to decide whether a situation can be created for enlisting a free India's national collaboration to win a just victory and establish lasting peace."

- 18th. Sir Victor Sassoon, in an interview in Bombay, suggested that the Secretary of State should hand over all his powers during the war to the Viceroy, who should declare a state of national emergency and rule India as a temporary 'Dictator'.

A communique from New Delhi stated : "In view of a statement issued by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqui instructing his followers to abandon the militant side of the Khaksar movement for the duration of the war, the Government of India have issued orders releasing him from custody but restricting his residence for the present to the Madras Presidency."

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar observed at Wardha : "I am disappointed that the Congress resolution does not attempt to make the best use of the present unrivalled opportunity for the country's freedom but I am pleased that the Congress is now free from the metaphysical leadership and has come down to the level of ordinary politics."

- 19th. The Government of Bengal issued a pamphlet dealing with the action to be taken by the people before, during and after an air raid. It stated : "Remember that it depends on you whether the ordinary life of the community goes on smoothly. Go to your factory, office or other work as if nothing had happened. By doing this you will continue to help yourself by earning your pay and helping others by not stopping work."

Major Akbar Khan of the Royal Indian Army Supply Corps, recounting his experiences of the war and the events on the continent in 1939 and 1940, said in Madras : "If we are determined, as the people of London were determined in 1940, that nothing would make us leave our homes short of military necessity, our cities will be saved as London was saved."

Mr. R. K. Shidwa, Leader of the Sind Assembly Congress Party, in an interview in Bombay said : "The Bardoli resolution has brought all the parties in the Congress together and put Britain in an awkward position."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in an interview at Nagpur, said : "My approach has always been one since my childhood. The approach should be humane, social and generous. Let us work on the basis of give and take."

- 20th. Mr. Churchill stated in the House of Commons that the communication from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other Indian leaders reached him only after his departure from Washington and that he would be replying to the Indian leaders. —He added that he was not sure whether it would be advantageous to raise far-reaching constitutional questions at a time when the enemy was at the gates of India.

Sir Gijija Shanker Bajpai, High Commissioner for India in the United States, in a speech to the Service Club (New York) said that anti-Axis solidarity as expressed in the Washington Declaration by the united nations left no doubt as regards the final outcome of the war.—Sir Gijija Shanker declared that the north and the north western provinces alone could provide a front-line fighting force of 8,000,000 men. In two years of war the Indian Army had expanded to over 1,000,000 men.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari declared in Madras : "The passage of time and delay and the consequent change of circumstance may render participation ineffective in degree, but in self-defence there is no point of time at which the nation can give it up as hopeless."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, Finance Minister, Bengal, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "I had a full and frank discussion with the hon. Home Member about various points concerning Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's case. It will not be correct to say that I came away with the impression that there was a possibility of Mr. Bose's early release."

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, organized in connection with the Benares Hindu University Silver Jubilee celebrations was opened by Babu Rajendra Prasad in the absence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, at Benares.

- 21st. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement on the A. I. C. C. decision, in Bombay, said : "I am surprised to find why the Government should so stubbornly refuse to respond

to the overtures of the Congress which it has been making overtly and covertly ever since the Poona resolution. The Government has nothing to fear while the Congress is led by men like Mahatma Gandhi who have been not only pro-Government but sincerely pro-British throughout their life."

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the Jubilee Convocation of the Benares University. The Maharaja of Bikaner, the Chancellor of the University, having been prevented from attending the Jubilee, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Pro-Chancellor presided.—Mahatma Gandhi in his address paid a tribute to the work of Pandit Malaviya, and deprecated the prevailing tendency to Persianize Urdu and to Sanskritize Hindi. He expressed disappointment at the predominance of English even at the Benares Hindu University.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an address at Tambaram (Madras), explained the need for Britain responding to India's demand at the juncture and equating Indian patriotism with the defence of India.

22nd. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a meeting of U. P. Congress workers at Benares and discussed the attitude that Congressmen should adopt towards the official A. R. P. organization, and the propriety or otherwise of their undertaking war-contracts.

An amendment to the Defence of India Rules conferring wide powers on the Government in regard to trade disputes in India was published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary.—The amendment gave power to the Government to prohibit a strike, or lock-out, in connexion with any trade dispute ; to refer or authorize the Provincial Government to refer any trade dispute for conciliation or adjudication.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, told a questioner in the House of Commons that he had no further statement to make respecting the political situation in India.

23rd. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal decided to set up a Civil Defence Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals under the chairmanship of His Excellency or Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister-in-charge of Co-ordinating Civil Defence. The Advisory Committee would receive information regarding the progress of civil defence measures, and would inform His Excellency and the Minister in touch with public opinion thereon.

A Gazette of India Extraordinary announced from New Delhi that the following were appointed as members, from the Indian States, for purposes of the session of the National Defence Council commencing on February 2, 1942. His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur, His Highness the Raja of Faridkot, the Nawab of Chhatai, His Highness the Maharaja of Indore, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawangar, His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh, His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla and His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

The significance of the decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha regarding the future programme of the Congress was clearly explained by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at a public meeting in Madras, under the auspices of the Madras District Congress Committee. Mr. S. Satyamurti presided.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee (Madras) on "Defence and the Deadlock" expressed the hope that Britain would win the war and that a democratic form of Government would be established in India with the representatives of the people administering the country.

24th. A resolution calling on the British Government to recognize immediately the national independence of India was passed at an India League Independence Day demonstration in London.

25th. Mahatma Gandhi, under the caption "communal unity" wrote in the *Harijan* : "Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore, communal pacts, which they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts." He continued : "Without such a union, there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and co-operative work."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, explained the constructive programme of the Congress and appealed to all parties to co-operate in non-political work, as the greatest need of the immediate present "is to feed the the hungry and clothe the naked.

26th. The Madras Government issued orders on Mr. Priestley's report on his enquiry into the disturbances in Nellore during the Dasera festival and after.—The order without laying the blame on either community, stated that the Government had decided to prohibit tiger disguises except under police license and that for some time to come no such license would be issued. The customary rights of both communities, however, the order added, would be enforced.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting organized by some Shias at Allahabad, paid a tribute to the great example of courage and sacrifice for a cause set by Hazrat Imam Husain. He said that in these days of mighty events and revolutionary changes, each individual, each community and each nation had to develop courage and the capacity for sacrifice if they wanted to play their part in the world's drama. He hoped this would be the lesson which they would derive from the martyrdom of Imam Husain and that all people of India, to whatever religion they belonged, would join hands in friendship and amity to achieve the common goal of India's freedom.

In accordance with the instructions of the All-India Congress Committee, "Independence Day" was observed throughout India in the usual manner.—Addressing a meeting in Calcutta, in celebration of the "Independence Day," the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, said that they had gathered there to take the 'Independence pledge' anew. About twelve years ago they had announced at Lahore that the aim of the Congress was the securing of complete independence for India, and since then they had been taking this pledge every year on January 26.

The Working Committee of the Provincial Moslem League (Bengal) at a meeting in Calcutta, took disciplinary action against the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, who were expelled by the Committee from the various offices under the League, as also from the primary membership of the organization. Mr. A. R. Siddiqi presided. The Committee endorsed the action taken by the Calcutta District Moslem League against Mr. Syed Budruddoja, member of the Working Committee of the Provincial League, expelling him from the membership of the League.

27th. The Evacuees Reception Committee, set up in Calcutta under the auspices of the Governor of Bengal and with the Sheriff of Calcutta as the Chairman, formed five sub-committees to render assistance to the members of the various communities arriving from Burma and Malaya.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's message to the people of Tiruvarna was "prepare for defences. The war is a blessing in disguise."

28th. A recurring cost of Rs. 15,000 and a non recurring cost of Rs. 44,21,000 for new schemes was included in the second supplementary statement of expenditure of the Bihar Government for 1941-42.

Among various resolutions passed by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta, was one calling upon Hindu Sabha organizations throughout the province to co-operate with the authorities in civil defence. The resolutions which stood in the name of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, urged particular co-operation with A. K. P. organizations "to cope with the ravages likely to be caused by air raids."

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in a broadcast message stated : "The danger to Bombay at present is small. Certainly, no one with work to do should leave, and the Government is making preparations to help you in case an attack should ever come in your way."

29th. The Government of Bengal decided to put pressure on landlords and employers in the city and suburbs to take A. K. P. measures for the safety of their tenants and employers, respectively against air raids.

At the first meeting of the Central Sugar Advisory Board, in New Delhi, with Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar in the chair, the question of the extension of the International Sugar Agreement expiring in August 1942 was considered and the general view was against the continuance of such agreements.

30th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's statement as Chairman of the National Planning Committee, about the Eastern Group Conference, Government's policy in the industrial field and the proposed establishment of an automobile plant in Sind was contradicted in a Press Note issued by the Commerce Department.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing a mammoth meeting at Patna said : "The British Government has not so far changed its

attitude towards India not is it going to change. It is quite certain that the utter helplessness that spreads in this country of 4 hundred million people is due to the British Government. Had power been in the hands of the Indians the situation would have been quite different, Indians would have been friends at this time of war. This was not to be. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery could never accommodate themselves to the changing world."

The supersession of the Lucknow Municipal Board for three years and the appointment of a Committee of non-officials to manage its affairs, was recommended by the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of the United Provinces.

Opening the third annual Conference of Labour Ministers and Advisers in New Delhi, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Labour Member, Government of India, emphasised that there was no time in the history of India when a speedy settlement of labour problems was more urgent than to-day. If India's war production was to go forward unhampered they must avoid strikes and lock-outs at all costs. "and we must handle all problems of labour and industrial development with sympathy and foresight."

31st. A despatch received from Mr. Hutchins, the Government of India's Agent in Burma, stated : whatever work is being done in Rangoon today is being done by Indian merchants and Indian labour.

Rai Saheb S. C. Ghosh, in his presidential address at the Annual General Meeting of the Bengal Millowners' Association in Calcutta made a reference to the scheme for the production and sale of standard types of cloth at cheap prices for the poorer people.

The Senate of the Calcutta University, at its annual meeting, vested its syndicate with certain emergency powers to deal with difficulties arising out of conditions created by the war.—These emergency powers related to conditions of study and examinations and allied matters.

## February 1942

The visit of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek was the unique feature of the month. The object of the Generalissimo's visit was to discuss with the Government of India and in particular with the Commander-in-Chief, matters of common interest to both the countries (China and India).

The 3rd session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. Sir Reginald Maxwell made a statement to the Council on the general question of fifth column activities in India.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal paid a tribute to the work of the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

The situation in India was debated in the House of Lords, when Lord Faringdon (Labour) drew the attention of the Government to one of the most important problems of the time.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at Leeds, said, "we are pledged to help India to attain as soon as possible after the war to the same position of freedom and equality with ourselves as is enjoyed by the Dominions."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a speech at Allahabad, said, "Neither self-complacency nor self-deception is going to do any good to India or to England. Repeated asseverations of righteous intentions can take us nowhere. I am anxious that my friends in England should realise and shall cease to deceive themselves."

A meeting of the Organizing Committee of the Moslem Majlis was held in Calcutta, with Mr. Jalaluddin Hashemy in the Chair.

A provincial standing committee was formed with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, as president.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a reception in honour of Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek and his wife, said that the visit set a seal upon the comradeship in arms of two nations.

Two of the Bengal Ministers were allowed to interview Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, in the Trichinopoly Jail in Madras.

The Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly opened in New Delhi.

The Secretary of State for India (Mr. L. S. Amery) replying to a question in the House of Commons, said. "The Government are anxious that India should be afforded the same opportunities as the Dominions of being represented in the war cabinet and on the Pacific war Council.....His Majesty's Government has accordingly invited the Government of India to arrange for such representation, if they so desire."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, grievances against the Income-Tax Department were narrated and remedies demanded in the course of the debate on the resolution asking for reforms in the Department.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, "If the Nazis come to India, the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given Great Britain."

A statement was made in the Bengal Assembly by the Chief Minister, Mr. Huq and Mr. S. K. Bose, Minister for Public Health that the Bengal Ministry was doing everything in its power to repatriate Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to Bengal or to get him transferred to a place near about Bengal.

The Government of India turned down the recommendation of the Bengal Ministry to transfer Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose from Trichinopoly Jail to a prison in Bengal.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad expressed his surprise, in a statement, at the arrest of some Punjab Congress leaders re : Sales Tax agitation. He asserted that the said leaders were peace-makers and not agitators.

In the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps, Leader of the House, in reply to the two-day war debate, referred to India and said that the British Government were much concerned as to the whole question of unity and strength of India.

1st. Mr. K. M. Munshi, presiding over the Akhand Hindustan Conference in New Delhi declared : "The dangers of the hour must awaken the wisdom of all communities and interests and ought to make us realize that we should not allow future ambition to frustrate a programme of present safety."

Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, presiding at a meeting in Calcutta, complained that the Defence of India Act had been used by the Government of Bengal against Moslem League office-bearers, workers and students whose policy was not to obstruct the war effort.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, addressing a public meeting at Poona, said : "Today, the war is not only at the doors of India, but economically, and militarily, it has affected India herself. We have to consider our duty towards our own people, to give them strength and courage and hearten them in the trials to come ; and, when it is a choice of duties, our choice will be in the direction of giving them courage and averting anarchy and disaster. The Congress, has therefore, for the moment, decided to concentrate its efforts on organising voluntarily the people

of this country. But that does not relieve us from examining the political side of the question, as far as Britain and India are concerned."

Mr. Jagiwan Ram, ex-Parliamentary Secretary and Secretary, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee presiding over the eighth session of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference, observed: "We stand for the country's independence, but at the same time we stand for our own freedom; we stand to end our social, religious and economic exploitations, and stand for equality in Hindu society".

2nd. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who returned to Madras after a tour in the southern districts, in an interview, observed that all the demonstrations and meetings held during his tour showed an increased confidence in the Congress. If nothing else," he said, "our talks to the people have allayed panic and have made them more ready to face difficulties."

A Press Communique said that the third session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. His Excellency presided both in the morning and in the afternoon:—At the outset the Council decided to send a message of congratulations to General Sir Archibald Wavell on his appointment as supreme commander in the South-west Pacific. The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, made a statement to the council on the general question of fifth column activities in India. Civil Defence was the next subject.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, presiding over the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, paid a tribute to the Society for the manner in which it was carrying on its work in the face of difficulties caused by the war.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Gorakhpur, reiterated his faith in the establishment of peace in the world only when all nations became independent and were grouped together in a world federation constituted of smaller federations of nations.

Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai, Agent General for India in the United States, broadcasting on "India's war effort" from Washington said: "My people are fighting for everything they hold worthwhile, their inheritance of the past as well as their hope for the future."

3rd. Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution urging the establishment of a national government at the centre passed through the ballot in the Central Legislative Assembly and secured fourth place for discussion on February 19

"The situation in India was debated in the House of Lords when Lord Faringdon (Labour) drew the attention of the Government to what he called one of the most urgent problems of the present time.—He complained of complacency and said that the situation was daily becoming more critical but nothing was being done to meet it. It was, he said, one of the complaints of Indians that industrialisation of their country had been handicapped by the jealousy of British industrialists. India, he said, had paid handsome dividends for anything done for her by Britain and in addition to interest on something like a thousand million pounds invested in India that country paid annually something in the vicinity of £138,000,000 to England. It was a substantial sum Britain was under a considerable obligation to India.—

Lord Cecil said that there was profound anxiety as to the fulfilment of the promise of Dominion Status and he wondered if something might be done by transferring the great apparatus of the Government known as the India Office to the Dominions Office which would, at any rate, be something positive and definite in the fulfilment of the promise.—Lord Hailey said that this was time for manoeuvring or standing on punctilios. We should be as bold as we were in the case of Syria in making our declarations.

Mr. T. Prakasam, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee issued a statement from Madras on the release of detenus.

4th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at Leeds declared: "we are pledged to help India to attain as soon as possible after the war to the same position of freedom and equality with ourselves as is enjoyed by the Dominions. The general accepted frame-work upon which self-government must rest can only come by free agreement of those immediately concerned. In the last analysis it is only Indians themselves who can give India freedom. In the absence of agreement we can no more impose a constitution on India and expect it to survive than we could impose a constitution on Europe. There is the problem."

The Executive Council of the United Provinces Congress Committee met at Allahabad, under the presidentship of Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal.—The Council passed three resolutions dealing mainly with the duty of Congressmen "in view of the critical situation which has arisen and which threatens to grow and envelop the country" and the method that Congressmen should adopt in furtherance of the emergency programme.

- 5th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a statement at Allahabad said: "I do not wish to make any detailed statement on the debate in the House of Lords on India as I should like to wait until a few days more. All that I can say at the present moment is that the speeches of Lord Hailey and Lord Catto seem to me to indicate a more vivid and intelligent appreciation of the situation in India than that of the Duke of Devonshire, whose speech will strike those of us who know the situation in India not through official reports but from personal knowledge and contacts, as open to the very vice Lord Hailey has condemned, namely that he was obviously manoeuvring or standing on punctilios. Neither self-complacency nor self-deception is going to do any good to India or to England. Repeated asseverations of righteous intentions can take us nowhere. I am anxious that my friends in England should realise this and cease to deceive themselves."

Mr. L. S. Amery replied in the House of Commons when asked whether he would investigate the possible availability and suitability of some of the instructors to be set free by the concentration of Government training centres in England for service in India, by saying that India's needs in skilled personnel would be supplied to the fullest extent compatible with the urgent demands upon such personnel in Britain.—The Secretary of State for India and the Labour Minister were in closest touch to secure India's needs.

Mr. R. A. Baig, Sheriff of Bombay, addressing the Progressive Group in Bombay, made a suggestion for divorcing as far as possible, civil defence from war effort.

The weekly review "*Time and Tide*" (London), discussing the Indian situation, thought that it reflected at the moment little credit either on the Imperial Government or Indian politicians.

- 6th. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, in his opening address to the Fourth Price Control Conference in New Delhi, explained how the problem of price control was affected by factors like the ban on exports of certain commodities imposed by some provinces and States and the policy followed by them of building up stocks of foodstuffs.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met the Congress workers of Delhi Province in New Delhi and explained the Bardoli Resolution. He said that those who had signed the Satyagraha pledge, should not take it as cancelled. That Satyagraha pledge still continued, though only their duties had been changed. Instead of going to jail, they should devote their time to taking the Congress message to every nook and corner of their province. They should be prepared to serve their countrymen with the co-operation of all parties during an emergency.

- 7th. A Communique issued by the Directorate-General of Munitions Production Department of Supply, Calcutta, said: "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have informed the Government of India that the manufacture of articles requiring steel cannot now be undertaken in the United Kingdom unless Essentiality Certificates have been granted by the appropriate department of His Majesty's government."

A meeting of the organizing committee of the Moslem Majlis was held in Calcutta with Mr. Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy in the chair. A provisional standing committee was formed at the meeting with Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, as president, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mr. A. K. M. Zakaria and Khan Bahadur M. Solaiman as vice-president, Mr. Humayun Kabir as General Secretary and Khan Bahadur S. Md. Jan as treasurer.

Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, presiding over the C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Nagpur said: "Mere fear of German or Japanese victory is not likely to rouse India to a supreme effort to defeat them. She is handicapped by a consciousness that she is a dependent country. No British Government can symbolise Indian freedom;.....Indian leaders alone can do so. War is not a valid reason for denying freedom to India."

Maulana Abul K. Azad replying to an address in New Delhi, said : "War was lurking at us from a distance. Now it is at our doors. Our field of activity would have been at another place had not the door against our co-operation with honour been barred and bolted by the British Government."

Begum Aizaz Rasul, Deputy President, United Provinces Legislative Council, in the course of her presidential address to the first All-India Muslim Girl Students' Conference in New Delhi, declared : "No nation can be great in which the women do not occupy their rightful place. No country can be free in which women lack initiative, courage and knowledge, for it is women who by their proper use of their influence as mothers, sisters and wives can make their menfolk great."

- 8th. Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to a correspondent, wrote in the *Harizan* : "All who want an all-India speech should learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu. Those who do will ultimately give us a common language. That form which is more popular and more understood by the masses, whether Hindu or Muslim, will surely be the all-India speech. But if my proposal finds general acceptance, the language question will cease to be a political issue or a bone of contention."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan resigned from the Congress Working Committee. It was stated that he found it difficult to continue to function as an official of the Congress because of his firm views on the issue of non-violence.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress, welcoming the delegates to the conference at Cawnpore, declared : "We are meeting at a time when the whole world is in flames. The present world conflagration is only a culmination of man's stupid greed and avarice." Pandit Sharma counselled the mazdoors and labour workers to concentrate their efforts in the direction of solid organisational activities.

With special permission from the Government of India, the hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, and the hon. Mr. Santosh K. Basu, Minister for Public Health and Local Self-Government, Bengal, left for Madras en route to Trichinopoly, to interview Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose in the Trichinopoly Central Jail.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, opening the nineteenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Cawnpore, said : "We cannot shut our eyes to the bloodshed that is going on all over the world, to the loss of human lives which is taking place on account of the present war."

- 9th. A communique issued in New Delhi announced that Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, accompanied by staff officers, arrived in New Delhi—The object of the Generalissimo's visit to India was to discuss with the Government and in particular with the Commander-in-chief, General Sir Alan Hartley, matters of common interest to both countries.

Speaking at a reception in honour of the Marshal and his wife, the Viceroy said that the visit set a seal upon the comradeship in arms of two nations which numbered between them 800 million souls. "It is a meeting which bodes no good to the enemy," the Viceroy added.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the situation in connexion with the traders' agitation in the Punjab regarding the general Sales Tax Act was discussed.

A communique from New Delhi stated : "In a Calcutta Press message dated February 8, it was stated that the visit of two Bengal Ministers to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was being made for certain purposes with special permission from the Government of India. This is entirely incorrect. Subject to certain conditions, security prisoners are allowed interviews under the ordinary rules and it is understood that the visit in question is taking place under these rules."

- 10th. His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a banquet given in honour of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek at the Viceroy's House (New Delhi) said : "A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked 'Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ? None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished champions." The Generalissimo replied to the toast.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party which attended with



the special permission of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President tabled an adjournment motion in connexion with an alleged lathi charge on traders in Lahore.—The motion which was moved by Diwan Chamanlal was defeated by 75 votes to 43.

Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, leader of the Nationalist Coalition Party in the Assam Assembly, had an interview with His Excellency the Governor of Assam at Shillong.

An exploratory Committee was set up by the Government of India to examine the production of components or complete internal combustion engines offering prospects of immediate development with particular reference to war demands and the future development of an internal combustion engine industry in India.

Mr. V. R. Kalappa, President, All-India Trade Union Congress, and Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A. (central) met the Labour Member, Sir Firoz Khan Noon. They discussed, *inter alia*, questions relating to measures for allaying panic among workers in factories in vulnerable areas.

11th Seth Jannalal Bajaj, a member of the Congress Working Committee and its Treasurer died of heart failure at his residence at Wardha.

The Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly began in New Delhi with Sir Abdur Rahim, the President, in the chair. Sir Homi Mody, Supply Member, informed Mr. Deshmukh that the United States Administration proposed to establish and operate a plant in India on the lease and lend basis.

The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, addressing the Trichy District Journalists Association of Trichinopoly, stated that unless and until communal harmony was established in the country there could be no self-Government or freedom or Dominion status.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressing a meeting of the citizens of Delhi, declared : "India will not accept any rule—Japanese or German—but the rule of the masses of India."

12th. In the Orissa Assembly, the revised Budget for 1941-42 was submitted by Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister. In the revised estimate expenditure debitable to revenue was Rs. 1,96,86,000 against Rs. 1,90,59,000 originally estimated.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Premier made a statement explaining the reasons which had prompted him and his party to take up the Ministry.

In the Central Assembly, Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House, made a reference of the death of Sir P. Raghavendra Rao, Additional Secretary to the Finance Department, Government of India.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, objected to Mr. A. C. Dutt's motion on the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and contended that the detention order was passed in the ordinary administration of law and was covered by previous rulings from the chair disallowing discussion of such orders.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier, Madras, addressing a meeting at Tirupati, declared : "The only strategy, the great 'secret weapon' that will outwit Japan is the acknowledgment of India's indefensible right to freedom. It is only then that the battle of the Pacific will take a new turn."

The Secretary of State for India ( Mr. L. S. Amery ) replying to a question in the House of Commons, said : "The Government are anxious that India should be afforded the same opportunities as the Dominions of being represented in the war cabinet and on the Pacific War Council for purposes of formulation and direction of the policy for the prosecution of the war. His Majesty's Government has accordingly invited the Government of India to arrange for such representation, if they so desire."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, after question time, the House took up non-official resolutions for discussion.—Grievances against the Income-tax Department were narrated and remedies demanded in the course of the debate on Sir Halim Ghaznavi's resolution asking for reforms in the Department, particularly the abolition of the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay and the placing of the Appellate Assistant Commissioners and the Appellate Tribunal under the control of the law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court, instead of under the Finance Department.

13th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a press interview in Calcutta, said : "We, the Muslim League and myself have made our position repeatedly clear as to what our policy and attitude towards the perse-

cution of the war and the defence of our people on the soil on which we live are and I have nothing more to add.

- 14th. Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., ( Central ) opening the Madras District second circle Political Conference, emphasised the urgent need for constituting a National Government in India for offering our effective co-operation to China in checking Japanese aggression. He welcomed Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek to India and appealed to him to 'speak straight and frankly' to the Viceroy and through him to Mr. Churchill on behalf of India and urge the importance of granting freedom to the country at this time of crisis.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, at question time, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, said in reply to Mr Jamnadas Mehta that the collection of the Excess profits Tax for the nine months ended December 31, 1941, was about Rs. 3 crores.

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, in his presidential address at the Sapru Conference in Calcutta, said : "while I feel confident that the aggression will be finally vanquished, I may be permitted to repeat that should events turn otherwise, it matters little whether we vote for Independence or Dominion Status, for a united India or for an India partitioned between two or more nations."

- 15th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a Press conference, in New Delhi, said : "It is entirely untrue that Mahatma Gandhi refused to see the Marshal ( Chiang-Kai-Shek )." Among other things, he explained how a meeting between the Mahatma and the Marshal could not take place.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption, "Suppose Germany Wins" : "If the Nazis come to India the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given Great Britain."

A Communique published in New Delhi announced : "His Majesty the King-Emperor has conferred on His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, President of the National Supreme War Council of China, the insignia of an honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath (Military Division) in recognition of his outstanding achievements in the Allied cause.

The conference which was held in Calcutta to consider the Sapru Proposals, passed a resolution generally supporting the demands contained in the scheme. The meeting also expressed the opinion that in view of the war situation in the Far East all possible steps should be adopted immediately for the strengthening of the defence of India and it appealed to all sections of the people to join the army for the defence of their country. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee presided over the conference.

Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, in an interview in Delhi said : "The war has to be fought not only with bullets and artillery but by the press whose tremendous influence in steeling the hearts and minds of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggression we had utilised to the full. After all, voices die out, but printed word lives on."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, delivering his presidential address at the plenary session of the Provincial Muslim League at Serajgunj, declared : Regarding the August proposal, the principles of which we have accepted, our position is this, that we are willing provided we get a real share not only in the authority of the Government at the Centre, but in all the provinces."

- 16th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Lal Chand Navalrai asked whether it was a fact that news items taken from B. B. C. broadcasts were being published from time to time in certain newspapers in India.—Sir Andrew Clow said that B. B. C. news was copyright, and the Government would do everything in their power to prevent any violation of this copyright.

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras opening the Corporation Flower show in Madras said : "I would take this opportunity of asking everybody not to be alarmed or depressed by the fall of Singapore and not to think that the situation here is altered. The Military authorities, the Government of India and the Government of Madras have got the situation well in hand and they will say what should be done and when it should be done."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Provincial Budget for 1942-43 was presented by the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee. It revealed a deficit of Rs. 1,05,00,000 on revenue account.—The year started with an opening balance of 1 crore and 15 lakhs. Revenue receipts were placed at 15 crores 70 lakhs or 41 lakhs higher than the Revised.

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddi, addressing a gathering of the Servants of India Society at Nagpur, said : "We should appeal to the Congress and the Muslim League to come together at this critical hour in the history of our country. If this is not done the Viceroy should convene a conference of representatives of these two organisations only and arrive at a settlement.

In the Orissa Assembly, the speaker gave a ruling disallowing the adjournment motion given notice of by Mr. Biswanath Das regarding the arrest of Messrs. N. K. Choudhury and Mohandas, members of the Assembly—There was a general discussion on the revised budget.—The Congress Party abstained from taking any part.

- 17th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's detention and the condition under which he was living at Trichinopoly were raised by an adjournment motion moved by Mr. Kamini Kumar Datta (Congress). The Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and the Minister for Public Health, Mr. S. K. Basu, made statements saying that as a result of representations made by the Bengal Ministry to the Government of India, Mr. Bose had been allowed to augment his jail diet, as supplied by the Madras Government. The Bengal Ministry was doing everything in its power either to repatriate him to Bengal, or failing that to get him transferred to a better place near about Bengal. Mr. Basu further stated that there was little apprehension of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose going on hunger strike.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Aney, Overseas Member, replying to a question by Mr. Lal Chand Navalrai, asking what arrangements Government had made in all parts of the Far Eastern Zone for the protection and evacuation of Indians, declared that the Government spared no effort in assisting Indians to evacuate from the war Zones in the Far East.

Sir Sultan Ahmed moved a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code omitting sec. 216 B of the Indian Penal Code and inserting the new section : 52 A re : the word "harbour", etc.

Mr. Aney, Leader of the House, in commending his resolution welcoming Marshal and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek to the unanimous acceptance of the Assembly, said it embodied the feelings of appreciation and admiration which the visit of the distinguished guests had evoked throughout the country.

- 18th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Andrew Clow presented the Railway estimates with a forecast for 1941-42 indicating a surplus of 26.20 crores against a surplus of 11.83 crores originally estimated, and for 1942-43 a surplus of 27.95 crores.

Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek met Mahatma Gandhi in Calcutta and had a long conversation with him.

In the Council of State, in reply to a question, His Excellency General Sir Alan Hartley, Commander-in-chief in India, observed *inter alia*, "Events have moved fast and far since my predecessor, General Wavell, in last November, gave an account to this House of the achievements of the Indian troops in the various theatres of war.....In spite of our present situation, there is no cause for loss of heart. Admittedly, our losses are grievous and the situation is serious. We must face these threats in a spirit of calmness. To brave men, danger is an incentive to additional effort."

In the Central Assembly, 33 non-official members including the leader of the Independent Party and Deputy leader of the Moslem League Party, handed over to Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the House, a requisition pointing out that "it should be the duty of the Government to take this House into confidence by keeping it fully informed about the war situation generally by periodical statements in the Assembly."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jalaluddin Hashemi, member of the Progressive Coalition Party was elected Deputy Speaker in place of the late Mr. Ashrafali.

- 19th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, replying to a question said that a scheme for the restoration and maintenance of communal harmony in Bengal, was being drawn up by Government in consultation with local officers after consideration of schemes already formulated in other provinces.

The Government of India turned down the recommendation of the Bengal Ministry to transfer Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose from the Trichinopoly Central Jail, to a prison in Bengal.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Sorenson asked Mr. Amery whether in view,

both of the unfortunate effect of Japanese propaganda in some parts of the Far East and of the beneficial effect of the consistent opposition of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and the Indian National movement to Japanese aggression and ambitions, it was intended fully to utilize the latter fact to counteract any effect of the Japanese propaganda.—Mr. Amery replied: "I am not in a position to make any fresh statement on the Indian political situation. As regards the latter part of the question, His Majesty's Government appreciate the anti-Japanese sentiment of the Indian political leader and will welcome their active co-operation in their resistance to Japanese and the enemy aggression."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Halim Ghuznavi's resolution on the working of the Income-Tax Department was discussed.

Mr. A. C. Dutta moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to take steps for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenus. Mr. Dutta characterised the indefinite detention of prisoners as most improper, especially at the moment when the Government wanted to create mass enthusiasm for the war effort.

20th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, appealed to his countrymen to take courage from the example set by China under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, and face bravely any aggressor. Japan and Germany, he said, represented the worst forms of Imperialism and Congress had clearly declared against all forms of Imperialism.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's Budget proposals for 1942-43 met with a mixed reception, when the general discussion on the Budget began.—Most of the speakers, belonging to the Ministerialist group, in view of the prevailing war situation, commended the Finance Minister on the way he had presented the Budget. There were some who held that it fell far short of expectations.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, discussion on the Budget proposals of the Bengal Government for 1942-43 began.—Dr. R. K. Mukerji (congress), who initiated the debate, asked the Government whether there was any definite plan behind the appropriation of the year's increased revenue.

Mr. W. A. M. Walker, Chairman, Indian Jute Mills Association, presiding at the annual meeting of that body in Calcutta, observed: "If things go well we shall share in the benefits but we must be prepared to face the possibility of dangers ahead. We are a strong and united industry and if we continue in that co-operation and strength there is no reason why we should not successfully weather any difficult times which may be ahead of us."

21st. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, presiding over the Non-Party Conference in New Delhi, declared: "England has got yet to make up its mind as to its relations with this country and express it in unambiguous language as to our future—a future in which India shall not be treated as a dependency, but occupy internally and in the Councils of the Empire and at the International Peace Conference, a position of honourable equality with England and the Dominions."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru received from H. E. the Viceroy the reply to the Liberal Leaders' appeal of January 2, which stated *inter alia*: "You will be aware that on two of the points which you have raised, effect has been given to your views in that an invitation has been issued to the Government of India to be represented, if it so desires, in the formulation of the policy in the War Cabinet in London and on the Pacific War Council. We shall welcome unreservedly the presence at these meetings of whoever may be chosen to fulfil these responsible duties."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement in New Delhi said: "If Mr. Rajagopalachariar will get the authority and sanction of the Congress, which he has not at present, and define some basis, some common ground, and then finds the Muslim League taking an impossible attitude, then it may be in his mouth to accuse us."

22nd. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting in Calcutta, said that mere inclusion of progressive elements in the British Cabinet would not solve the Indian problem so long as the British attitude towards India's demands remained unchanged.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, when the general discussion of the Budget was resumed, Mr. Abdul Hamid (Moslem League) generally criticised

the various proposals and remarked that from a study of the Budget it seemed to him that a "conspiracy" was set on foot to give everything to Calcutta and its suburbs at the expense of the rest of the province.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, "The recent British reverses ought not to create panic in the land. If we have learned nothing worth while from contact with the British, let us, at least, learn their calmness in the face of misfortunes."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, commenting in New Delhi, on the Generalissimo's message to the people of India, said: "I strongly hope that Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek's appeal that Great Britain will as speedily as possible give Indians real political power will be listened to in England and acted on without loss of time."

At the Non-Party Conference which concluded its two-day session in New Delhi, under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a resolution urging an immediate declaration that India should no longer be treated as a dependency but given power similar to those of the other Self-Governing units of the British Commonwealth, was passed.

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League passed a resolution denouncing the proposals formulated by the Non-Party Leaders' Conference. It stated that "Moslem India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organizations in the country."

At the meeting of the council of the All-India Muslim League, the Punjab traders' strike was referred to. The council re-elected Mr. M. A. Jinnah as the President of the League for the year.

A conference of the friends of the Soviet Union was held at Luckow under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

23rd. The Council of State passed without discussion or amendment seven Bills. Four of them were sponsored by the Commerce Secretary, Sir Alan Lloyd. They were amending Bills to the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and the Indus Vessels Act and a Bill to continue the provision made under an Ordinance for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a number of supplementary questions were put to Sir Raza Ali arising out of Sir Ziauddin's question whether the controller of the All-India Radio had told the directors of the various stations that Moharram programmes should not exceed half an hour.

In the Central Assembly, besides the interest which the general debate on the Railway Budget evoked, appreciation was expressed of the gesture made to the House by His Excellency the Viceroy, on the recommendation of the Leader of the House in agreeing to the holding of a secret session.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, general discussion of the Budget was resumed:—Mr. Kamini Kumar Dutta, leader of the official congress group, referred to the provision for civil defence and said that Government ought to take precautionary measures against dislocation of trade, breakdown in transport and a food shortage.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, about 20 members belonging to different parties took part in the general discussion of the Budget.

In the Central Assembly, replying to the debate on the Railway Budget, Sir Andrew Clow, Railway Member, defended the increase in freights and fares proposed in the Budget and said this was not the time to reduce the rates.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Revenue Minister of Bengal, saw Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member in connection with the Bengal Government's representations regarding Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Dr. Shankatullah Ansari, Secretary, All-India Independent Muslim Parties Board issued a statement to the Press: "The All-India Independent Muslim Parties' Board will meet on February 28 and March 1, 1942 at Delhi instead of in Calcutta. The President of the Board has already explained the necessity for this meeting.....the Board being the representative of nine leading independent Muslim parties of India may be expected to consider the grave situation which has arisen in India on account of the war reaching India's borders."

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, issued a statement at the arrest of certain Congress leaders in the Punjab. He said:—"I am surprised

to read in today's morning paper that prominent Congressman including Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, leader of the Assembly Party, were arrested last night. These arrests have been made in connection with Sales Tax agitation under the Defence of India Rules. I could not conceive of any distant justification for these arrests. I know perfectly well that these persons have nothing to do with the Sales Tax agitation, except of course, as peacemakers, who would only try to ease the situation."

24th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed two Bills of the Commerce Member and a motion of the Finance Member for the election of members of the Standing Finance Committee for 1942-43.

In the Council of State, Mr. A. deC. Williams, Secretary, Defence Co-ordination Department, replying on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief, told Mr. M. N. Dalal that in the theatres where they were now operating, Indian troops were in fact defending India and helping to keep the enemy away from Indian soil. There was nothing to prevent the bringing of Indian troops to India if it became desirable to do so. The Council then held the general discussion on the Railway Budget.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, general discussion on the Government's Budget for the year 1942-43 concluded in the Assembly. All the party leaders participated in the discussion.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the House accepted by 55 against 16 votes, the Finance Minister's motion to take into consideration the Punjab Sales Tax Amendment Bill. The motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was rejected without a division.

The future of India figured prominently in the House of Commons debate.—Sir George Schuster, (Liberal National) said that there must be a sound Government in India during the war. "We have to support unity and urge suspension of political and personal controversies. We have to say to the Nationalists, 'set aside these things, and during the war unite and face the common peril'. But how can we expect them to respond to this? How can we convince them that we are honest in our intentions to work during the war for the political freedom they desire?"—Major Milner (Labour) said that there had been no mention of India in the Prime Minister's speech. Mr. R. R. Stokes said that he found himself in a "dreadful state" when the Prime Minister said that India was specifically excluded from the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Prime Minister of the Punjab had described this as the biggest rebuff India had ever received. Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek had said that India should give united support to the principle of Atlantic Charter; but why should she if they did not apply to her?

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing the students of the Lucknow University, observed: "You will only be a pattern of shame unless you are sincere to the cause of your Motherland and do constructive work of mobilising human forces and take a lesson from the younger generations of the nations."

25th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, opposition groups felt disappointed when Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House claimed privilege and refused to disclose whether the Government of India had urged the British Government to give India representation on the war cabinet and the Pacific War Council.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a statement regarding the Government policy in connexion with labour under war emergency conditions, and also what the Government proposed to do in regard to the case of Dr. Suresh Chandra Bannerjee, against whom an internment order had been passed under the Defence of India Rules, was made by the Premier (Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq).

In the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps, Leader of the House, replying to the two-day war debate, referred to India and said that the British Government were much concerned as to the whole question of unity and strength of India in the face of dangers threatening that country. The Government fully realised that it was important that England should do the utmost in the circumstances to make a full contribution towards unity. It would not be profitable to debate so important and vital a question in a partial manner but the Government hoped that such a debate would be possible very shortly upon the basis of a Government decision in the matter.

His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin was pleased to accept the resignation

tendered by Dr. A. R. Menon, Minister for Rural Development, and to appoint Mr. T. K. Najan, leader of the Unionist Party, in the Cochin Council as Minister.

- 26th. In the Council of State, there was a full dress debate on Pandit H. N. Kunzru's resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to represent to higher authorities that, in order to place the primary responsibility for the protection of the country on Indian shoulders and to prepare the country fully for its defence, the portfolio of Defence in the Governor-General's Executive Council be entrusted to a non-official Indian.

A Press Communique from New Delhi stated: "It has been accepted in principle that there should be reciprocal appointments of Chinese and Indian representatives to Delhi and Chungking with the local rank of Minister on the lines of existing arrangements between Delhi and Washington."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Andrew Clow informed the House that an expert traffic officer was being appointed Controller of Railway Priority in the Communications Department and that an additional Secretary was being appointed in the same Department to enable Mr. S. N. Roy, Communication Secretary, to devote greater time to transport problems.

In the Central Assembly a revision of the convention separating Railway Finance from General Finance was asked for in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Sir Frederic James.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Bengal Criminal Law (Industrial Areas) Amendment Bill, 1941.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the charge that the Government had failed to enlist non-official co-operation in A. R. P. work was made by some members of the official Congress Party when the House was asked to sanction the supplementary demand for grant of Rs. 70,23,000 for expenditure in connection with civil defence measures.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, was asked by the Labourite, Mr. Sorenson, in the House of Commons, whether he had any further statement to make on the proposals of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whether any recent steps had been taken to ascertain Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's views on the matter, and what representations on Chinese and Indian relationships and common aspirations had been received by the British Government.—Mr. Amery replied: "The answer to the first two parts of the question is in the negative. The recent visit of Chiang-Kai-Shek to India enabled a full exchange of views to take place between him and the Viceroy."

- 27th. Sir George Morton, presiding at the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in Calcutta, made an appeal "to all sections of the community to sink their political differences in this time of trial and stand together to achieve one common purpose and one common freedom."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a resolution that the Government should immediately take all possible steps to secure the release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, in detention in the Trichinopoly Central Jail, was considered and partly discussed.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, explained what the Congress intended to do to meet the "immediate danger" "The danger," he pointed out, "is grave no doubt, but, the gravest danger is to be panicky. I must tell my countrymen that the nations who fear death most are those who suffer most."

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, addressing a meeting of the Progressive Group in Bombay, on the present political situation, declared: "If the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons portends anything, it is that he realises that unless India is made to feel this is her war, no solution is possible."

- 28th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, introducing the Central Budget for 1942-43, the Finance Member disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 17 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit, on the present basis of taxation, of Rs. 47 crores next year.

His Excellency the Chancellor, Sir John Herbert, at the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University delivered his address on "War and our Duty" as the main theme. His Excellency observed: "We cannot tell when or how the blow will fall, if indeed it does fall at all, but we must be ready in our hearts as well as in material ways for whatever may eventuate. We must show the people of the world that Calcutta is in no way inferior to other great cities, which have suffered, in the courage and fortitude of its citizens."

## March 1942

The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to the shores of India, as the envoy of the British Government, marked an important era in the modern constitutional history of India. He brought with him a draft declaration, setting out the conclusions of the British War Cabinet for discussion with Indian leaders. The object of the visit as stated by Sir Stafford was : "His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which, they propose, shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-Government in India. The object is the creation of a New Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs."

Sir Stafford further explained the situation by stating, "We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded up on the free consult of all its peoples ; but it is not for us, Britons, to dictate to you, Indian peoples."

The Congress Nationalist Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, decided to change the name of the party to Nationalist Party."

The President of the All-India Momin Conference sent a cable to Mr. Churchill, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. L. S. Amery, repudiating the claim of Mr. Jinnah as the leader of the Moslems as also the Moslem League's claim to speak on behalf of Indian Moslems.

In the Council of State, Sir A. P. Patro welcomed the proposal of the Government of India to meet the deficit of 35 crores by resorting to loans instead of imposing fresh taxes.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, sharply criticized the statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the effect : "What the Muslim League wants is a fair and just share in real power and no Indian politician is interested in denying this."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of giving effect to the recommendations of the Floud Commission, was raised by the Muslim League Party.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi wanted that the Government of India should make a statement declaring once for all whether 'scorched earth' policy would be adopted in India. Outside the House he was supported by Mahatma Gandhi, who made an appeal to the Government that in order to allay general panic, government should make a satisfactory statement in that regard.

The Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners made an appeal to the Indian National Congress and to the Home Secretary, Government of Bengal, strongly denouncing Fascist methods of the enemy.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha pointed out that besides the Muslim League, there were other Muslim Associations, such as the Shia Association, the Momin Association, the Jamiat-ul-ulema and others.

On behalf of the Indian, the Bengal National, the Muslim and the Bengal Mill-owners' Associations, a telegram was sent to the Government



of India, expressing the view that the "scorched earth" policy would be inadvisable and entirely unnecessary.

Sir Stafford Cripps said that he and Mr. Churchill "absolutely agreed" on the War Cabinet's proposal and hoped that they would "appeal to the Indian leaders since they were the unanimous result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have had widely differing outlooks on the question."

Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Kripalani made an appeal for the general observance of the National week in India.

His Majesty the King-Emperor broadcast a speech to the Empire on the eve of the National Day of Prayer, expressing his sympathy for the sufferings caused by the war.

1st. The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at Lucknow, passed several resolutions on the political situation in India with particular reference to the developments in the Far East. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Mahasabha, was in the chair.

To enable all Nationalist members of the Central Legislature to join the party, the Congress Nationalist party at its meeting in New Delhi decided to change the name of the party to the "Nationalist Party." Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt presided.

A Press communique said that the Punjab Government appointed a special committee to examine the case against each security prisoner in the Punjab and to make such recommendations as it might consider necessary in each individual case.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, at a public meeting at Lucknow, made a reply to Mr. Jinnah's speech at Sirajgunj and strong criticism of the Congress ideology.

A meeting of the All-India Azad Muslim Board, passed a resolution in New Delhi, stating *inter alia* : "The Board is convinced that there is general unanimity in India that the country must forthwith cease to be a dependency if this end is to be achieved and that it should have the freedom enjoyed by the other free countries of the world, including England and the Dominions. Representing nine constituent Muslim organisations and speaking for the bulk of the Indian Muslims, the Board fully supports this demand."

2nd. The Government of Bengal issued a communique detailing the steps taken for the reception of evacuees arriving in Bengal from Burma and for forwarding them to their destinations.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a statement from Allahabad observed : "There is a certain elementary decency which people observe even towards their opponents in public life in politics. But some people who apparently call themselves Ministers in Orissa today have demonstrated that they do not possess even this elementary decency. Some of them broke their pledges solemnly given. And then, afraid of being defeated in the Provincial Assembly, they started arresting those who might work against them in the election campaign."

3rd. Sir Stafford Cripps, in reply to a cable sent by the Maharaj Kumar Sir Vijay of Vizianagram, President of the Andhra Mahasabha, said : "I shall do my utmost to assist in bringing about a solution of the problems which now confront this country and India in common. I trust that you and all my Indian friends will play your part in helping to arrive at a reasonable and fair compromise which will satisfy the various parties and sections of Indian opinion."

Mr. Shaikh M. Zahiruddin, President and Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Vice-President of the All-India Momin Conference sent a cable to Mr. Churchill, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. L. S. Amery.—"The All-India conference representing over 45,000,000 Moslems of the Momin (Ansar), community repudiates Mr. Jinnah's leadership as also the Moslem League's claim to possess the sole right to speak on behalf of Indian Moslems and supports the demand for immediate recognition of India's freedom."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a statement on the rising prices of domestic coke was made by Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, Commerce Minister.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, replying to Mr. Govind Deshmukh, Mr. M. S. Aney stated that the question of rendering financial assistance to depen-

dants in India of Indians stranded in the war zones was engaging the Government of India's attention.

- 4th. In the Central Assembly, replying to criticisms made during the debate on the Budget, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member said : "As regards economy and retrenchment, the extent to which the civil side of the Government equally with the many defence services was at the present time part of the war machinery."

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, a revenue deficit of Rs. 15.27 lakhs was revealed in the budget estimate for the year 1942-43.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a cable from Allahabad, to *News Chronicle*, London, said : "Destiny itself is bringing India and China together again."

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, ex-Premier of the United Provinces, addressing a meeting at Haldwani (Nainital) said : "Whether of Japs or of Germans, we will face aggression like men and fight for the freedom of one nation to the last."

- 5th. The Orissa Budget for 1942-43 revealed a revenue surplus of Rs 12,000. There was no proposal for fresh taxation. The Budget estimates were presented in the Assembly by Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister. Total revenue were estimated at Rs. 1,97,07,000 and expenditure at Rs. 1,96,95,000.

The Government of Bengal convened a conference in Calcutta of leading members of various organizations and interests to consider the question of forming a Central Civil Defence Committee in the city, as also smaller Sub-Committees in different wards or sub-areas and in other vulnerable areas in the mofussil.

In the Council of State, opening the general discussion on the Budget, Sir A. P. Patro welcomed the Government's decision to meet 35 crores of the deficit by resorting to loans instead of imposing still further taxation on an already over-taxed people.

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed to refer to a select committee Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries, and passed his Bill to extend the date up to which certain duties characterized as protective should have effect.

- 6th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, in answer to a question put by Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, said : "Steps have been taken in collaboration with certain important producers to increase the production of steel in India. Some new furnaces are in the process of installation."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a reference was made to the arrest of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. Replying to Mr. Nur Ahmed (Moslem League), Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, referred to the Press communiqué, issued on the subject by the Government of India on December 11, 1941 and said that he and his colleagues approached the Government of India in the matter.

In the Central Assembly, during the general debate on the Budget, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, asked for a clear enunciation of the Labour Department's policy during the war, particularly on his demand that the basic minimum substratum of the living standard of the working classes should not suffer. For this purpose, he demanded that the working classes should get a dearness allowance corresponding to every rise in the cost of living, so that the standard of living might be kept up, even at a low level.

The Council of State rejected, without a division, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru's resolution asking for immediate steps to be taken to form a Home Guard for the defence of India.

India's solidarity with China in her heroic struggle against Japan was well demonstrated at a public meeting in Calcutta.

The Moslem League Party in the Central Legislature with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the chair, resolved to send a cable to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill : "The Moslem League Party in the Central Legislature views with grave alarm and apprehension reports that His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament may be stampeded into making a pronouncement or adopting a scheme interim within the framework of the present constitution or the future regarding constitutional changes and impresses upon His Majesty's Government through you that no declaration should be made which will prejudice or militate in any way against the Moslem demand for Pakistan as the only solution of India's future constitutional problem."

- 7th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay, said : "In the interests of Hindudom, I feel it my duty to

repudiate most emphatically the statement made by S. J. Rajagopalachari this week, who according to A. P. I. stated, "What the Muslim League wants is a fair and just share in real power and no Indian politician is interested in denying this." His officiousness is only equalled by his audacity in presuming that he was entitled to play the rôle of a self-appointed spokesman of all politicians in India and secondly, that all Indians who did not think the demands of the Muslim League 'fair and just' were not politicians at all".

In the Central Legislative Assembly, compensatory and house-rent allowances for all postmen and lower grade staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department were demanded by Rao Sahab Sivaraj on a cut motion.

- 8th. In the Sind Assembly, Professor Ghansyam (Congress) sought to raise the constitutional issue in the province when he asked the Premier, Khan Bahadur Alla Baksh, whether the communication to the Secretary of State for India raised the general issue as to the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Ministry's advice by the Governor or whether it covered only questions of merit of particular matters on which Ministerial advice was not acted upon by the Governor and to supply a list of such cases.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, under the caption "An appeal to 'Quaid-e-Azam'", gave an extract from an English weekly published under the direction Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, secretary of the All-India Moslem League, attacking Hinduism, and said: "The policy adopted in the paper must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities. If the end is to be attained through strife and force and not by persuasion and agreement I can have nothing to say. But I observe from Quaid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them. I plead, therefore, for a juster estimate of men and things in papers representing the policy and programme of the Moslem League."

Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek paid a tribute to the women of India in the course of a message to a woman's meeting held at Chungking in observance of "International Women's Day"

Mr. G. D. Birla, addressing the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce, in New Delhi, declared: "Our experience of the Roger Mission to India has been none too happy and we have, therefore, to look at the reported American technical mission to explore the possibility of furthering the industrial progress of India with a bit of suspicion."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said in Madras: "Mr. Savarkar's statement is based on an improper understanding of my statement on the subject of the Moslem League position."

- 9th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of giving effect to the recommendations of the Flood Commission appointed by the previous Ministry, which included the proposal for the abolition of the Permanent Settlement, was raised by the Muslim League Party in opposition by means of a cut motion in connection with the Government's budget demand for grants for Rs. 36,22,000 for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue."

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was held at Rawalpindi under the presidentship of Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman.—Mr. Jinnah sent a message to the Conference, in which after reviewing the activities of the Muslim League, said: "Apart from the political programme, the urgent and immediate need for us is to take steps and put into effect the economic, social and educational programme which was laid down by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of having a separate Minister in charge of Civil Defence was raised when the Supplementary Budget Estimates for 1941-42 came up for consideration.

- 10th. The Council of State agreed to five official motions seeking to elect non-official members to the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Standing Committee to advise on the subjects other than "Roads" dealt with in the Department of Communications, the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce as well as three members to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Madras Government Press Note recommending that any one who had no business to keep him in the city of Madras and who intended to leave if the danger became acute should leave as soon as he could, was referred to by Mr. L. Navalrai, who asked what

facilities the Government had provided for evacuation such as free transport, accommodation, monetary assistance and safeguarding of property and education of children ?

In the Central Assembly, the question of inadequate representation of Mussalmans in the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, specially in the gazetted ranks, was raised by Haji Abdul Sattar Sait.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the decision of the Government of Bengal as to whether there would be further curtailment in the acreage of 1942 jute crop, which had been fixed at ten annas to that of 1940 in December 1941, would be announced shortly, said the Chief Minister.

- 11th. Mr. Churchill made an announcement in the House of Common : "Sir Stafford Cripps is proceeding to India on a special mission. The official purpose of Sir Cripps' visit to India is to seek assent to the proposal which the British Government have agreed on to meet the Indian situation. Sir Stafford will take the British Government's constitutional proposals with a view to securing agreement. He will consult with the Viceroy of India and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation."

A London message, dated March 10, stated : Sir Stafford Cripps announced in the House of Commons that the Prime Minister would make a statement at the next sitting of the House with regard to India."

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following message to the people of India from New Delhi :—"I send this message to all men and women who live in this land, whatever their politics, their religion, or their race. You will be invited, during the next few weeks, to enrol yourselves in the national war front. The land we live in is threatened with danger. This is a call to action to everyone of us. ...I confide in your courage."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Govind Deshmukh made an attempt to move an adjournment motion to discuss "the necessity of taking immediate steps to put a stop to the misconduct of soldiers as evidenced by the damage to the shops and molestation of women near Huzur Paga at Poona".

The Central Assembly adopted motions for the election of members to five Standing Committees, namely, the Advisory Committees to the Commerce and Communications Departments and the Committee for Roads, and the Standing Finance Committee for Railways and the Central Advisory Council for Railways. —The House then began discussion on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration.

In the Sind Assembly, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind, replying to the general discussion on the Budget, said : "In a modern world you require modern persons with modern life and modern methods. I am modern but not accustomed to modern propaganda."

Mr. Hare Krishna Mahtab, ex-Member of the Congress Working Committee was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 100, in default to undergo four months' simple imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules.

- 12th. The Working Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference (Lucknow) passed a resolution reiterating its national standpoint and unequivocally declaring that the Shia community stood for the independence and political advancement of the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Moslem League Opposition ventilated their grievances against the Ministry by means of a cut motion when the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,27,42,000 for expenditure on General Administration came up for consideration.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Hon'ble Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister for Civil Defence Co-ordination, replying to a question, confirmed that a large number of evacuees, who were residents of the province of Bengal, from Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Hongkong, Penang, and other enemy occupied territories, had come back to Bengal. Their number was not known.

The position of the Moslem League in Indian politics was the subject of questions in the House of Commons. Mr. R. Sorenson (Labour) asked Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State, whether he considered the declaration of the All-India Momen Conference at Delhi, claiming to represent 45 million Moslems, supporting the demand for immediate recognition of India's freedom and repudiating any claim by Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League to possess the sole right to speak on behalf of Indian Moslems.—Mr. Amery in his reply said : "I have received a telegram from the President of the

All-India Momin Conference in the sense stated. The conference claims to speak on behalf of the Momins, a Moslem Community chiefly composed of weavers and agricultural labourers and numbering from four to five million, and not 45 million. Many Momins belong to the Moslem League."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Hussenhoy Lalji, resuming his speech on the Finance Bill, asked the Finance Member what he proposed to do with the huge sterling balances lying idle in England. He expressed the opinion that all requirements of war should be financed by long term loans.

A meeting of the Moslem League Party in the Central Legislature re-elected Mr. M. A. Jinnah as its leader, Sir Yamin Khan was elected its Secretary, in place of Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, who had requested the party to relieve him on account of his work in connection with the Aligarh Moslem University of which he was the Vice-Chancellor.

- 13th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, uproarious scenes marked the proceedings, when the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, was replying to criticisms levelled against the Ministry in regard to the alleged "misuse" of the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Satya Priya Bannerjee (Ministerialist Party) moved a resolution urging that persons convicted or detained by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Act and the rules framed there-under be immediately and unconditionally released.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi alluded to the fall of cotton prices in the Bombay Market from Rs. 184 to Rs. 169 for Broach and said that the fall was due to the fear that cotton would be burnt before the Japanese could come and take it. He, therefore, wanted that in order to allay panic, the Government of India should make a statement declaring once for all whether scorched earth policy was to be introduced in India.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, trenchant criticism of the wheat control policy of the Government of India, was made during the debate on an adjournment motion, moved by Mr. Surajmal, a member of the Ministerial Party, to "discuss the inability of the Punjab Government to prevent the export of wheat from this province at a time when the province is faced with a serious wheat famine." The motion received unanimous support from all section of the House, including the Congress Party and was passed without a single dissentient voice, after a two hour debate.

- 14th. His Excellency Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, re-viewing the province's war effort said that the amount contributed to the Provincial War Fund up to March 4 totalled Rs. 15,23,000.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a report appearing in the *Statesman* of a speech delivered on the 13th March, in connexion with the discussion of a non-official resolution urging the release of prisoners under the Defence of India Act and Rules, formed the subject-matter of a point of order by Dr. Nalinakhya Sanyal.

Mr. N. O. Chatterjee, Working President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, presiding over the North Bengal Hindu Conference at Chutmohar (Pabna) observed: "Political misfits are just as dangerous as quislings. They should be made to retreat or withdraw from the field of Indo-British Politics unhonoured and unwept."

The Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners made a strong appeal to the Indian National Congress and to the people of India in general "to lead the Indian people on the path of a mighty movement against Fascism and hasten the hour of people's victory over the Fascist enemies."

Sardar Patel, addressing a meeting of the cloth merchants of Ahmedabad, declared: "There is the least danger of invasion in Ahmedabad and Gujarat, situated as they are; and no danger at all in the villages."

The Hon'ble Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, Viceroy's Council, presiding over the All-Religions' Conference in New Delhi, observed: "In this great land of Majmaul-Babrein, unity of religions must be a tangible truth, too glorious to miss. Where the faqirs of Sarhind and Pakpattan mingled their messages with those of the sanyasis of Benares and Prayag, we need but mutely think of this truth and better not argue."

- 15th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harizan*, under the captain, 'Desirability of

Exodus': "A correspondent asks for my detailed views on the exodus that I have advised from the cities of all who are not wanted there and all who are unfit or unwilling to stay there. No one is obliged to stay in against his will. In the event of bombardment, it is clear that non-combatants can only be a burden in every way. Successful defence against a powerful enemy requires exclusive concentration on holding the enemy at bay. The defenders' attention must not be divided. This is from the military point of view."

The Bengal Civil Protection Committee, constituted under the auspices of the Provincial Congress Committee, decided at a meeting in Calcutta, to start at first twenty-one aid centres and four mobile units to attend to any air raid casualties in the city and suburbs.

The Working Committee of the All-India Students' Federation, in New Delhi, passed the following among other resolutions:—"This meeting greets with joy the appeal issued by the Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners in Dacca jail to the people of India exhorting all Indians including the workers, the peasants and the students, to line up in the united front against fascism." The meeting calls upon the Government of Bengal to immediately release these prisoners in this grave hour and thus release their full energies for mobilising public opinion in support of the people's war against fascism."

Among the resolutions passed at the session of the North Bengal Hindu Mahasabha at Chatmohar (Pabna) being held under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, was one relating to the constitutional changes.—The resolutions enjoined on the British Government to accept the triple demand made by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, namely, the recognition of India's independence, the concentration of political sovereignty in India and the nationalization of the Government of India.

16th. H. E. the Viceroy addressing the annual session of the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi, observed: "On you, representatives of Princely India, lies, on us all, the obligation to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her lasting time of trial and danger."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy made a suggestion that non-official Indians should be associated with the proposed American Technical Mission. Such association of non-official Advisers was necessary in order to lay at rest suspicions that the visit of the Mission might lead to the creation of vested interests in the industrial field. Indian public opinion was not going to tolerate such vested interests.

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, which met at Patna, adopted a resolution drawing the attention of the District Muslim League Working Committees to the necessity for urging upon all the branches to take up the work of strengthening the Muslim National Guards organisation.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of the arrest and detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was again raised. The Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said that the arrest had been made under orders of the Government of Bengal upon directions of the Central Government.

The Chittagong Armoury Raid Prisoners addressed a letter to the Home Minister, Government of Bengal, stating *inter alia*: "The victory of Fascist aggressors, we have no doubt, would mean total disaster for the human civilization. The victory of Fascism would plunge humanity into the darkest abyss of limitless misery. And in the midst of that all-pervading gloom the fate of the Indian people will be no less doomed than that of any other people."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, when approached by Pressmen about Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to India said: "As everything is nebulous about Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, nothing can be said; but the Working Committee will give its thought to them if they are worth considering; the whole business will be finished soon if nothing substantial is immediately granted."

The Madras Presidency's Budget for 1942-43, estimated the revenue at Rs. 18,97,87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 18,94,28 lakhs, leaving a small surplus of Rs. 3,59 lakhs.

Mr. Abdul Q. Ansari, Vice-President of the All-India Momin Conference, in a statement to the Press at Patna said: "Let us hope that Sir Stafford Cripps with his undoubted breadth of vision, will not view the Indian problem through Mr. Amery's jaundiced eyes and will not hesitate to recognise the just rights of the backward classes of the Muslim community."

17th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, during the debate on the Finance Bill, Sir Henry Gidney uttered a note of warning against fifth columnists.

The Congress Working Committee at Wardha adjourned after four hours' discussion.—During the sitting Mahatma Gandhi was present.

In the Punjab Assembly, replying to the debate on a "cut" motion moved to discuss the general administration policy of the Punjab Government, the Minister made a declaration that he had always been prepared to form a National Government in the province provided the Congress agreed to co-operate in the prosecution of the war.

In the Chamber of Princes the resolution on Sir Stafford Cripps' visit and the attitude of the Princes to proposals for constitutional reform was moved by the Chancellor and carried unanimously.

18th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, after the Finance Member's reply to the five days' debate on the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill, the Assembly divided on the motion and passed it by 49 votes to 16. The Muslim League voted against it, while of the Nationalist Party one voted with the League while a few voted with the Government and some remained neutral.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Punjab Premier, in an interview at Lahore, said : "I am doing my best to bring about a settlement between the Congress and the Moslem League and I think there is a possibility of settlement."

The Council of State discussed Mr. Mohamed Hussien's adjournment motion in the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A. (Central) addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, observed : "Whenever this war may end and however the war may end, this great and ancient country of ours will attain Purna Swaraj and New Delhi will be the capital of a free India."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru issued a strongly worded statement dealing with the plight of evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma.—Pandit Nehru refused to "the racial discrimination that has been and is so evident and the astounding difference in the treatment given to Europeans and the Indians..... Every effort is being made to find luxury quarters for Europeans and hardly any one, except some private agencies care for Indian families who are adrift."

Dr. B. S. Mojee, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement, said : "It is a fact which even Mr. Amery cannot deny that, besides the Muslim League, there are so many other Muslim associations such as the Shia Association, the Momin Association, the Jamiat-ul-ulema and others who, in their own ways, claim to represent the Muslims of India, but because the Muslim League is recognized by, and enjoys the favours of, the Government for Imperial reasons of their own, the Muslim League is made to look more powerful than all these associations."

19th. A telegram was received from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy stating that Sir Stafford Cripps would like to meet representatives on behalf of the Congress on or about March 26.

In the Central Assembly, the Finance Member agreed to an amendment to raise the taxable minimum of incomes for income-tax from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500. The Finance Bill originally proposed to bring within taxable units all incomes from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.

The United Provinces fourth budget since the outbreak of the war estimated a surplus of Rs. 4.02 lakhs. The budget had an opening balance of Rs. 1,26,01,000. The revenue receipts total Rs. 17,12,32,000 and charges amount to Rs. 17,08,30,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 4.02 lakhs.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, altogether ten cut motions in connexion with the Education demand under the Budget were moved. Of these four were pressed to division and rejected.—As proposed by the Minister-in-charge, the House voted Rs. 1,71,00,000 for 'Education General' and Rs. 11,22,800 for "Education, Anglo-Indian and European.

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Louthgow, broadcasting from the Delhi Station of All-India Radio on the formation of the Women's Auxiliary Corps, said :—"The corps will provide occupation for all women between the ages of 18 and 50 of any nationality who are British subjects. Women from Indian States who are willing to come to British India will be welcomed. All women who join must be able to speak colloquial English."

The view that the adoption of the scorched earth policy in India, in case of emergency, would be "inadvisable and entirely unnecessary," was expressed in

a telegram sent to the Government of India on behalf of the Indian, the Bengal National, the Muslim and the Marwari Chambers of Commerce and the Bengal Millowners' Association.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. issued the following statement from Wardhaganj: "In a leading article in the *Statesman* on March 15, a very grave allegation has been made. It was stated that intimate friends of Mr. Gandhi and members of the Working Committee of the Congress have told us that they had evidence that Mr. Subhas Bose received friends from the enemy when he was in this country." This is a very serious statement, and I cannot conceive of its being true. I have consulted all my colleagues of the Working Committee who are here at present, and they have expressed their astonishment at this surprising allegation. Whatever our differences with Mr. Subhas Bose in the past or in the present, and they are many, we cannot imagine that there can be any basis for this allegation."

20th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Bill was passed by 44 votes to 14. The minority represented the Moslem League Party's votes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an important question relating to the security of the province was discussed in camera, when the Budget demand for Rs. 1,24,81,000 for expenditure on extraordinary charges in India was under consideration.

The Punjab Assembly was adjourned sine die.

21st. The Joint Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health, and the Central Advisory Board of Education recommended the creation of a School Medical Services in the Provinces and States. The Committee was appointed to investigate and report on the question of medical inspection of school children and the teaching of hygiene in schools.

His Excellency Sir William Hawthorne Lewis, Governor of Orissa, presiding over a meeting of the Provincial War Committee at Cuttack, observed: "I expect many of you feel like I do, that now that the war has come so much closer to us our proceedings in the Provincial War Committee have acquired deeper significance and a more direct meaning for ourselves than was possible when the war seemed a more remote affair, fought on the other side of the globe."

22nd. The Jamiat-ul-ulema-I-Hind at its thirtieth conference which concluded at Lahore, made a call to Moslems of India to evolve a common formula to be presented to Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, Secretary to the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes, in a statement from New Delhi, said: "I am authorized by His Highness the Chancellor and His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal to state that the news which recently appeared in the Press that His Highness of Bhopal had resigned from the Chamber of Princes is misleading and not in accordance with facts. His Highness has indicated that he is temporarily abstaining from active participation in the Chamber of Princes. His Minister continues to represent Bhopal State in the Committee of Ministers set up under the reorganization scheme of the Chamber of Princes."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a signed article in the *Harizon*, made a plea to the Government of India that they would be considerably easing the situation and allaying anxiety if they unequivocally declared that they would not apply, if occasion ever arose, the "scorched earth" policy to India, especially in view of India's peculiar condition.

Sir Stafford Cripps and party arrived at Karachi by plane.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing the concluding session of the Jamiat-ul-ulema Hind at Lahore gave advice to Muslims not to stand in the way of freedom by presenting different schemes and to stand on their own legs and add work for the independence of their country.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-premier of Madras and member of the Congress working committee, in the course of a statement in Madras observed: "What should be searched for by all of us is an energising stimulus for national effort and sacrifice and a provincial executive, determined to save the people from foreign aggression that commands the trust and love and, therefore, the whole-hearted energy of the people."

23rd. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the premier, made an announcement in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, when replying to a debate on a resolution moved by Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee urging immediate and unconditional release of prisoners under



the Defence of India Act and Rules, that the Government of Bengal decided to appoint a tribunal to examine the cases of security prisoners.

On the occasion of "Pakistan Day" in Calcutta, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy explained the implication of the Pakistan scheme, at a meeting of Moslems.

Sir Stafford Cripps at a press conference in New Delhi, expressed the view that he had come to India because he was a great admirer of the country, and wanted to play his part as a member of the war cabinet in reaching a final settlement of the political problem.—Sir Stafford said that he and Mr. Churchill were "absolutely agreed" on the war cabinet's proposals and hoped that they would "appeal to the Indian leaders since they were the unanimous result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have had widely differing outlooks on the question."—He emphasized the urgency of time factor and said, "I am sure that in the circumstances of to-day, the leaders of the main parties and interests in India would be ready to take quick decisions."

In the Orissa Assembly, for the first time, the Congress demanded poll three times in succession when voting on demands was resumed. All the three demands under Stamps, Forest and Registration were assented to by the Assembly, the voting on each occasion being 17 to 24.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in addressing a public meeting of Muslims at Lahore, in observance of the "Pakistan Day," gave an exposition of a scheme for a solution of the constitutional problem of India.—Nawabzada Rashid Ali, President of the Lahore City Muslim League, presided.

"Pakistan Day" was celebrated in Bombay when several meetings were held under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim League.

Mr. M. N. Jinnah addressed a meeting on the 'Pakistan Day' in New Delhi.

- 24th. Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association, addressing the annual general meeting of the Association, said : "It is reported that as many as 18,000 workers or 17 percent of the normal complement in the cotton textile mills have already left Bombay."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier, made a statement in reply to one made by Sir K. Nazimuddin, Leader of the Opposition, on March 20, bearing on the security of the Province."

The Assembly sanctioned the Budget demands of Rs. 10,78,000 under "Cooperation" and Rs. 23,50,000 under debt conciliation."

The Council of State, passed without amendment, the Indian Finance Bill, as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly.

- 25th. Sir Stafford Cripps saw Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in New Delhi. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was the next visitor.

Mr. A. R. Siddiqi in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Moslem Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, remarked : "The arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps, the emissary of His Majesty's Government, raises the expectation that England shall, at long last, do her duty to India."

According to the rules and regulations formed under the Civil Pioneer Force ordinance, each unit of the force would consist of a unit headquarter and not more than four companies each of four platoons.

The Government of India agreed to a reduction of the total acreage under jute in Bengal in 1942 from five-eighths to half of the acreage of 1940.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, on the motion of Mr. H. C. Prior, the House passed the weekly Holidays Bill that every person employed otherwise than in a confidential capacity or in a position of management in any shops, restaurant, or theatre should be allowed in each week a holiday of one full day.

The Council of State passed without any amendment the Bill to amend the Cantonment Act, as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly. The upper House also discussed non-official resolutions.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad called a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Delhi on March 29, to consider the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps.

Sir Muhammed Saadulla ex-premier of Assam, in an interview at Shillong said that whatever might be the outcome of the talks between Sir Stafford Cripps and Indian leaders, the existing constitutional deadlock in Assam was most definitely going to end.

In reply to Sir Stafford Cripps' telegram, Mahatma Gandhi accepted the invitation of meeting Sir Stafford in New Delhi.

In the Legislative Assembly, Sir Abdur Rahim gave the reasons for his ruling on February 17, that the question raised by Mr. K. C. Neogy, whether the Indian Legislative Assembly was competent to entertain a Legislative proposal in the form of a Bill relating to a certain class of multi-unit Co-operative Societies, was not one which could be properly dealt with by the chamber on a point of order under Rule 15.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Maharaja of Palakimedi replying to a cut motion moved by the Congress Party under the head "General Administration," observed: "I leave it to the members of the House to judge whether under the existing conditions the Governor is justified in calling us to office or not."

26th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly a Budget demand for Rs. 17,40,000 moved by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Industries, for expenditure on his department was voted.

27th. Mahatma Gandhi met Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi. Acharya Kripalani, general secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, issued a circular from Allahabad, to all Provincial Congress Committees laying emphasis on the constructive programme of the Congress and pointed out that the programme placed before the country was two-fold: first, self-protection and secondly, self-sufficiency.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, general secretary of the A. I. C. C. in the course of an appeal in connection with the National week said: "The National week will be soon on us. It has been observed every year since 1919. It commences on April 6, when the nation inaugurated a non-violent mass struggle for the redress of its many and grievous wrongs and the attainment of Purna Swaraj. The National week has always been marked by the renewal of our general determination to achieve the goal of complete independence and self-purification through the intensive carrying out of the constructive programme. In the words of the sage of Sewagram, the fulfilment of this programme is the sure key of Swaraj."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal land Revenue Amendment Bill, 1941, which had been passed by the Legislature, again came up before the House when certain amendments were adopted on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor.

Dr. N. N. Law, in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, emphasized the responsibility of the Indian commercial community in the matter of helping in the restoration of public confidence at the critical period.

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League passed a resolution of confidence in connexion with the death of the Nawab of Mamdot and then had a general discussion on the proposals conveyed by Sir Stafford Cripps to Mr. Jinnah.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Government suffered a defeat, when with the casting vote of the speaker, the House rejected the first clause of the Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries (Orissa Amendment) Bill.

The Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly was adjourned sine die at Trivandrum, after transaction of non-official business. The adjournment motion regarding the increase of paddy cultivation and other foodstuffs was withdrawn after discussion.

The Padukottah Legislative council met at Padukottah, Sir Alexander Tottenham presiding.—The Government member stated that the total collections in the State for the War Fund under various heads was Rs. Rs. 2,15,276 and that the Durbar contributed a sum of Rs. 1,12,000.

28th. The King-Emperor broadcast to the Empire from London, on the eve of the National Day of Prayer. "Since I last spoke to you," said His Majesty "we have been through very hard and anxious times. We have shared the anguish of peoples who, having long enjoyed peace and prosperity under our flag, are now subjected to all the horrors of war. Our hearts go out to our comrades in Australia, New Zealand, India and Burma in their hour of trial. We know that they are facing it with the same unflinching spirit as those at home in the mother country. We shall give them every help in our power and we are glad to know that strong American forces are already ranged at their side."

A statement was issued by a body of women, representative of young women's organizations in Calcutta: "Today when our land is threatened with

foreign invasion, when our homes, our children, our loved ones. everything in fact we hold dear, is on the verge of complete destruction, when Fascist Imperialism—the worst form of exploitation and terror—is seeking to crush forever the elements of freedom and civilization we have won through years of hard struggle, are we to sit by and watch this gigantic cataclysm as mere spectators?”

Sir Stafford Cripps' programme included seeing a delegation of the Chamber of Princes Su Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. Mr. R. Jayakar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a Hyderabad delegation, representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

The Executive Committee of the Nikhil Bengal Krishak Proja Society at its meeting in Calcutta, with Mr. Humayun Kabir in the Chair, expressed the view that the problem of Indo-British relation could be solved only by the immediate transfer of all power, without any reservation, to a Government representative of and responsible to the people of India.—The meeting authorised its President, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, to place the views of the Committee (Samity) before Sir Stafford Cripps, stressing that “any attempt to exaggerate the differences between the communities in order to resist the demand for independence is dishonest and mischievous.”

A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary published the text of the new secondary education Bill, which the Government proposed to introduce in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on April 1.

- 29th. Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to Maharaja Kumar Sir Vijay Anand of Vizianagaram, wrote in the *Harijan*, “I was principally instrumental in securing from the Congress the recognition of the redistribution of the Provinces for Congress purposes on a linguistic basis. I have always agitated for the acceptance by the Government of such redistribution.”

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* on the “National week”—“The National week comes every year with the certainty of seasons. It has come for over 20 years now, and yet we seem to be as far as ever from our freedom or communal unity, or universalisation of khadi.

Mr. K. F. Haider, Finance Member, State Legislative Council, Bhopal, presenting what he described as “the biggest Budget in the history of Bhopal,” announced a record provision of Rs. 20,07,164 for the defence services of the State.

The Council of the Indian National Liberal Federation met in Bombay, Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Ray presiding, and informally discussed the political situation in the country with special reference to the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps. The Council decided that the President should be accompanied by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad when he was to meet Sir Stafford Cripps.

The creation at the end of hostilities of a new Indian Union which would have the status of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth with the right to secede was envisaged in the proposals of the war cabinet which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India. “The future constitution of the union will be framed by a body elected by a single electoral college composed of the entire memberships of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature, fresh elections to which will be held immediately after the war. If any British Indian Province is not prepared to accept the constitution so framed, it will retain its present constitutional position, and His Majesty's Government will agree to the negotiation of a new constitution giving such non-acceding Provinces the same full status as accorded to the Indian Union. His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body will enter into a treaty covering the transfer of power to Indian hands: but the treaty will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship with other member-states of the British Commonwealth.....Provision has also been made for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body: but whether or not a state elects to adhere to the new constitution, a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation will be negotiated....During the war, leaders of the principal section of the Indian people are invited to effectively participate in the councils of their country, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Defence will be the responsibility of His Majesty's Government.”

- 30th. The second supplementary estimate of expenditure for 1941-42 authorized by the Governor of Madras showed an additional authorized expenditure to the tune of Rs. 85,00,900 a sum of Rs. 30,04,500 being the sum charged.

Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul General for China in India, speaking at a meeting in Calcutta organized by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal made an appeal for close co-operation between India and China.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, in its annual report for 1940-41, revealed how it helped to solve some of the war problems; it recorded the establishment of an All-India fruit and vegetable station and efforts made to stimulate the cultivation of medicinal plants and supply of Codliver Oil substitutes.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in a broadcast speech from New Delhi, made an appeal to the Indian peoples to get together to frame their own constitutions.—He explained the British War Cabinet's proposals in regard to India. He said that the British Government's object was to give to the Indian peoples full self-Government with complete freedom in devising and organizing their own constitution. "We hope and expect," he said, "to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples; but it is not for us, Britons, to dictate to you, Indian peoples." Regarding the interim arrangements, he said that the acceptance of the proposals by Indian leaders would make it possible for the Viceroy to start forthwith upon consultations which would enable him to implement the principle laid down in the last paragraph of the document. He added that India would have an effective share in the defence councils since the Commander-in-chief would be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and India would be represented on the war cabinet and the Pacific War Council."

Three persons were killed and five seriously injured when police opened fire on a Madhe Sabha procession at Lucknow.

31st. The Congress Working Committee resumed its sitting in New Delhi. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad expressed their views at the session.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League adjourned after a sitting lasting some four and a half hours.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Aney, Leader of the House, referred to his earlier statement that he would consult party leaders on the question of the desirability of fixing a day for a discussion of the War Cabinet's proposals regarding India and said that he had consulted party leaders and there was no unanimity among them on the subject. The European Group did not want any discussion while the Muslim League was not in a position to express any opinion, as the subject had not yet been finally discussed in the Working Committee of the League.

Mr. Srinivas Sastri, speaking at a public meeting at Salem, said that India should be one, united and undivisible. If India was allowed to be divided she would then lose her greatness.

The All-India Moslem League Civil Defence Committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Chairman), Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-zaman and Kazi Mohammad Isa arrived at Ahmedabad. They addressed a meeting of the Moslems in the Jumma Masjid.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "There is no doubt that Mr. Rajagopalachari is handling a cause which has isolated him from his colleagues. But his worst enemy will not accuse him of any selfish motion behind the extraordinary energy with which he has thrown himself into the controversy of which he is the author. It reflects the greatest credit on him. He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty."

Rai Bahadur Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, presenting the Budget in the Kashmir State Assembly, said: "Notwithstanding the effects of the war, Kashmir's budget estimates for Sambat year 1999 both for the revenue of the year and for the expenditure charged to revenue exceed Rs. 3 crores and is the highest achieved so far in the history of the State."

The Standing Finance Committee (New Delhi) approved the proposals relating to the establishment of a transport organization and machinery for determining urgent railway priorities under the Department of Communication.

The Council of State passed two official bills, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, namely, the bill to grant weekly holidays to persons employed in shops etc., and the bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries.

## April 1942

The failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission was the burning topic of the month. The proposals of His Majesty's Government as presented by the Lord Privy Seal, were rejected by the Indian National Congress, the All-India Moslem League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation of India. Sir Stafford, after his return to London, declared that he did not regard the problem of India as insoluble during the war, but the approach would have to be made by the Indians themselves. To which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru replied that Sir Stafford was very much mistaken in thinking so, and in the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad it was made plain that no further initiative would be taken from the Congress side.

Maulana Azad, in an interview stated that the Cripps' negotiations broke down on the question of defence alone.

There was an open session of the All-India Moslem League at Allahabad. Mr M. A. Jinnah presided. He observed in explaining the draft declarations that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation had not been expressly recognized.

The Congress Working Committee made an appeal to observe the "National week."

A meeting of the Moderate Sikhs was held at Amritsar. The meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians.

Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in America, referring to India, said: "If our best efforts failed, the British Government would find itself obliged to do its own duty without the assistance or co-operation of the larger organized parties."

The statement of the Central Government's monthly accounts showed that excluding periodical adjustments and the transaction of Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs Department, expenditure in February exceeded revenue by Rs. 3 crores.

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy said in New Delhi: "The sending of the American Technical Mission is further evidence of the realization in my own United States and in the United Nations that this is one war, a world-wide war, and not a European war with an Asiatic side show."

The Madras Congress Legislature Party at its meeting in Madras, passed a resolution recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation and to "invite the Moslem League for consultation, for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement on the above resolution, said: "I may point out in this connexion that in the Congress organization, only the Provincial Congress Committee is the competent body to represent provincial views—not the Congress Legislature Party.

Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to the question of "Japanese help", declared: "It is folly to suppose that aggressors can ever be benefactors,

The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only to put in their own instead."

The session of the All-India Congress Committee opened at Allahabad. Maulana Azad, the President, in his opening speech said: "If any Indian says that we should welcome the Japanese then all that I can say is that his mentality is a slave's mentality which can think only in terms of a change of masters."

In a resolution moved by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the All-India Congress Committee supported the decision of the Working Committee in rejecting Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals.

There was a full dress debate on India in the House of Commons, as well as in the House of Lords—The draft declaration of the proposals as sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps loomed large in the discussion in both the Houses.

1st. Martial Law was proclaimed in the area of Sind afflicted by the criminal outrages of the Hurs. A communique said: "Over a period covering more than six months, the Hurs have by wholesale murder, sabotage and dacoity, terrorised whole districts. The means available to the civil authorities have failed to cope with the situation because of the fanaticism of these followers of the Pir of Pagaro and the terror they inspire in their victims who are too cowed to bear witness against them."

The Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Right Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in a joint statement, said: "It would be a tragedy if Sir Stafford Cripps' mission failed, for it would produce a keen sense of disappointment and frustration and provoke antagonisms which, in our opinion, would be disastrous in this hour of crisis."

A deputation of prominent citizens of Madras met His Excellency the Governor and urged him to take steps immediately to have the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills reopened for work, and to have a tribunal set up to enquire into the disturbances and Police firing on March 11.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Sultan Ahmed informed Mr. G. V. Deshmukh that the Hindu Law Committee had drafted a Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession and another Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage. The Bills were received by the Government on March 11 and 17 respectively and were under consideration.

The death occurred of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, in Bombay, former President of the Central Legislative Assembly. He was 80 years of age.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a memorandum on Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, said: "There are several points in the declaration which are more or less satisfactory, but according to the statement unfortunately made by Sir Stafford Cripps, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is to be accepted or rejected in toto. As some essential features of the scheme are wholly or partially unacceptable to us, the Hindu Mahasabha has no other alternative but to reject the scheme."

2nd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in an interview said that the Cripps' negotiations broke down on defence alone, and Mr. Rajagopalachari's statement to the contrary was entirely baseless. The Maulana was referring to Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech at Coimbatore in which he was reported to have said: "The statement that control over defence was denied in any circumstances represented the position as it stood when the Cripps' negotiations started but at subsequent stages it became clear that as a result of exchanges of cables, the British Government were prepared to modify the position and give us a part in defence also. The negotiations broke down over other points and not over defence."

Sir Stafford Cripps said at a Press Conference in New Delhi: "I am postponing my departure from India... I have now postponed my departure for a short time. The postponement arises from the fact that, in view of the general situation, I think, I can possibly do something useful next week."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President disallowed Mr. Kailash Behari Lal's adjournment motion seeking to discuss the conduct of soldiers, who

were stated to have caused injury to eleven students at Saranath in Patna district, on March 18, as a result of which two of them died, as neither Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal nor the Government was in possession of authentic information about the incident.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal announced that he would meet the leaders of the different parties in the Assembly on April 3, to discuss the question of forming a National Government representing all sections of the House.

A provision to make monogamy obligatory even as regards sacramental marriages was a feature of the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage, prepared by the Rau Committee on Hindu Law and published in the Gazette.

- 3rd. The Bill to amend and codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession published in the Gazette had three main features, namely, (1) it embodied a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India; (2) it removed the sex disqualification by which Hindu women in general had hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India, and (3) it abolished the Hindu woman's limited estate.

The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivas Sastri addressing a meeting of the Progressive Group on the Cripps' proposals in Bombay, strongly condemned certain aspects of the war cabinet's proposals, especially in regard to the promised freedom to provinces not to accede to the Indian union.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a resolution passed in New Delhi, affirmed "irrevocable determination to resist the British Government's scheme at all costs and by all possible means."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressing a Conference of the youths of Madras, said: "I am certain that if we secure Congress-League settlement, even if all the members of the British War Cabinet inform me beforehand that they would not give us a National Government although an eleventh hour settlement is reached, we can make them give us National Government and everything we want."

- 4th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr M. R. Jayakar, in a memorandum presented to Sir Stafford Cripps, strongly pressing for the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council and among other things, asked that the majority required for any decision by a Provincial Legislature to adhere or not to adhere to the union should not be less than sixty-five percent of the Indian members of the Lower House present at the meeting at which the decision was taken. The memorandum opposed a plebiscite for the purpose and called attention to the necessity for the restoration of popular Governments in the Provinces.

The Congress Working Committee met in New Delhi, Maulana Azad, Congress President, said that the meeting considered the situation in Bengal and Assam consequent on the near approach of the war and discussed what lead the Congress should give the community at the juncture.

The open session of the All-India Muslim League began at Allahabad. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, after explaining the draft declaration of the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, said that the Mussalmans felt deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation had not been expressly recognized. Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Jinnah said that he had come to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government and that his proposals had been published in the papers. The Working Committee of the Muslim League was considering them. "What the Committee will decide no one knows, but one thing I want to announce in clear words. Rest assured that our aim is Pakistan and whatever the proposals might be, if they are such that we cannot achieve Pakistan we will never accept them. There may be shortcomings in the proposals—and there are many—but our firm determination and our only goal is one—Pakistan—Pakistan—Pakistan."

The Executive Committee of the India League in London, in a manifesto, said: "A settlement now is imperative and as vital to Britain as to India. The people of Britain must insist on a settlement and call on the Government to instruct Sir Stafford Cripps to meet the Indian demands."

In a special statement to the American Press, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said: "America, as we have news here, is surprised that the Cripps proposals have not met with an enthusiastic response in India. The answer is that devolution,

with reservation of Defence, cannot save India and the people of India. The belated—far too belated—declaration that India may determine her own constitution on the cessation of hostilities has failed to evoke enthusiasm, because of Britain's understandable refusal, even at this late hour, to instal a truly National Government, inviting it to take up responsibility of the defence of the country.

5th. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur in his presidential address at the first session of the All-India States' Muslim League Conference at Allahabad, made a reference to the constitutional proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps to India.—He said that there were two points which needed clear elucidation. "Firstly, whether the representatives of the Indian States to the constitution-making body shall be nominees of the Rulers, or whether they will be elected representatives of the people. Secondly, what safeguards will be provided to safeguard the interests of the Muslim subjects of the States in the new constitution."

Mahatma Gandhi, in replying to the question, "will there be room for Britishers and foreigners in a free India?" wrote in the *Harijan*: "The question should have nothing to do with my spirituality, supposed or real. It does not arise for free America or free Britain, and it will not arise when India becomes really free. For India will then be free to do what she likes, without let or hindrance from anybody.....If I have any influence over her policies, foreigners will be welcome, provided they will never be allowed to exploit and impoverish the country as they have done hitherto."

The Congress Working Committee at its meeting in New Delhi, passed the following resolution:—"The 'National week' this year has come upon us at a time of grave crisis and peril to the nation. It is incumbent upon us all to prepare ourselves in every way to face this crisis and, whatever the larger policies that may be followed in an everchanging situation, it is clear that the present Congress programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection is the essential foundation of every other policy and activity that might be undertaken. To this programme and to the constructive activities included in it, therefore, Congressmen must address themselves intensively during this week."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech to the Oxford Union, with special reference to India, said: "our aim publicly declared, and sincerely held, is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions.....while also, like them, (the Dominions) maintaining the bond of free association with the rest of the commonwealth."

The Subjects Committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded at Allahabad.—A resolution moved by Moulana Jamal Mian, and unanimously adopted by the session placed on record "its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from the membership of the Muslim League, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, who has completely forfeited the confidence of Mussalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Journalists' Association at Allahabad, said: "I agree that there are very wide differences to-day especially between the Hindus and the Muslims, but I have expressed many times, that whatever differences there are, they do not from my side arise from the slightest ill-will towards the great community of the Hindus, or any other community."

On the invitation of Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia, a meeting of Moderate Sikhs of the Punjab was held at Amritsar.—The meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians, that a representative government owing allegiance to the Crown and including at least one Sikh be established at the centre, the succession of provinces should not be allowed, and that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities including Sikhs.

6th. It was announced that the Government of India decided to extend the concession to the glass industry for a further period of one year.

Congress circles in Calcutta observed the opening day of the "National week" as in previous years.

Nine political prisoners confined in the District Jail, Lucknow issued an appeal to their countrymen asking them to throw in their lot with the progressive peoples of the world like those of Russia, China, Britain and America in the war against the Fascist menace.



Sir Stafford Cripps met in New Delhi Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Sultan Ahmad, and Dr. Raghabendra Rao, all members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru reported to the Congress Working Committee his talk with Col. Johnson, personal envoy of President Roosevelt.—The interview created a favourable impression in showing American support for Indian freedom and in assuring the fullest help from America in India's fight against aggressors.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, a member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Moslem Conference in a Press statement on the Cripps' proposals, said: "The question is not of future status or constitution, but of the transference of power here and now."

The third sitting of the open session of the All-India Moslem League began at Allahabad:—A condolence resolution was moved from the chair placing on record their "deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Nawaz Khan of Mamdot."

Mr. M. A. H. Isphani (Calcutta) moved a resolution authorizing the President "till the next session of the League to take every step or action, as he may consider necessary, in furtherance of, and relating to the objects of the Moslem League as he deems proper, provided they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the Moslem League, or any resolution expressly passed by the session of the All-India Moslem League." Maulana Hazrat Mohani moved an amendment but he was out-voted: the main resolution was carried.

A Press Note issued in Calcutta stated the measures that the Government of Bengal wanted the people to adopt to retard as much as possible the progress of the enemy in the event of a landing.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a reception given by the Kerala club to meet Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillay, President, Travancore Congress Committee, stressed the unity of India, which "we shall fight for." Pandit Nehru said that the problem of Indian States could not be treated as of secondary importance and could not be left out simply because the British Government had entered into treaties with certain persons who were dead long ago. The larger interests of India could not leave Indian States aside.

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Prime Minister of Kashmir, speaking in the State Assembly, declared that Kashmir would welcome the formation of a single India Union and do its utmost to co-operate in the work of framing a suitable constitution for it, so as to enable Kashmir, when that constitution was framed, to accede to it.

The second session of the All-India States' Muslim League concluded at Allahabad. —Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung presided. The main resolution emphasized that the All-India States Muslim League alone could represent the case of the Muslim subjects of Indian States in any scheme of constitutional adjustment.

7th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press, replied to the criticisms, particularly of the American Press, of the Mahasabha's rejection of the British War Cabinet's proposals. Mr. Savarkar said: "The impression that the Hindu Mahasabha, the pan-Hindu organization, was uncompromising in rejecting the Cripps' scheme, is mis-informed. The Hindu Mahasabha accepted it partially and welcomed the promised grant of equal partnership with Britain, but the scheme made it all conditional on granting freedom to Provinces to secede and break up India into a number of independent States with no central Indian Government. To us, Hindus, the unity and integrity of India, our Motherland, and Holyland, is an article of faith."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, opening the Price Control Conference in New Delhi, made an appeal to Provincial Governments not to misunderstand if the Central Government were to encroach upon their power. Sir Ramaswami emphasised that the enemy had to be fought on the economic front as well as the military front.

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Liberal Federation of India, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Naushir Bharucha, Honorary Secretary of the Federation, communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps the views of the Liberal Federation on the draft declaration stating *inter alia*: "The Council of the Liberal Federation has very carefully examined the draft declaration of Sir

Stafford Cripps. It welcomes the proposals to make India a self-Governing Dominion with the same status and functions as are enjoyed by Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth. On examination of the different heads of the proposals the Council feels that the provision giving liberty to any province not to accede to the Indian Union is fraught with serious difficulties and danger. The creation of more than one Federal Union in India having their own separate armies, may result, in certain conceivable circumstances, in a conflict between them. It would almost immediately lead to customs barriers, and complicated questions about posts, railways, existing public debt etc. would arise."

The Maharaja of Baroda gave his assent to a Bill for amending the Hindu Code passed by the State Legislative Assembly, declaring invalid all polygamous marriages, subject to certain exceptions.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, declared: "I consider it my duty to oppose any foreign invasion of India. How can I remain a mere spectator of events or be silent? The news of the Japanese bombing of the coastal towns of India must stir the hearts of Indians". He declared that the Japanese assertion that they were coming to India to set us free was absurd and wholly false. That was clear from Japan's misdeeds in China and Korea."

8th. Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in America, referring in a speech at the New York Hall to the possibility that India's spokesmen might reject the opportunity offered by the British Government's proposals said: "If our best efforts failed, the British Government would find itself obliged to do its own duty without the assistance or co-operation of the larger organized Indian parties."

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's Envoy, was in close touch with Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru as well as with Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mrs. Sarat Chandra Bose, with her son and daughter, interviewed Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose at Mercara.—In a statement to the Press, Mrs. Bose said: "I find my husband's health very much worse than before. He is pale and emaciated. His general condition is bad. The climate of Mercara does not suit him. Fish and fresh vegetables necessary for health are not available in Mercara. The bungalow assigned to him is very old and ill-ventilated and has not been inhabited for years. The amenities are very few and he has no suitable company and is living a solitary life."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press interview at Lahore, said: "There was a fundamental relationship between the British nation and the Hindus, and the latter, as a nation, could not look to any foreign power for alliance except the British."

The fourth session of the National Defence Council opened in New Delhi at the Viceroy's House. The Viceroy presided both at the morning and the evening sessions.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Member in-charge of the Indians Overseas Department, made a statement in the Council on the condition of the Indians in the Japanese-occupied territories in the Far East and on the arrangements made for the evacuation of Indians from Malaya and Burma.

The Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference adopted a resolution declaring that the Cripps' proposals fell far short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and were not acceptable unless modified.

9th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a statement to the Press from New Delhi, said: "We have had sufficient experience of British statesmanship in India and elsewhere. Whatever the war may have done, there has been little difference in tone or voice of the most eminent of the British leaders. Lord Halifax, whom we know well in India, still continues to sermonise us as of old and to tell us how insignificant we are in this great land of India. Perhaps so. Then, why trouble about us or come to us with proposals? Lord Halifax is pleased with what his people have done here. Let him live in his complacent world and leave us to our resources and our sorrows. But whatever happens, we will not give up our objective of independence and complete freedom for India."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay, saying: "To avoid any misunderstanding on the part of the public, it must be made clear that the rejection by the Hindu Mahasabha of the scheme proposed by Sir Stafford Cripps does in no way mean that the Hindu

Mahasabha has given up the policy of the militarization of the Hindus as reaffirmed in the last session at Bhagalpur and then again by the All-India Committee at Lucknow."

A Press communique from New Delhi stated : "The National Defence Council met again in the Viceroy's House. The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member-in-charge of the Education, Health and Lands Department made a statement on the food position in India and the steps under contemplation for a food production drive. The measures already taken and in contemplation as regards control of prices of food stuffs, with particular reference to difficulties experienced in wheat supply were dealt with by the Hon'ble the Commerce Member."

- 10th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "In this hour of peril for India, many Indians in distant and foreign countries have cabled to me, expressing their earnest desire to come back to their homeland in order to share in the perils and dangers in the defence of the Motherland from aggression and invasion. I entirely share these sentiments and I am convinced that it is the duty of every Indian, who can do so, to return to India and face the dangers that threaten us. I trust that those in authority will facilitate this return."

The Government of Bengal initiated a vigorous drive for increasing the area under paddy and other food crops, in order to make every part of the province self-sufficient at least in respect of certain principal items of food.

The Congress Working Committee rejected the British War Cabinet's proposals. The decision was unanimous. The negotiations failed mainly owing to differences on the transport defence to Indian control, on the Congress demand for a virtual end of the Secretary of State's control and on the demand that, where a majority of the future cabinet were agreed, the Viceroy should not use his power of vote.

- 11th. The working committee of the All-India Moslem League declared that the British War Cabinet's proposals for India were not acceptable.—The League committee, while expressing gratification that the principle of Pakistan had been recognized by implication regretted that the proposals embodying the fundamentals were not open to any modification and were, therefore, not acceptable to the committee.—Referring to the proposed interim arrangements the League's resolution pointed out that there was "no definite proposal." The British Government merely invited Indian leaders to participate in counsels of the country. The resolution also stated that Sir Stafford Cripps made it clear that "the scheme must be accepted or rejected as a whole."

Sir Stafford Cripps announced at a Press Conference held in New Delhi that His Majesty's Government's offer to India had been withdrawn.—The Congress objected to the secession clause in the proposals, the method by which the States would be represented on the constitution-making body and failure of the War Cabinet to make defence an Indian responsibility. The Moslem League rejected the British proposals mainly on the ground that they sought to create one Indian union—an organization to which the League was opposed.

A Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal said : "Under an order issued on April 11, 1942, the Government have prohibited the removal without a special permit of any transport vehicle from Calcutta and the neighbouring industrial areas, in the district of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly.

The Congress Working Committee concluded its session in New Delhi and decided to call a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad on April 29 and 30.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President at a Press Conference in New Delhi, referred to his interview with Sir Stafford Cripps : "First, he told Sir Stafford Cripps that the approach to the Indian problem made in the draft declaration was not only correct but was likely to lead to greater complications. If the British Government desired to infuse in a new spirit in India even at this eleventh hour and send out a person like Sir Stafford for the task, the simple method would have been to send out through Sir Stafford the announcement that Britain was prepared to part with power."

A Communique issued by the Orissa Government stated : "The important initial successes of Japan in Burma and the Far East have made it necessary to face the possibility that the enemy may attempt landings on the coast of India. Any such attempt would be met with resolution and determination and our armed forces are confident of their power not only to repel the enemy but to defeat him utterly."

Sir George Schuster, former Finance Member, Government of India, commenting on the failure of the Cripps' proposals from London, said: "There is deep disappointment at the breakdown of negotiations in India. But if the truth is rightly understood the honest efforts made can be fruitful of good."

12th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, issued the following statement from New Delhi: "In pursuance of the resolution passed by the All-India Moslem League at Allahabad on April 6, 1942, authorizing me to appoint a Committee for the purpose of taking all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Mussalmans, I have appointed a Committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Chairman), Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Choudhri Khalig-u-Zaman and Haji Mohammad Isa."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in Delhi, declared: "The military way is to fight as long as you can and when you feel you have lost the battle to surrender. The popular conception of resistance is no surrender whether the soldiers die or live. That is the conception that China has given us and the conception that is largely seen in Russia. That is the conception we want in India."

The fifth annual session of the Mysore State Congress commenced at Nehrunagar, Mr. V. Venkatappa, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates. Mr. T. Subramaniam presided.

13th. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, Government of India, who arrived in Calcutta, on his way to Manipur, to see the arrangements made for the evacuees and refugees arriving in India from Burma, saw His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and discussed with His Excellency questions relating to the relief of evacuees who happen to pass through Calcutta.

Mr. Amery, replying to a Parliamentary question whether, in view of the need for increasing food crops in India to meet additional commitment, we would bring the matter before a conference of Provincial Governments and Indian States representatives, said that a conference between them and the Indian Government called for April 6, had the express purpose of considering steps to increase food and fodder production.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the Parliament, denied statements alleged to have been made in the Press that whole Indian units of the forces in Burma had deserted to the Japanese. "It is wholly untrue", he said.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a statement from New Delhi, said: "Sir Stafford Cripps' statement made in Karachi about Congress leaders going to Col. Louis Johnson and his acting as mediator is not correct and is liable to be misunderstood. Sir Stafford has not been fair either to Col. Johnson or to the Congress leaders. There was never any question, as I have stated previously, of our asking for mediation or arbitration from any one and President Roosevelt's name has been needlessly dragged into this matter."

Dewan Krishnamachari, President of the Baroda Assembly, emphasized the need for maintaining public morale in the emergency. He disclosed that the Government was constituting a National war Front organization in Baroda. He outlined the States' war efforts.

14th. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda, addressing a study circle at Baroda, observed: "It must be recognized that treaties and engagements with Indian Provinces have to be revised as and when the conditions under which they were negotiated undergo a change. It is certainly possible to devise a satisfactory machinery for this purpose."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, presiding over a meeting organised by the sub-committee of the District War Committee at Allahabad, said: "I would rather lay my life down against the aggressors than run away just now from my town in panic like a coward. If we have to die we should die with honour and I would never bend down before the Japanese or leave my house."

15th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in a Press interview at Allahabad, said that he had decided to call a meeting of the Congress Committee irrespective of the Cripps' mission and even before Sir Stafford Cripps came out to India. He also said: "The urgency of the occasion demands that the members of the All-India Congress Committee should muster strong at Allahabad. Events have moved so fast and India has been drawn so much under the shadow of war—that it was necessary for the A. I. C. C. to meet

and to draw up a co-ordinated solid picture of the situation in our mind not only to ensure a correct mental perspective but also to retain the correct lead for the country at this hour of peril."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview to pressmen at Allahabad, said: "The picture that was given to me of the British War Cabinet's proposals in my first talk with Sir Stafford Cripps on March 25, deteriorated so completely and took such a shape by April 9, that it was clear to me that the proposals were no better than a reshaped and polished version of the August 8 declaration."

Lord Halifax cabled a sum of 600 dollars to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. He delivered a speech on India at the New York Town Hall. In that speech, Lord Halifax said: "India is at war; her exertions have been voluntary and have been magnificent. Her army has been expanded by voluntary enlistment to about one million men. Further expansion will go on as fast as weapons and equipment become available. It will be the same with the Indian Navy and the Air Force."

Mr. Giani Sher Singh, the Akali leader, in his presidential speech at an Anti-Pakistan Akali Conference held at Amritsar, observed: "Those who think that because we are opposed to Pakistan, therefore, we support a Hindu Raj for India, are sadly mistaken. We want neither a Hindu Raj nor Muslim Raj, nor even a Sikh Raj: what we advocate is a joint rule of all parties and communities guaranteeing safeguards and religious freedom to all the inhabitants of this country."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said: "If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right for self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to come to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present."

A Press Note from New Delhi stated: "The Government of India have decided that wholesale dealers in wheat shall be licensed. In Delhi and probably, elsewhere also it will be necessary for retail dealers to be licensed."

Mr. T. Subramaniam, President of the fifth session of the Mysore State Congress at Nehru Nagar (Bangalore), said that it was essential to keep in view always their objective which was the attainment of responsible government, although, owing to the emergency created by the war, the demand had to be postponed for the time being.

16th. Mr. Rathindranath Tagore denied the statement made by Mrs. Marcia Dodwell at the World Congress of Faiths in London that the Japanese tried to make a Quisling of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. In a statement to the Press, he said: "Nobody could possibly have dared to approach my father with proposals of that sort and he was not approached by any government or agency."

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M. L. A., in a statement in New Delhi, on the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission suggested that Britain should offer to India an interim National Government, including Defence, such as that which functioned in Australia.

Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal, replying to a letter addressed to him by Mrs. Hassina Murshed, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Bengal, wrote: "It seems to me inevitable that if India is, as I believe she desires, to have full and independent Self-government, the recognition given to the rights of women must be a recognition based on the force of Indian opinion and not on the requirement imposed by His Majesty's Government."

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta, under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, discussed the question of organising a Civil Defence Corps all over the Province for the maintenance of internal peace and security and for carrying on work that would be necessary in connection with the emergency. The Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Bengal and Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was also present.

The Government of Madras issued a Press communique, which said: "The Government have examined the facilities and assistance required by the proprietors of hotels in Madras to enable them to continue to meet the needs of their customers. The Government will give the same notice to proprietors and staff of hotels as will be given to essential services in case of an immediate

threat to Madras though employment in a hotel will not be declared an essential service under the relevant ordinance."

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that 40,000 Indians were evacuated from Burma.

Sir Betram Stevens, Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council, addressing Press correspondents at a farewell party in New Delhi, emphasized the vital strategic link between India and Australia.

The statement of the Central Government's monthly accounts showed that, including periodical adjustments and transaction of Railways, and the Posts and Telegraphs Department, expenditure in February exceeded revenue by Rs. 3 crores.

Mr. A. F. W. Dixon, the Dewan of Cochin, inaugurated the construction of the Chalakadi-Anamalais Road, which would link the rich planting districts of the Anamalais with the Cochin Harbour.

The *New Statesman and Nation* (London) commenting on the Indian defence position in the light of the breakdown of the Cripps' negotiations, said the only hopeful tactics would be such as the Chinese adopted and this "could be done only if a National Government, trusted by the people, could light in their hearts the flame of patriotic enthusiasm."

17th. The Secretariat and other offices of the Government of Orissa opened at Sambalpur.

The Organizing Committee, formed under the chairmanship of Dr. K. N. Katju to make arrangements at Allahabad, in connection with the session of the All-India Congress Committee, appointed several sub-committees and co-opted Mr. R. N. Basu, chairman of the Municipal Board, Maulana Shahid Fakhri, Dr. Zahidi and Mr. Abdul Latif as members of the committee.

18th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing the Congress workers of Bengal in Calcutta, observed: "Although India was a subject country she had declared sides long before this war in as much as India expressed her sympathies with what Russia and China stood for, and the Chinese definitely considered the forces represented by Hitler and Japan as dark forces which, if victorious, would lead to a permanent slavery of India."

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, president of the All India Kishan Sabha, in a statement from Patna, said: "As Japanese aggression is knocking at the gates of India, we cannot but take serious note of it and must gird our loins to meet it as best as we can, irrespective of what the British Government do or do not do."

19th. His Excellency the Governor of Sind, in his message to the Sind Provincial Marketing Board, at Karachi, emphasized the problems of conservation, improvement and distribution of Sind's food supplies.

The *Sunday Observer* (London), in a leading article said: "Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to India rounded off a whole period of the Empire. An offer had been made, the offer has been rejected, the offer still stands, we cannot go back; we cannot stand still, and in war time we can move in only one direction."

The following messages were exchanged between Sir Stafford Cripps and His Excellency the Commander-in-chief India. From Sir Stafford Cripps:—"On leaving India I wish you, your staff, and all the Forces under your command a successful issue out of the troublous times that lie ahead. There will be difficulties and hardships to be borne, but I am confident that the splendid temper of the armed forces under your command, British and Indian alike, will meet whatever comes with high courage and a full sense of their great responsibility for the defence of India.....Good luck to you all"—His Excellency the Commander-in-chief replied as follows:—"Your message will be greatly appreciated by all ranks of all the there services, we are determined to defend India against aggression and are confident of our ability to do so. Many thanks and happy landings."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* under the caption "That ill-fated proposal": "It is a thousand pities that the British Government should have sent a proposal for dissolving the political dead-lock, which, in the face of it, was too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere. And, it was a misfortune that the bearer should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, acclaimed as a radical among Radicals and a friend of India."

20th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a public speech at Camp-

bellpur, made a reference to the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission.—Sir Sikander said that the British war cabinet's offer contained the substance of what Indian political leaders had been asking for a status of virtual independence after the war, the right of India to frame her own constitution through her elected representatives, and the right of self-determination for territorial units. The unwillingness of political leaders to accept the offer was, he said, really due to their unwillingness to shoulder responsibility at the present stage. He was, however, glad that Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had been emphasizing in his public statements the duty of India to resist Japanese aggression.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-premier of Madras, when he spoke at a meeting in Madras, made an appeal to the people of Madras not to give way to panic and fright but to face the situation manfully and with courage.

The Government of Bengal issued three orders under the Defence of India Rules, with a view to regulating the distribution and disposal of certain essential commodities, such as rice, wheat, atta, flour, dal, mustard oil, salt, coak and matches in Calcutta and the neighbouring industrial area during the period of emergency specially after an air raid.

Mr. Kesho Dev Malaviya, in a Congress bulletin, said that according to the instructions of the President of the Indian National Congress, the Allahabad Congress Committee took up the work of making arrangements for holding the meeting of the A. I. C. C. and looking to the comforts of all its members.

- 21st. General Sir Archibald Wavel, in a broadcast to the Indian people, declared : "Our ultimate victory in the war is beyond all doubt. You have on your side the four toughest and most enduring races of the world. Another assurance I can give you, is of the quality of the troops who depend on India. Let nothing that has happened in Malaya or Burma shake your faith in the fighting powers of the British or Indian soldier."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, addressing a meeting at Dacca, observed : "The war was now at Bengal's frontier and at any moment it could come on Bengal's soil. It was the duty of the Government to protect the people during the war, but they could not do it without the people's whole-hearted co-operation."

Col. Louis Johnson, addressing members of the Press Association in New Delhi, said : "Will you convey to the good people of India the personal greetings and felicitations of the President of the United States and the people of the United States."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad chalked out a comprehensive programme suggesting how the people by their own initiative could deal with a situation which might arise from any hostile action on India.

The Right Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in the course of a message to the *Daily Herald*, said : "I am not inclined to regard the failure of the Cripps mission as the last word in the matter. India is pulsating with the desire to fight aggression and this has to be made effective by transferring power to Indian hands. England and America will have before long to discover a fresh formula for this purpose and thus mobilise this nation-wide longing. Many mistakes were made, causing the failure of the Cripps mission.....It will be wise to avoid them when a fresh attempt at reconciliation is made."

- 22nd. Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking at a Press Conference in London, said that he did not regard the problem of India as insoluble during the war. But, Sir Stafford added, the approach would have to be made by Indians themselves..... It was impossible to frame a new constitution now. The immediate problem was one of defence of the country. "Indian leaders", he said, "will extend themselves in order to do anything they can to assist in an unofficial capacity the defence of India." He thought that his mission had impressed the Indian people and others with the sincerity of outlook of the British people and Government.

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy, at his first Press Conference in New Delhi, said : "The sending of the American Technical Mission is further evidence of the realization in my own United States and in the United Nations that this is one war, a world-wide war, and not a European war with an Asiatic side-show."

Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister for Civil Defence Co-ordination, Bengal, addressing a public meeting at Midnapore, said : "Emergency measures in war time are dictated by military necessity for frustrating the plans of the enemy." Kumar Debendralal Khan, M.L.A., presided.

The Government of Bengal issued an order prohibiting the taking out of

Calcutta and the industrial area of food-stuffs and other necessities of life such as rice, atta, wheat flour, dal, mustard oil, salt, coke and matches, without a permit issued by the chief controller of prices.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, said : "We must at least do everything in our power to bring reasonable Hindus and Muslims to work unitedly for the period of the war. If, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah can and will meet for this united purpose, keeping bigger questions aside for the present, I think there will be a psychological revolution in the country."

23rd. A Press Communique announced in Madras, "that since the immediate threat to Madras city mentioned in the Government Communique of April 11, has now disappeared, the Government of Madras have decided to bring back the essential portions of their Secretariat and most of the other offices of the City of Madras."

"*Yugantar*", a Bengali daily, was directed by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules to suspend further publication, sale or distribution of the paper.

The "*Pratap*", a vernacular daily of Lahore, suspended publication, following the orders of the Punjab Government directing the paper to submit to the special Press Adviser, Lahore at his office between 10 a.m. and 9 p.m.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M.L.A., in a statement to the Press, expressing his views on the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps said : "The proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps placed before us, as settled facts, if accepted by us, would undoubtedly place us under the yoke of our oppressors and blood and tears would be our lot for ever."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, speaking at a meeting in Vepary, Madras, declared that if the Japanese made the mistake of invading India, they would find their entire strength swallowed up, they would meet with certain defeat and that would be their end.

A Gazette of India extraordinary announced that after April 30, "no producer of sugar shall dispose of, or agree to dispose of, or in pursuance of any agreement entered into on or before that date make delivery of, any sugar except (1) to a recognized dealer or (2) to a person specially authorized by the controller to acquire sugar on behalf of the Central Government or of a Provincial Government."

Sir Stafford Cripps resumed his position as Leader of the House of Commons. —He announced that he would make a statement on his mission to India shortly and this would be followed by a debate. He added, "At the end of the debate we should ask the House to agree to a motion for the continuance in force of the proclamation made under the Government of India Act."

Sir Frederick Whyte, a former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, stated in London : "It is a fashion to call the Cripps Mission a failure, but it is truer to say that though it had no success it was not by any means barren."

The Assam Government issued a communique regarding the shortage of certain foodstuffs in the province and the rise in the prices of commodities.—The communique said that both in Shillong and in the districts, Government and its officers are kept in close touch with the situation. The Governor also had a conference at Shillong, with representatives of merchants, municipal authorities, the officials concerned and representative house-holders.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, at a meeting of Hindus and Muslims at Srirampur, Dacca, made an appeal for communal harmony. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Bengal Ministers, also addressed the meeting.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, in a Press Conference in New Delhi, said : "With the knowledge that I have of the genesis and the scope of this Technical Mission I can state unequivocally that it is not the purpose of the Technical Mission to help American industrialists to build up factories in India."

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy, in a broadcast from Delhi, said : "There is no goal for us and for you except victory. And in that victory may I say on behalf of the President that we propose to bring to the problems of the eventual peace no less than to the battle-grounds of the immediate war, our aroused conscience, our highest resolves, loftiest ideals."

A Bombay Government Press communique said : "Suspension of the publication of the "*Bombay Sentinel*" for 30 days from April 22 has been ordered by



the Bombay Government. This action follows the publication in the newspaper of an offending article."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal to Hindus (from Bombay) to follow the lead of the Hindu Mahasabha and "deprive the Congress altogether of its representative character" and strong criticism of the Congress working committee's resolution on the Cripps' proposals.

An urgent meeting of the Press Advisory Committee was held in the *Hindusthan Times* office, in New Delhi, to consider the situation arising out of the ban on the publication of the *Bombay Sentinel*, Bombay, the *Yugantar* (Bengali daily conducted in conjunction with the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in Calcutta) and the action taken by the Punjab Government against the *Pratap*, an India daily of Lahore.—The meeting adopted a resolution which stated *inter alia*: "This meeting considers that the decision of these Provincial Governments (Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab) constitutes a violation of the spirit of the agreement which has so far governed the relations between the authorities and the Press and recommends to the President of the standing committee to summon an emergency meeting of the standing committee to review the situation and meanwhile to take prompt steps in conjunction with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees concerned to get into touch with the Provincial Governments responsible for these decisions and safeguard the interests of the Press in those Provinces":

Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member of the Government of India in an interview to the Press in Calcutta, said: "There is no road now confined to Europeans as such, nor is there any camp confined to exclusive use of Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

The Madras Congress Legislative Party at its meeting in Madras, passed a resolution recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to acknowledge the Moslem League's claim for separation should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing the future constitution of India, and to invite the Moslem League for consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, leader of the Party presided.—The resolution was moved from the chair.

24th. Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, in a signed statement addressed to the various Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, expressed the hope that employers and supervisors of labour would do everything in their power to instil into their workers a spirit of courage and resolution.

Mr. Kiron Sankar Roy, Leader of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party in a statement to the Press, expressed surprise at the resolution passed by the Madras Congress Legislative Party recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to acknowledge the Moslem League's claim for separation.

Mr. F. W. A. Morris, Civil Defence Commissioner, Madras, prepared a scheme for the supply of cooked food to the people of Madras, particularly to employees of firms of the city.

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that His Majesty the King approved the promotion of His Highness the Maharaj Jam Sahib of Nawangar to the honorary rank of Colonel, Maharajkumar Amarjit Singh, C.I.E., of Kapurthala, to the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and His Highness the Maharaja of Panna to the honorary rank of Major in the Army with effect from April 3, 1942.—His Majesty granted from the same date the honorary rank of Captain to His Highness the Raja of Suket and the honorary rank of Lieutenant to His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

A Press Note from New Delhi said that His Majesty the King approved the promotion of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan, President of the All-India Moslem League Defence Committee, in a statement from Lucknow, said that the principal object of the Committee was made clear in the statement of the President of the All-India Moslem League from Delhi, to allay panic and to assist suffering humanity, irrespective of caste or creed.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement to the Press, said: "On behalf of the gallant people of the Punjab—the Sword Arm of India—I warmly reciprocate the sentiments expressed by Col. Johnson and request him to convey to President Roosevelt and the great and freedom loving people of the United States our cordial greetings and unshakable determination to stand by the united nations, undeterred by temporary vicissitudes.....and an unflinching faith in our final victory."

25th. By an amendment of the Defence of India Rules, it was announced that : "If, in the opinion of the Central Government or the Provincial Government, it is necessary or expedient so to do, for securing the defence of British India, public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community, that the Government may, by order in writing, requisition any property, movable or immovable, and may make such further orders as appears to that Government to be necessary or expedient in connection with the requisitioning : provided that no property used for the purpose of religious worship and no property as is referred to in Rule 66 or in Rule 72 shall be requisitioned under this Rule."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, issued a statement on the resolution passed by the Madras Congress Legislative Party : "It greatly astonished and pained me that a man like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in spite of his being a member of the Congress Working Committee, should have adopted an attitude, I am in communication with him. I would assure you that any personal relationship, howsoever dear to me, cannot deter me for a moment from discharging my duty as a President of the Congress. I may point out in this connection that in the Congress organisation only the Provincial Congress Committee is the competent body to represent provincial views—not the Congress Legislative Party. Despite this fact, the party itself was not fully represented in the meeting.....It clearly shows that it would be wrong to attribute the decision to the majority of the Congress of the province."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, observed : "We are going to make no approach to the British Government and we shall face our problems and perils with such endurance and wisdom as we may possess."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in the course of an interview with the United Press Association of America, said that Col. Louis Johnson's New Delhi statements, giving reasons for the despatching of the Technical Mission and troops by America to India, "came at an appropriate time" and that they were very reassuring to the Indian people, eliminating the possibility of misunderstanding. India appreciated the "friendly interest" of the United States in the Indian problems.

26th. Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to the question, "If the Japanese really mean what they say and are willing to help to free India from the British yoke, why should we not willingly accept their help ?" declared : "It is folly to suppose that aggressors can ever be benefactors. The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only to put in their own instead. I have always maintained that we should not seek any other power's help to free India from the British yoke."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview at Allahabad, amplifying his criticism of the resolutions adopted by the Congress Legislative Party, pointed out that the resolutions were objectionable for two reasons : first, Mr. Rajagopalachari as a member of the Congress working committee should have waited till he had an opportunity to place before his colleagues in the working committee any fresh new material in his possession which he thought rescuscitated the decision contained in the resolution. Mr. Rajagopalachari would not have had long to wait as the working committee was meeting within three or four days of the Madras Legislative Party's decision.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, in an interview at Nainital, said : "Sir Stafford Cripps' picture of what he called the net results of his mission was typical diplomatic subterfuge. It had a deceptive ring of self-abnegation and magnanimity about it."

The President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce issued a statement, which observed *inter alia* : "We have been assured during our discussions that there is no question of any trade or tariff concessions being demanded for the U. S. A. in India in the post-war period as a price of American collaborations."

27th. Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru (a member of Council of State) and Mr. A. M. Dain M.L.A., member of the Central Standing Evacuation Committee, issued a joint statement to the Press giving their impressions of a visit to Assam to see the arrangements for Indian evacuees from Burma. Along with Mr. Aney, Member-in-charge of the Department of Indians Overseas, they visited Dimapur, Imphal (Manipur) Wanjing, Pael and other places and had discussions

with evacuees and with officials and non-officials. They then went to Shillong and discussed problems affecting the evacuees with the Governor and other officials.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, head of the Indian Purchasing Mission, in a broadcast talk from Delhi, said: "Though every member of the United Nation is putting forth his utmost effort in the titanic struggle, the world looks to America in a special degree for material assistance. The unique machinery of Lend-Lease is the bold and unconventional symbol of America's determination to render all-out aid to the Democracies of the world in their great hour of trial."

The death occurred at Karachi of Sir Abdulla Haroon, M.L.A., (Central), as the result of heart failure.

The Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President was in the Chair.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, when his attention was drawn to the order of the Bengal Government prohibiting the publication of "*Yugantar*" and suspension of other newspapers by the respective Provincial Governments, observed: "This kind of suppression of newspapers seems to me monstrous, and even from the military point of view undesirable."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vice-President, All-India States Peoples' Conference, in a statement on the arrest of certain State Congress members in Travancore, said: "It is deeply to be regretted that Travancore, of all States in India, should at this juncture have adopted measures by which two distinguished citizens like Mr. Pattam Thamu Pillai, President, State Congress, and Mr. Ramachandran happen to be arrested for disobedience of prohibitory orders in respect of a certain public meetings."

28th. Sir Stafford Cripps made a statement in the House of Commons on his mission to India. A full-dress debate followed. Sir Stafford Cripps said that the moment of his visit was difficult because of the imminent approach of the enemy to India's shores, because an atmosphere of defeatism was showing in certain sections of Indian opinion owing to events in the Far East and because communal differences over India's future Government had come more definitely crystallized. The British Government's hope was to use these very difficulties to bring together all Indian Leaders for the double purpose of solving India's future and reinforcing her defence against the foreign invader. Sir Stafford declared: "upon the fundamental and vital points of Indian self-Government and self-determination of their future constitution, there was no single case of disagreement. Disagreement came upon the way in which self-determination should be exercised."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in winding up the debate on India, in the House of Commons, declared that the primary object of the Cripps' mission was to remove all doubts as to the sincerity of the British Government's purpose. He said: "The main object of the Draft Declarations was to set India's suspicions as to our intentions at rest. Our ideal remains a United All-India."

The Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, told pressmen that one of the subjects considered was Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's position in respect of the Madras Congress Legislative party's resolutions. The Congress President said that he first gave the committee his comments on Mr. Rajagopalachari's action and then Mr. Rajagopalachari explained his position. The discussion was mainly from the personal angle without reference to the specific terms of the resolutions.—The Maulana said that in conformity with past practice, the A. I. C. C. would be called upon formally to endorse the Working Committee's decisions on the Cripps' proposals.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal from Bombay to the Hindus and to all Hindu Mahasabha organizations to observe May 10, as "Anti-Pakistan Day" and "Independence Day". Mr. Savarkar said: "Independence of Hindustan implies inevitably in itself the oneness and the indivisibility of Hindustan as a nation and a State."

29th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in opening the session of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad, said: "If any Indian says that we should welcome the Japanese, then all that I can say is that his mentality is a slave's mentality which can think only in terms of a change of

masters and never in terms of his own freedom. Our differences with Britain should not drive us to welcoming the Japanese or any other aggressor. We will not tolerate any aggressor though he says that he is coming to give us freedom.

The Congress President, after recapitulating his interviews with Sir Stafford Cripps, said that Sir Stafford had emphasized at Karachi and on his return to London that the initiative in dealing with the Indian situation would not now come from the British Government. "But I want to make it plain that no further initiative will be taken from the Congress side either."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad moved that "the All-India Congress Committee having considered the resolution of the Working Committee in regard to the proposals of the British Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps and the correspondence between him and the Congress President, endorses and approves the decision of the Working Committee."—The resolution when put to vote was passed with one member dissenting.

The Bengal Ministry decided to set up an organization to be known as the Bengal Home Guards throughout the rural areas of the province.

Mr. Hem Chandra Naskar, M.L.A. was elected Mayor of Calcutta for 1942-43, in succession to Mr. P. N. Brahma.

The Duke of Devonshire, Under-secretary of State for India, opening the debate on India in the House of Lords, declared that the main object of the Draft Declaration which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India was to overcome Indian suspicion that the British desire for a prior agreement among Indian politicians was a device to postpone Indian Self-Government. "I believe we have achieved a very valuable result in this direction."—The Lord Chancellor, winding up the debate said: "We will strain every nerve, as the Viceroy does, to make the best arrangements Indians desire for this constitution-making body. Nothing can be plainer from the Government plan than that it is not proposed and is not thought to be possible to make constitutional changes in the Government of India during the war."

30th. It was announced from Allahabad, that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar resigned from the Working Committee of the Congress and the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad regretfully accepted the resignation.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, hoisting the Congress flag on the All-India Congress Committee pandal grounds at Allahabad, observed: "Some aggressor nations have designs to fly their flags on our soil but we will prevent that even at the cost of our lives."

The All-India Congress Committee resumed its session at Allahabad:—Mr. Satyamurti, President of the Indian Overseas Association, moved the resolution criticising the arrangements made for Indian evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma. The resolution was passed unanimously.

## May 1942

The All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution on war, stating *inter alia*: "The present crisis as well as the experience of negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even in a partial manner British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety and world peace demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations."—A policy of non-violent non-co-operation in resisting the invader was strongly recommended and people were advised to work out the Congress constructive programme, and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

The All-India Congress Committee concluded its session at Allahabad after rejecting Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's resolution acknowledging the Muslim League's claims for Pakistan and passed Mr. Jagatnath's

counter-resolution opposing any proposal to disintegrate India.—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his concluding speech, said that Pakistan was against the spirit of Islam and in this connexion criticised the procedure adopted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Sir Stafford Cripps in a broadcast speech stated: "The British Government have finally and fully made clear their intention that India should have complete freedom and self-Government the moment the war is over and as soon as the Indians can themselves frame a new constitution."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was asked in the House of Commons, regarding the censoring in India of a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Amery replied that the Government of India confined their prohibition to one resolution and part of the second, on the ground that some parts of the said resolutions were based on "unverified rumours or misrepresented facts."

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement to the Press, referred to the reply given by the Secretary of State for India with regard to the banned resolutions and said that if the Government would be prepared to let him know which parts of the resolutions were based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts and convinced him that the information in their possession was incorrect, he would unhesitatingly express regret on behalf of the Working Committee and withdraw the resolutions.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sanctioned a scheme of reforms for the State Army with a view to improving the status of officers and men of other ranks.

The All-India Students' Federation issued a statement in which it was stated: "We demand the removal of all restrictions on student politicals, because every anti-Fascist fighter is urgently needed at this most critical time to rouse the people of India to a consciousness of their danger."

At the second open session of the All-India Students' Federation in New Delhi, resolutions urging the people of India to rally to the defence of the country were passed.—A message from the Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners was read out.

A new Ordinance gave the Provincial Governments power to impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area for certain offences affecting the efficient prosecution of war.

Sj. Mahadev Desai, writing on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi, regarding the Hur menace in Sind, said: "It is no use defending the Congress or the Congress leaders.....They must take courage in both hands and defend themselves with whatever they can muster."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, wrote: "Sri Rajagopalachari wants a Congress-League settlement on the basis of Pakistan to get British consent to the establishment of a National Government.....Is it a fact, whenever the Congress and the League have presented a joint demand, the Government has yielded?"

At an emergency meeting of the Madras Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, it was resolved to constitute a propaganda Committee to organize "effective" opposition to the move initiated by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

At the annual conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in London, a resolution was passed proposing that negotiations should be immediately reopened with the Indian National Congress for the formation of a representative National Government.

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore, in a letter to President Roosevelt, suggested that United States should intervene and arbitrate in the differences between India and England along with the Governments of China and U. S. S. R.

1st. The All-India Congress Committee passed by an overwhelming majority the resolution on war.—The resolution stated *inter alia*: "In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India and the attitude of the British Government as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All-India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future....."

"The A. I. C. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis as well as experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even in a partial measure British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations....."

"The success of such a policy of non-cooperation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad seconding the resolution declared that the veil had been torn away from the face of British imperialism by the Cripps' proposals. Furthermore, in the proposals, the representation in the Constituent Assembly from the States was not to be on the basis of election. "We were against aggression on any nation."

2nd. The A. I. C. C. concluded its session after rejecting by 120 votes against 15 Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's resolution acknowledging the Muslim League's claim to separation and passing by 92 votes to 17, Mr. Jagatnarain Lal's counter-resolution opposing any proposal to disintegrate India.—Mr. Rajagopalachari moving his resolution said that Congress should not fear any accretion of strength to the Moslem League, but welcome it, as it would strengthen the Nation. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in his concluding speech said that Pakistan was against the spirit of Islam and criticized the procedure adopted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in this regard.

Mr. C. P. Lawson, presiding over the annual general meeting of the Calcutta Branch of the European Association, in Calcutta, dealt with the war situation and the proposals brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps. Referring to the war situation, Mr. Lawson said that the time had come to get rid of the "scuttle complex" and to make it clear that "we had jobs to do in Calcutta and intended to stay in Calcutta."

A Government of Assam resolution on the report of the Department of Industries, Assam, for 1940-41, stated that the activities of the Department were, as before, directed mainly towards improving handloom, weaving, and sericulture and imparting and encouraging technical and industrial education among the youths of the province.

The Government of India's scheme for the issue of identity discs for the civil population was accepted by a number of provinces.

3rd. Mr. S. Satyasmurti, M.L.A., (Central) addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, made a stirring appeal to the people of the country not to bend their knees before the Japanese aggressor, not to betray the country, but to give a good account of themselves and offer non-violent non-co-operation to the aggressor.

Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in a broadcast speech from London, stated *inter alia*: "The British Government have finally and fully made clear their intention that India should have complete freedom and self-government

the moment the war is over and as soon as the Indians can themselves frame a new constitution. This is really a big thing. We have made clear to the world what I am sure is the desire of everyone."

- 4th. At a conference between the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the American Technical Mission in Calcutta, the scope of the assistance which America could extend to Indian industries engaged in the production of war materials was discussed.

Sir Andrew Clow was sworn in as Governor of Assam at the Durbar Hall of Government House, Shillong. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice McNair administered the oaths of office and allegiance.

Sir Aziz-ul-Huq, the High Commissioner of India, speaking in London, said : "Let no one suppose that the failure of the Cripps' motion means any slackening of the war effort or any weakening of our war attitude. All Indian parties condemn Nazism."

Mr. Chu-Chia Hua, Vice-President of the Sino-Indian Cultural Institute, in a letter addressed to the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, conveyed the gratefulness of the Chinese people to the Congress and the Indians as a whole for the warm reception given to their leader Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek when he visited India and expressed the confidence that jointly the Chinese and the Indians would be able to defeat their common enemy and to realise their ideal of a righteous and free world.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, expressed dissatisfaction with the policy of the Congress, since, without a National Front symbolised in a National Government, it would be impossible to meet the emergency, and a National Government, he made it clear, meant primarily a settlement with the Muslim League.

- 5th. Lt. Col. Sir Henry Gidney, member of the Central Legislative Assembly died in New Delhi. He was the Anglo-Indian leader and member of the Central Legislative Assembly.

Certain claims put forward by Indians in respect of their losses in Burma were placed before Mr. M. S. Aney by Mr. Amritlal Seth, President, Far East Indian Association Bombay in an interview with the Overseas Member.

The Government of Madras in reviewing the report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1941-42, stated : "During the year, there was further slight fall in the total number of public institutions, due mainly to the closure of elementary schools which are inefficient according to the standards of the Educational Department."

Mr. Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "His (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's) analysis of the motive for a Congress-League understanding is unexceptionable, if this understanding aims at unity of purpose in the face of a grave emergency which confronts the country as a whole"

- 6th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement on the Allahabad resolution repudiating the Pakistan scheme, observed : "Anyhow to do a good thing even under pressure is a saving virtue, and I can only hope the Congress would stick to this resolution and stand by the integrity of the Indian State and Nation henceforth through thick and thin."

- 7th. His Excellency the Viceroy in a broadcast speech from New Delhi, said : "We must achieve unity and action and we must combine them in a spirit of attack. Passive defence or masterly withdrawal, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars. Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger, attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive."

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, was questioned in the House of Commons, regarding the censoring in India of a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Amery said, *inter alia*, "The Government of India confined their prohibition to one resolution and part of the second."

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal leader, in a statement from Bombay, said : "To refuse to co-operate actively with the British Government in defending the country when the enemy is at our door is absolutely suicidal."

- 8th. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement to the

Press, referred to the reply given by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, with regard to the banned resolutions of the Congress Working Committee.—Mr. Azad said that if the government would be prepared to let him know what parts of the resolutions were based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts and convinced him that the information in their possession was incorrect, he would unhesitatingly express regret on behalf of the Working Committee and withdraw the resolutions.—The Maulana, however, affirmed with the fullest sense of responsibility that not a single phrase of the resolutions was either based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts.

9th. The co-operation of the Hindu Mahasabha in connexion with the Bengal Government's Home Guard Scheme, was assured at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, held in Calcutta. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Bengal, and Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, presided.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in an interview in Calcutta, said : "From the national Hindu point of view the move of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is most humiliating and no better way could have been conceived for bringing about the defeat of the object he may have had in mind."

Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, at a Press Conference at Lahore, said : "The best way to work for unity is by conceding the right of secession. Mr. Rajagopalachari's move, therefore, instead of being a Pakistan move, is actually the most effective unity of Indian move."

10th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a speech in Madras, said : "We must forge a National Front, wrest a truly National Government for India and mobilize the millions for patriotic defence."

Determination of the Hindus to resist Pakistan at all costs was voiced by speakers at a meeting at Chaupatty (Bombay) under the presidentship of Mr. Jannadas M. Mehta, M.L.A. (Central). Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, also addressed the meeting which was held to observe the "anti-Pakistan day and the Independence day."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister of Bengal, presiding over a meeting in observance of anti-Pakistan day, said : "The concept of Indian unity and integrity is so vital and sacred to us that it can never admit of any compromise and it can well justify any sacrifice on the part of the Indian people."

11th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, released to the Press some messages which passed between him and Mr. Allama Mashraqui. Mr. Jinnah appealed to Khaksars to join and support wholeheartedly the League policy.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sanctioned a scheme of reforms for the State Army with a view to improving the status of officers and ameliorating the lot of all other ranks.

12th. "The Government of India have decided not to pursue, at any rate for the time being, their suggestion that, in view of the emergency situation now developing, Governments should be free from the obligation to consult their Advisory Committees in individual cases."—This assurance was conveyed in a letter, dated May 11, "from the Home Department of Government of India to the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference."

13th. A statement was issued by the All-India Students' Federation, which stated *inter alia* : "Politically throughout our country there is indifference to the great issues at stake. There is little desire to co-operate with the existing Government..... We demand the release of student politicals, we demand the removal of all restrictions on student workers because every anti-Fascist fighter is urgently needed at this most critical time to rouse the people of India to a consciousness of their danger."

Speeches demanding the release of anti-Fascist political prisoners were made at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bengal Students' Federation in Calcutta. Mr. Satyendranath Majumder presided.

A new Ordinance gave the Provincial Governments power to impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area for certain offences affecting the efficient prosecution of war.

The Government of Sind issued orders under the Arms Act and under the



Defence of India Rules suspending all gun, rifle and revolver licenses held by individual non-officials in the four talukas of Shahdarpur, Sinjhora, Sanghar and Kleipro and directing their surrender at police stations before May 17.

Pir Illahi Buksh, the Education Minister of Sind, in the course of a statement at Karachi, said : "I believe that Pakistan is not practicable but I think that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's views to patch up differences between the two major organizations may be tried to achieve the ultimate object of freedom which is the final goal of every Indian."

- 14th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, sent a reply to the message of goodwill by the Islamic National Salvation Federation of China, sent through its representative, Mr. Othman K. H. Woo. In the course of his letter, the Maulana said that it was an occasion of the utmost pleasure to have met Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a gathering in Madras, said that between the Congress Working Committee and himself it was a matter of difference of opinion and not of difference in action.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramiah delivered an address at Masulipatam, in the course of which he referred to the panic created as a result of the war approaching India and evacuation from various towns and cities and observed that self-sufficiency and self-help should be the motto and people should lose no opportunity of helping each other. Peace brigades should be formed everywhere to protect the property and lives of citizens with arrangements for first aid in case of accidents.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing a public meeting at Muzaffarpur, enunciated the duties and responsibilities of Indians in general and Congressmen in particular in the event of any aggression.

- 15th. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Food Production Committee of the Government of Bengal, stressed the value of the "Grow More Food" in relation to the emergency.

- 16th. A Press Communique issued at Madras stated : "His Excellency the Viceroy has paid a visit to Madras, in the course of a tour which he has just concluded. Its purpose was to permit His Excellency to acquaint himself more fully with the places and organisation of military and civil defence measures in the City and Presidency, and to stimulate both official and non-official efforts to unite the people in a common determination against any aggression."

The Government of India issued a Newspaper Control Order, effecting a further reduction in the maximum number of pages of newspapers.—This became necessary, in view of the worsening of the shipping situation and the need for enforcing the most rigid economy in the consumption of newspaper.

The National War Front was inaugurated in Bombay, at a public meeting at which Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, in an address, explained the objects of the front and outlined its activities.

A communique from New Delhi said : "In view of the present war situation it is becoming increasingly necessary to augment the existing supplies of motor spirit by the domestic production of rectified spirit and power alcohol from surplus molasses.

- 17th. At the second open session of the All India Students' Federation held in New Delhi, resolutions urging the people of India to rally to the defence of the country were passed. Sardar Sohan Singh Josh was among those who addressed the conference and a message from the Chittagong armoury raid prisoners was read out.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League, in a statement issued to the Press, emphasized the need for organizing at least one corps of Moslem National Guards in each village of the province.

Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking at Bristol, said he was convinced that the offer to India was full, frank and complete offer of independence as soon as the end of hostilities made a new constitution possible.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a message to the North Arcot District Youths' Conference, said : "India will lose nothing if she gives the uttermost freedom to the Mussalman areas even as the British Empire has not lost anything by giving the Westminster Statute to her Colonies".

18th. The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, in a letter addressed to prominent members of different political organizations in Bengal, requesting them to attend a meeting in Calcutta, observed: "In this crisis, our first duty is to unite for the promotion of better relations among the communities and the protection of life and property of the people."

A Press Note from New Delhi said: "The Government of India were recently addressed by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the necessity for conserving food-grain supplies in this country."

Mr. Mahadev Desai, writing on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi, said regarding the Hur menace in Sind: "It is no use depending on the Congress or the Congress Leaders. They must take courage in both hands and defend themselves with whatever they can muster."

19th. Sir K. Nazimuddin, interviewed in Madras, regarding the resolution of the Madras Congress Legislative Party, said: "Personally, I think the move is in the right direction and, in my opinion, is the only way to bring about Hindu-Moslem Unity, specially at this critical time when India is faced with grave danger of foreign aggression."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting at Tanjore, explained his proposal for a Congress-League rapprochement—Mr. Rajagopalachari said India had been made a belligerent unarmed as she was. In spite of their differences with Britain, the Indians died in the defence of their motherland, that would be the greatest indictment of the British rule and a glory to India. It would hasten the advent of Swaraj."

20th. Mr. M. N. Roy issued a statement to the Press: "Sir Stafford Cripps' declaration in the House of Commons, that the offer of a substantial transfer of power to an Indian National Government, with which he came to India is withdrawn, because the Congress leaders refuse to accept it is an affront to democracy."

At a meeting of the leading citizens of Calcutta, under the presidentship of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, ways and means for the establishment of communal amity between the different communities in Bengal during the crisis was discussed.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement, said: "I appeal most earnestly to the public in general and to drugs and chemical manufacturers in particular for donation in cash and gifts in medicines and medical equipments for people in Assam."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee wrote: "Sri Rajagopalachari wants a Congress-League settlement on the basis of Pakistan to get British consent to the establishment of a National Government. He is convinced that if the unreasonable demand (he considers it perverse and childish) of Pakistan is conceded, the League will join the Congress for the demand of a National Government. As soon as this is done the British Government will yield. Is this view correct? Has it any historical basis? Is it a fact, whenever the Congress and the League have presented a joint demand, the Government has yielded?"

21st. The American Technical Mission, headed by Dr. Henry Grady, which spent in India about five weeks investigating India's war production, cabled to Washington some 35 specific recommendations.

The Governor of Bengal assented to the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Extending Bill passed during the last session of the Bengal Legislature.

The soundness of the financial position of the Government of India was emphasised by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an interview with Press representatives in Calcutta.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad, in the course of a statement at Bhagalpur, drew attention to the shortage in salt apprehended at almost every place that he had visited in the course of his tour and said that unless immediate steps were taken, it might cause great hardship and suffering to the people, particularly to the poor who, very often, have to depend only on salt, to enable them to gulp the coarse food they could somehow manage to get.

22nd. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference at Lahore, said: "The

crisis which affects our country today is likely to impart a new tinge to the communal problem and give rise to a new approach for its solution."

The Government of Orissa issued a communique further clarifying the Government policy in regard to the expediency of exporting surplus stocks of rice in the coastal districts of the province following a number of articles and statements that appeared in the local Press on the subject.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Lahore, said : "The step taken by Mr. Rajagopalachari is detrimental to the interests of our country. It appears to me that he is breaking to pieces the weapon which the Congress has fashioned after 22 years of innumerable sacrifices."

The Governor of Sind, in the course of an appeal said : "As Governor of Sind, with the full support of and agreement with my Ministers, I think it necessary to issue the following message to the Zamindars of Sind and especially to the Zamindars of those areas in which the Hurs are committing abominable crimes. This message is an appeal to you. It is also a solemn warning."

The Government of India issued a food grains control order under which all persons, other than the producers of food grains, engaged in any undertaking which involved the purchase, sale or storage for sale in wholesale quantities (i.e. quantities exceeding 20 maunds in any one transaction) of any of the specified food grains would be required to apply to the Provincial Government for a license.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding at a meeting of the International Fellowship Centre of Hyderabad, said : "I am not at all worried about the Hindu-Moslem question because I know that with all the drum beats, with all the headlines in the newspapers and with all forms of the wrong kind of speeches that are being made on either side, things are shaping themselves very well."

23rd. A Press Note said : "The Government of India have reason to believe that a practice is growing up in New Delhi that landlords in leasing houses at the fair rent take from prospective tenants, before agreeing to the lease, lumpsum payments in cash in excess of the prescribed rent, for which no receipt is given."

At an emergency meeting of the working committee of the Madras Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, it was resolved to constitute a propaganda committee to organize "effective" opposition to the move initiated by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

24th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harjan*, under the caption, "Lawlessness in Sind" : "The real remedy is for Congress members to withdraw from the Assembly and Khan Bahadur Alla Bux and his fellow Ministers to resign. These should form a peace brigade and fearlessly settle down among the Hurs and risk their lives in persuading their erring countrymen to desist from the crimes."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harjan* re : Cripps' Mission : "Sir Stafford could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet. If he had done so probably the party they entrusted with responsibility would have succeeded in having the co-operation of the other party. In any event, the Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of either party rather than having their own nominees."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement in reply to Pandit Nehru, said : "He says that Congress has been fashioned into a weapon of great potency as the result of twenty two years of innumerable sacrifices. This is quite true, but is it not all the more a tragedy that in this supreme crisis, Congress must watch things as a spectator."

Mr. Yusuf Meherally, Mayor of Bombay, in a speech at Poona, said that the Moslem League had not so far put forth its definite scheme for Pakistan only because they knew too well that it would be rejected the moment it was announced."

25th. At the annual conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in London, a resolution was passed proposing that negotiations should be immediately reopened with the Indian National Congress for the formation of a representative National Government "with full powers which could enjoy the confidence of the Indian people and mobilise them for active defence in co-operation with the United Nations."

The Anti-Fascist Conference after drawing up a six-point programme for the people of India in order that they should organize themselves against aggression, was concluded at Nagpur. Mr. K. M. Ashraf of Allahabad presided. The conference was largely attended by, among others, students and kisans.

The services rendered by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee to the cause of University education in Bengal, were recalled on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of his death in Calcutta.

A Press Note from New Delhi said that a representation was made to the Government of India in connexion with the Revised Newspaper Control Order (1942) which was due to come into force on June, 1942.

A Press Note said : In connexion with the food production drive inaugurated by the Government of India, the question was raised whether the position of the cultivator might not be seriously affected if a nation-wide effort towards increased food production lead to such an augmentation of output as to affect the saleability of the crops. The Government of India regarded the possibility of any such developments as remote.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee was held at Bezvada. Mr. T. Prakasam presided. It expressed full agreement with the All-India Congress Committee resolutions passed at Allahabad. The Committee heartily approved of the proposals of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity and trusted that steps had already been taken in this behalf.

26th. A communique issued from New Delhi, said : "His Majesty the King has approved of the extension for six months of the term of office of Sir Roger Lumley, as Governor of Bombay.

The Indian Agent-General, Sir G. S. Bajpai conferred briefly with President Roosevelt. Sir G. S. Bajpai told the Press that they exchanged views on matters of common interest. He said he had seen press reports that Pandit Nehru might come to Washington for discussion with President Roosevelt, but had no confirmation of this.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a message to the civil servants in India. His Excellency said *inter alia* : "Victory in assured, our single minded endeavour now can bring the day of victory nearer. There is work enough for each one of you today."

27th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, addressing a meeting of the Progressive Coalition Party in Calcutta appealed to members to take steps to allay panic and create a spirit of resistance among the people. The Government scheme regarding the formation of Home Guards was also discussed.

The Government of India issued orders prohibiting all future contracts in wheat and gram.

A message of fraternal greetings to the people of India, and especially the workers represented by the All-India Trade Union Congress, was handed over by a delegation of the National Maritime Union of America to Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. (Central), General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, in a statement on the Pakistan scheme, observed : "Though the Congress is a national organization by reason of its aims, objects and policies, it advocates an open door for all communities to join its ranks, it does not command the allegiance of all the denominational communities. It cannot purchase the good-will of one community at the expense of another, by conceding what is not generally accepted and what it itself consider wrong, mischievous, inspired by its enemies and repudiates all its aims, its historical past, its struggles and sufferings."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, at a meeting at Monghyr, said : "Congressmen at Monghyr who have taken an active part in forming Evacuees' Relief Committee have my entire support."

28th. Sir Andrew Clow, Governor of Assam, in a talk on "National War Front" broadcast from Calcutta, emphasized the need for cultivating the spirit of the soldier, which meant discipline, unity, comradeship and chivalry."

The formation of a "national volunteer organization" was advocated by the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislature at its resumed sitting in the Bengal Legislative Assembly building in Calcutta. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, leader of the party, presided.

The services rendered to the Hindu Mahasabha movement by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the president of the Mahasabha, were recalled at a public meeting in Calcutta. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee presided.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, welcoming the new Commissioner for India, Sir Aziz-ul-Huq at a reception in London, there was still an atmosphere of great suspicion in India. Mr. Amery

have no doubt that suspicion will very soon die out and that Great Britain and India will meet in common partnership."

- 29th. His Highness the Maharaja of Indore in a letter to President Roosevelt, suggested that United States should interview and arbitrate in the differences between India and Britain along with the Governments of China and the U. S. S. R.

The Special Tribunal appointed by the Government of Bengal to review the cases of Security Prisoners in the different jails of the province, sent a questionnaire to about 165 prisoners.

- 30th. Mr. Indulal Yagnik, presiding over the sixth session of the All-India Kisan Conference, which opened at Bihta (Patna), observed: "It has now become the bounden duty of every Indian to defend his motherland against Japanese aggression and to secure all possible help from England, America, China and Russia in organizing armed resistance against the enemy."

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, inaugurating the National War Front movement at Darbhanga, said: "The stress of war has afforded us a great opportunity to develop some of our qualities that have lain latent during all these years. Voluntary discipline, organization and leadership are bound to take us a long way not only in sustaining the armed forces that are giving their lives for our protection, but also shaping our future."

Several important resolutions relating to the programme of the policy of the Progressive Coalition Party of the Bengal Legislative Assembly were adopted at the resumed meeting of the party in Calcutta.—One of the subjects discussed was the question of expansion of the Cabinet.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, in an interview at Mysore, said: "Personally I consider that the idea of Pakistan is essentially destructive of Indian unity, and I cannot conceive of any compromise on issue of unity of Indian administration."

Mr. T. Prakasam, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, in an interview in Madras, said: "Andhra Congressmen are solidly opposed to Mr. Rajagopalachari's move."

A circular from the General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. was received by the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee office at Calicut, pointing out that Mr. Rajagopalachari's supporters should resign from the responsible positions they occupied in the Congress if they wished freely and whole-heartedly to support Mr. Rajagopalachari.

- 31st. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "There is no doubt that Rajaji is handling a cause which has isolated him from his colleagues.....The extraordinary energy with which he has thrown himself into the controversy of which he is the author reflects the greatest credit on him. He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty."

The U. P. Provincial Congress Committee met at Lucknow under the presidency of Pandit Srikrishna Dutt Paliwal.

Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, speaking at a public meeting at Salem, said that India should be one, united and indivisible. If India was allowed to be divided she would then lose her greatness.

The U. P. Provincial Congress Committee concluded its session at Lucknow, after passing a resolution, welcoming the resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed at Allahabad defining the policy of the Congress.

## June 1942

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., ex-President of the Central Legislative Assembly died in Bombay on the 1st. June, at the age of 80.

With reference to the failure of the Cripps' mission, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said that negotiations broke down on the ground of defence and Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech to the contrary at Coimbatore was baseless.—Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "The negotiations broke down over other points and not over defence."

Sir Mirza Ismail, former Dewan of Mysore was appointed as the Prime Minister of Jaipur State.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech to the Oxford Union, referred to India and said: "Our aim publicly declared and sincerely held is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions ..... The question still to be answered is: 'Have her leaders enough spirit of tolerance and compromise without which self-government would inevitably destroy her peace within and invite danger from without.'"

At a conference of the Labour Party of India in Calcutta, it was resolved: "If we want peace, the only way to get it is to defeat Japan and destroy Fascism."

The Governor-General in Council decided to implement the recommendations of the American Technical Mission to the maximum extent possible.—A committee of the Executive Council was set up to deal with the co-ordinate problems of war production, transportation, communication, finance, rationing of goods and materials and all connected matters.

India's determination to adhere to the Allied Nations' resolve to fight Fascist aggression and to assist in establishing a just and durable peace after victory had been won, found expression in the observance of the United Nations Day in Calcutta.

Sardar P. S. Sodhbans, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, on the observance of the United Nations Day at Lahore, said: "Punjabis of all classes and creeds are doing their duty to a man..... I am sure my countrymen will do everything to keep the enemy away from India's doors."

Mahatma Gandhi said at Wardha; "If independence is the immediate goal of the Congress and the Muslim League, then without waiting to come to any terms, all will fight together to be free from bondage."

A largely attended public meeting was held in Calcutta, to do honour to the memory of the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, on the occasion of the commemoration of his 17th. death anniversary on the 16th. June.

Mr. L. S. Amery informed the House of Commons that 400,000 people, the majority being Indians, had reached India from Burma.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in an interview in London, observed: "We are not going to walk out of India right in the middle of the war, though we have no wish to remain there for any imperialistic reasons."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in an interview in Bombay, replying to Sir Stafford said: "Much has happened in this war which the British Government did not intend and did not like and much is going to happen in India and elsewhere inspite of the wishes of the British Government."

A Gazette of India Extraordinary notification stated that a resolution of the Congress Working Committee, adopted at Allahabad on the 28th. April, 1942, was banned under the Defence of India Rules.

The All-India Forward Bloc was declared unlawful under the Defence of India Rule 27A.

The Government of India published the new Rule 27A of the Defence of India Rules, which provided *inter alia* that "no person shall manage or assist in managing any organizations to which this rule applies; promote or assist in promoting a meeting of any member of such an organization; invite persons to support such an organization."

Sir Shanmukham Chetty resigned his office as head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in the United States of America.—In succession to Sir Shammukham, Mr. K. C. Mahindra was appointed to the post.

The Government of India decided to admit Indians possessing foreign medical qualifications of the requisite standard to the emergency case of the Indian Medical Service.

1st. The salient features of the Budget speech of the Dewan of Mysore to the Budget session of the Representative Assembly ( Mysore ), were the increased provision for nation-building activities, such as education, public health, rural reconstruction, cottage industries, ample provision for the expansion of war industries, and adequate grants for food production and conservation, civil defence measures and irrigation projects.

The death occurred of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., ex-President of the Central Legislative Assembly, at the age of 80, in Bombay.

2nd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said that the Cripps' negotiations broke down on defence alone, and Mr. Rajagopalachari's statement to the contrary was entirely baseless.—The Maulana was referring to Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech at Coimbatore, in which he was reported to have said : "The negotiations broke down over other points and not over defence"

Monogamy was made obligatory even as regards sacramental marriages, under the provisions of the Bill to codify Hindu Law relating to marriage prepared by the Rau Committee and published in the Gazette.

3rd. The Bill to amend and codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession published in the Gazette had three main features, viz, "( 1 ) It embodies a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India; ( 2 ) it removes the sex disqualification by which Hindu women in general have hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India, and ( 3 ) it abolishes the Hindu woman's limited estate."

Sir Mirza Ismail, former Dewan of Mysore, was offered and accepted the post of Prime Minister of Jaipur State.

4th. The extent to which India could aid the United Nations in the equipment of a formidable Indian Army might prove an important and perhaps a decisive factor in the war, said the preliminary report of the American Technical Mission to the Government of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, dwelling on his hopes for his proposal for a Congress-League settlement, in an address in Madras, said : "I know that reason must have its weight and I feel so strongly that what I say is right that I have the fullest confidence that Mahatma Gandhi will come round to my view."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in a speech to the Oxford Union, with special reference to India said : "Our aim publicly declared and sincerely held, is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions.....while also, like them, (the Dominions) maintaining the bond of free association with the rest of the commonwealth. We have given India unity, internal peace and right of law. We have inspired in her a passionate demand for democratic self-Government. The question still to be answered is, have her leaders enough spirit of tolerance and compromise without which self-Government would inevitably destroy her peace within and invite danger from without.

5th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru made an appeal to the public for funds to help the *National Herald* of Lucknow.

6th. It was announced that the Government of India decided to extend the existing concession to the glass industry for a further period of one year.

The Government of Madras, in a Press Note, drew attention to the maximum retail prices of matches fixed by the Government of India and said it was an offence for any one to sell matches at prices in excess of those rates.

- 7th. At a Conference of the Labour Party of India held in Calcutta, a resolution was passed stating: "Japan would ruin us all alike, ruin us as a people, degrade us as a nation. If we do want peace, the only way to get it is to defeat Japan and destroy Fascism."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Differences very real", in reply to a friend "who is most anxious to bridge the political gulf between Rajaji and me" Mahatmaji stated: "But it cannot be by any make-believe. On the contrary, any make-believe will mislead the country and serve neither his immediate purpose nor mine. We love the country with an equal passion. But our modes of service for the time being are diametrically opposite. He believes in resisting the threatened Japanese attack with British aid. I regard this as impossible in the long end."

Acharya Narendra Dev, presiding over the sixth session of the All-India Kisan Conference at Bedoul (Muzaffarpur) declared: "The world will live in peace and tranquillity only when both Fascism and Imperialism are destroyed; economic security and freedom are essential pre-conditions for such world peace which can be delivered only by a socialist scheme of things."

- 8th. A communique from New Delhi said: "His Excellency the Governor-General has decided to extend the life of the existing Council of State and Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1, 1942, when the extensions effected in his orders dated July 10, 1941, will expire."

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, a strong plea for the establishment of Responsible government in the State was made by Mr. Chengalraya Reddi, Congress Party leader, during the general discussion on the Budget.

Mr. Asaf Ali, General Secretary of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, said in a statement in New Delhi, "World strategy demands that operations in the Eastern hemisphere should be entirely based on a self-sufficient India, just as operations in the Western hemisphere should be mainly based on America."

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement said: "It is necessary that we should know where we are standing. Personally, my mind is quite clear about the present attitude of the Congress.... The march of events would itself shape the future, and the attitude of the governments would be responsible for the results which would naturally follow."

- 9th. The Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, Sir Shaffat Ahmed Khan, said in Durban: "To say that Indian soldiers are fighting magnificently (in Libyan battlefields) is merely to state that they are true to type. I had the honour of addressing historic regiments of India and I am convinced that these virile sons of India will uphold India's honour among the allies."

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy in an address on the "National War Front" broadcast from the Calcutta station of All-India Radio, stressed the necessity for keeping up the morale of the people.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr Amery, replying to a question in the Commons said: "As regards the resumption of negotiations with leaders of Several Indian parties, the attitude of His Majesty's Government was clearly stated to the House on April 28 by the Lord Privy Seal and myself."

- 10th. It was announced from New Delhi that the Governor-General-in-Council considered the report of the American Technical Mission and decided to implement its recommendations to the maximum extent possible

A committee of the Executive Council was set up to deal with the co-ordinate problems of war production, transportation, communication, finance, rationing of goods and materials, and all connected matters.—The committee would be known as the "War Resources Committee", and would consist of the Governor-General (President); the Defence Member; the Supply Member (Vice-President); the Finance Member; the Commerce Member and the Communications Member.

Lieutenant-General His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester arrived in India.

- 11th. On the occasion of the celebration of the birth day of His Majesty the King Emperor, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal sent a message of respectful greetings on behalf of the Government and the people of Bengal:—



His Excellency received the following reply : "I sincerely thank you and the Government and people of Bengal for your kind congratulations on the celebration of my birth day in these anxious times. I much appreciate your loyal assurances."

Mr. A. V. Askwith, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, declared at a public meeting in New Delhi : "I have always found it difficult to believe in the likelihood of a full scale invasion of India by the Japanese ; it seemed to me that their hope of success in such an enterprise, even after the fall of Singapore and the overrunning of Burma, was so faint that it would probably be not attempted and with the daily strengthening of India's defences the expectation of a grand attack is surely lessening."

- 12th. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester arrived in New Delhi and was received by His Excellency the Viceroy.

His Majesty the King-Emperor in a message broadcast to India by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, said : "It is with deep pride that I, as your King-Emperor, join with you, the millions of men and women of India, in the brotherhood of service. I am happy to think that my brother is now paying a visit to India, that great country which to my infinite regret, I have not yet had the good fortune to see, but which I look forward eagerly to visiting when peace prevails once more. I have asked my brother to deliver to you, the Princes and people of India, a personal message of greeting and good cheer from myself."

Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru, speaking on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the Servants of India society at Poona, observed that Indians were anxious to give the utmost help they were capable of to the countries that were standing up for the principles of human freedom, but they were being denied the opportunities that they asked for to enable them to be free soldiers in the war of human liberation. Half-hearted measures would only lead to disappointment.

- 13th. Sardar P. S. Sodhbans, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, in a statement on the observance of the United Nations Flag Day at Lahore, said : "Punjabis of all classes and creeds are doing their duty to a man and I am sure that my countrymen, irrespective of their individual views on political issues, will do everything to keep the enemy from India's doors."

Mahatma Gandhi said at Wardhagang : "If independence is the immediate goal of the Congress and the Muslim League, then without needing to come to any terms, all will fight together to be free from bondage."

- 14th. India's determination to adhere to the Allied Nations' resolve to fight Fascist aggression and to assist in establishing a just and durable peace after victory had been won, found expression in the observance of the United Nations Day in Calcutta.—His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in a message said : "Civilization, and all that it means to mankind must and shall be saved from these (Axis) bandits and barbarians. The peoples and lands which have been overrun and assailed must and shall be rescued from their greedy clutches."

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal in a message on the occasion of the United Nations' Day emphasized that the day "symbolizes the closest co-operation and unity of purpose between the Allied Nations in the pursuit of the common aim of destroying the forces that menace the very foundations of civilization."

- 15th. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta, a resolution was adopted which welcomed the stand taken by the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad in categorically repudiating the move of Mr. Rajagopalachari conceding the Muslim League demand for Pakistan in order to secure its co-operation in implementing his scheme for the establishment of National Government in the Provinces even after the failure of Cripps' negotiations.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, replying to the welcome address from the Madura District Board, said that Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah should come together. He wished he had the courage to practice true non-violence, but self-deception and make believe were not an approach to non-violence, but were contrary to it. Indifference and inaction were not non-violence. They were a terrible snare and temptation.

The terms of the pact which was arrived at between Sardar Baldev Singh,

leader of the United Punjab Party and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan were announced by the Premier at a Press Conference at Lahore. The terms, which were embodied in a letter addressed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to Sardar Baldev Singh, related to facilities for Jhatka, teaching of Gurmukhi, legislation regarding religious matters, service under the Punjab Government and Sikh representation at the Centre. The terms were so formed as to apply equally to all communities in the Punjab.

- 16th. The services of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das were recalled at a public meeting held in Calcutta, on the occasion of the commemoration of his 17th death anniversary.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, in a written reply to a question in Parliament stated that it was estimated that 400,000 people, the majority being Indians, had reached India from Burma by sea, air or overland up to the end of May.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in an interview in London referring to Mahatma Gandhi's repeated demand for British withdrawal from India, observed : "We are not going to walk out of India right in the middle of the war, though we have no wish to remain there for any imperialistic reasons."

- 17th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, interviewed in Bombay by the United Press on Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that the British Government were not going to walk out of India in the middle of the war, observed : "I can quite believe that the British Government has no intention at present of walking out of India in the middle of the war or after this. But much has happened in this war which the British Government did not intend and did not like and much is going to happen in India and elsewhere in spite of the wishes of the British Government."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru expressed the view in Bombay that he would willingly meet Mr. M. A. Jinnah if that would serve the cause the Congress had at heart—the achievement of India's independence.

- 18th. An attempt at bringing about a compromise between the Zamindars and tenants in South Orissa, where the Madras Estates Land Act was in force, was being made by the Orissa Government. They set up a Committee consisting of Assembly Members of different parties, under the chairmanship of the Revenue Minister to make recommendations for revising the Madras Estate Land Act and if possible to come to an agreement with the Zamindars.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in his aigraph letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, stated : "At a time like this with the enemy at India's gates, every link that helps to bring us all closer together is of inestimable value."

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir following the decision to postpone general elections extended the life of the existing Projasabha (State Assembly) for a further period of one year from September 7, 1942. His Highness ordered that the eight vacant seats in the Projasabha shall be filled by nomination.

- 19th. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad issued a statement from Bombay : "It is amazing how people of great intelligence and patriotism like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru shut their eyes to realities and practice self-deception. They want the immediate withdrawal of the British, bag and baggage from India. They say that the first requisite is the independence of India and when that is attained, by the withdrawal of the British, India would deal with the Japanese menace. All-India of whatever political shade of opinion, desire the independence of India. But the question is whether India will gain independence and will be able to keep it under the present war conditions by the mere withdrawal of the British."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a statement to the Press from Madras, said : "To build our future political work on the possibility of a British defeat at the hands of the Japanese will be one of the greatest blunders. I do not suppose that the British are so rotten or broken ; they will come out successful eventually."

A Gazette of India Extraordinary notification stated : "Whereas in the opinion of the Central Government the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on April 28, 1942, beginning with the words "the Committee has noted the recent extraordinary happenings in Lower Burma and notably in the City of Rangoon" and ending with the

words "in particular all panic should be avoided even though those in authority give away to it" is a prejudicial report, the Central Government under the Defence of India Rules prohibits the further publication, sale or distribution of any document reproducing or containing a summary or translation of the whole or any part of the said prejudicial report, and declares to be forfeited to His Majesty every such document."—A portion of another resolution was similarly banned.

Mahatma Gandhi, replying to Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that "We are not going to walk out of India right in the middle of the war", observed: "The step that I have conceived overcomes all difficulties, shuts out all controversy about violence and non-violence and immediately free India to offer her best help to the Allied cause, and more especially to China, which is in immediate danger. I am convinced that the independence of India, which the withdrawal of the British power involves, would ensure China's freedom and put the Allied cause on an unassailable basis."

- 20th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, addressed a letter to prominent Moslem Leaguers throughout India regarding his proposal for a progressive All-India Moslem League.

At a Conference in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Hindu Moslem Unity Association, the supreme need for the promotion of amity and goodwill between Hindus and Moslems in the hour of danger to the country was stressed by a number of speakers.—The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad presided.

The Indian Army Act (Application) Ordinance provided for the application of the Indian Army Act to forces raised and maintained in India under the Central Government's authority.

At a meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee held at Amalapuram, resolutions were passed wholeheartedly endorsing the main resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed at Allahabad and inviting the attention of the country to its operative clause at the end.

- 21st. Mahatma Gandhi writing in the *Harijan* answering the question: "What is the meaning of your appeal to the British power to withdraw from India. There seems to be confusion in the public mind about your meaning," said: "So far as my opinion is concerned, British authority should end completely irrespective of the wishes or demand of the various parties. But I would recognise their military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore, I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers, but as allies of a free India."

The Government of Bengal turned down the representation of the Calcutta Corporation asking to be exempted from payment of the Sales Tax in respect of their purchases.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "I have no desire whatsoever to woo any power to help India in her endeavour to free herself from the foreign yoke. I have no desire to exchange the British for any other rule."

- 22nd. The Government of India published the added Rule 27 A of the Defence of India Rules.—The new rules contained provisions closely parallel to those of a similar regulation in the United Kingdom and also included certain powers that might be used against unlawful Associations under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act.—The new Defence of India Rule provided that "no person shall (a) manage or assist in managing any organization to which this rule applies; (b) promote or assist in promoting a meeting of any members of such an organization or attend any such meeting in any capacity; (c) publish any notice or advertisement relating to any such meeting; (d) invite persons to support such an organization or otherwise in any way assist the operations of such an organization."

The All-India Forward Bloc was declared unlawful by a notification issued by the Government of India under the new Defence of India Rule 27A.

At a public meeting held in Calcutta, a resolution welcoming the Anglo-Soviet Alliance "which brings before us a new perspective and the growth of a new international power which guarantee both victory in the anti-Fascist struggle and peace based on social justice and progress and prosperity."

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutta, Deputy President of the Central Legislative

Assembly, issued a statement from Darjeeling : "India at present is almost a passive spectator in the world conflict but she cannot remain a passive spectator. Whether free or fettered she cannot remain neutral even if she chooses to do so. She must fight Nazism and Fascism which are a menace to the freedom and peace of the world. She must, therefore, fight the Axis."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim league, in a statement said : "I am glad that at last Mr. Gandhi has openly declared himself that unity and Hindu-Muslim settlement can only come after the achievement of India's independence and has thereby thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last twenty-two years and preached day in and day out as the oldest "lover" of Hindu-Muslim unity."

23rd. Sir Shanmukham Chetty resigned his office as head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in the United States of America. The Government of India accepted the resignation with regret, and placed on record their appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by Sir Shanmukham.

Mr. K. C. Mahindra, member of the firm of Messrs. Martin and Company was appointed head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in succession to Sir Shanmukham.

Mr. K. M. Munshi issued a statement from Bombay : "Recent events have forced the protagonists of Pakistan to elaborate the idea which, as I have been insistently pointing out, has a very sinister significance. The day the Muslim League adopted Pakistan as its objective it declared war on the Indian nation. No sane man can have any illusions in the matter. A war is being waged on the Indian nation on every front which is possible and open to the disruptionists under the present circumstances, which render an armed conflict impossible."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting at Conoor, made an appeal to the Hindus to get their boys trained in military methods to defend India and to consider the Hindu Mahasabha as their saviour.

24th. Mr. M. N. Roy, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "Mr. Gandhi's reply to the London *Times* is pure sophistry. He complains that his proposals have been distorted. But he actually owns up to the charge levelled against him when he says if there is anarchy in India, Britain alone would be responsible, not I. What I have said, is that I prefer anarchy to the present slavery and consequent impotence of India. So he admits that his proposals involve the danger of anarchy for India. He has not proved that danger is imaginary."

25th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in reply to questions in the House of Commons, declared that Provincial Governments, especially on the eastern side, made very considerable improvements in organizing and training the civil defence services since the war with Japan started. Co-ordination of the services with training schools and experienced instructors from Britain were provided by the Government of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar expounded his proposals for a Hindu-Muslim understanding to an audience at Matunga (in Bombay).

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, in his inaugural address to the students of Poona, observed : "If the youth of India worked with pure hearts for the freedom of their country, feeling that every one who regarded India as his motherland was their brother, the mist of ignorance and prejudice may yet lift and the Sun of liberty shine on this ancient land."

26th. A Press communique announced that His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab was pleased to appoint Sardar Baldev Singh to be a member of his Council of Ministers and to allot him the portfolio of Development in succession to Sardar Dasaundha Singh.

Under the caption, "Production of Khadi," Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the Khadi Jagat : "Just as the 'grow more food' slogan is heard on all sides, the same should be the case with Khadi. If we do not produce Khadi, crores will have to go naked just as crores will have to die of starvation if we do not produce foodstuffs and their number will out-number the death roll in the war, with this difference that they face death knowingly and are called martyrs while no one takes note of those dying from starvation."

27th. It was announced that as a war-time measure the Government of India decided to admit Indians possessing foreign medical qualification of the requisite standard to the emergency cadre of the Indian Medical Service.

According to a Press Note issued in Calcutta, the special Criminal Courts

Ordinance, 1942 (Ordinance No. II. 1942) which had previously been enforced in Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Bakarganj, 24—Parganas, Midnapore, Khulna, Burdwan and Howrah Districts was brought into force in Calcutta and in the remaining Districts of Bengal. A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary notified the appointment of certain judges and magistrates to be special judges and magistrates under the Ordinance.

Other notifications being the Penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance, 1942 (Ordinance No. III of 1942,) as amended by Ordinance No. VII of 1942 into operation in Calcutta and the Districts.

In pursuance of a resolution passed at the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference in Madras, under the presidentship of Dr. B. S. Moonji, a deputation waited on His Excellency the Governor, urging on the strengthening of the country's defences and the immediate starting of a Military School in the Presidency.

- 28th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, re. the Hurs in Sind: "I have no doubt that if I could have gone to Sind, I might have been able to do something. I have done such things before, not without success. But I am too old for such missions. What little energy I have, I am storing up for what promises to be the last fight of my life."

Dr. B. S. Moonji, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a public meeting in Madras, stressed the need for militarization of the people of India on a large scale, to beat off the enemy from the shores of India.

Dr. Moonji made an appeal to Mr. Rajagopalachari to desist from his propaganda and join the Hindu Mahasabha. He said: Now that Mr. Rajagopalachari has given up the Congress and wants to fight the Congress as he wants to fight the Japanese, his only place is in the Hindu Mahasabha."

- 29th. A Sugar Control Order was issued from New-Delhi. It laid down that "no producer shall, after such date as the Controller may notify in this behalf, dispose of, or agree to dispose of, in pursuance of any agreement entered into on or before such date make delivery of, any sugar except to or through a recognized dealer or to a person specially authorized by the Controller to acquire sugar on behalf of the Central Government or of a Provincial Government."

- 30th. In the repair statistics relating to India, Britain and America, it was indicated that despite the war, the repair position of locomotives and wagons in Indian railway workshops and sheds compared favourably with the pre-war period and the position on British and American railways.

The Government of Bengal passed orders under which they withdrew or directed their officers to withdraw orders of restrictions upon a considerable number of communist members of the Bengal Students' Federation and they released from detention a number of security prisoners belonging to communist groups.

A communique issued from New Delhi, stated that in pursuance of a recommendation of the Food Production Conference held in April, the Government of India decided to constitute a Central Food Advisory Council consisting of both officials and non-officials.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, presiding over the District Political Conference at Aligarh, declared: "We don't want to be slaves of Japan or Germany. We would fight against any nation which wants to enslave us."

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, announced in London that the Indian fire-fighting organization would be strengthened by volunteers from the British Fire Service. He said that large response had been made to the call for volunteers for India and a number of British firemen had gone on that vital mission.

As part of the general expansion of the Royal Indian Navy, steps were taken at major Indian ports to meet the greatly increased demand for training in naval gunnery.

A joint meeting of the Scientific and Industrial Research Board, Government of India, and the Hyderabad Scientific and Industrial Research Board was held at Hyderabad. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, presided.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, addressed a gathering at Tanjore on the political situation with special reference to Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposals.

# Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc, we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavira in the sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of the Sumerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in

other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a sort of wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origins, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory, apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

### THE RIGVEDA

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "Five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forest where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc. has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shades and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand, the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and culture which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which even swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammadan Power in India.

#### UNITARY INDIAN EMPIRE

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go, an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with many forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of Human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant aggressive, "predatory", nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Dharmashastras (or Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Buddhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living being. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads), the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the



road which has through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proves in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

#### CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times, such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in his later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-being. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Buddhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting in to the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bactria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of North-west India came under their influence.

#### GUPTA DYNASTY

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Buddhist religion. Under him the Kushan branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, some time, rise and shine in the midst of the moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the fifth Century—when the White Huns from Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

#### MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediaeval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatriyas (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers, had held away. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzab. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mohamedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won: that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediaeval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as in did the four Varnas or "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stage" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Buddhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Buddhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Pnranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics, these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mohammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution, was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west ( we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal ) would, now and then, proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, Ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mohammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

#### THE MAHAMMEDAN RULE

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mahomed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy—down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearned the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for exmple, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder All and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramountcy found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

#### THE BRITISH RULE

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elilzabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrison of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but "reward" that come in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation or responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved." In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to, the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbersome and expansive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Matilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating Liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late; but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used during the Round Table Conference discussions India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdorr sent on the 29th. December, 1931—"whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdorr rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-'34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long-drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist, Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to so provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of "things that matter"—the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people. These problems of dirt, disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form. The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products; the incorporation of the "Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931), and of "Agrarian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22nd. August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the upholders of varied interests, communal and class; that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country. In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar and Orissa; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries, they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set aside in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces; "interim ministries" were appointed to "conceal" this "breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded. Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress

to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its poison all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country-side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working toward its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated, and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately high representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were instances of the former; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the command of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the industrial and commercial and political "safeguards" with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the "Instruments of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States. For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20th century burst upon the world.

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature. This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect; it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to "give direction to a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctness does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14th September, 1939, it called upon the British Government to declare their "war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the New Order that is envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the *London Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Dissatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clearer statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organization of Muslim divines of India, for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to now, (1942), the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India, to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this

war of continents and oceans. This failure had led to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministries of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of ‘provincial autonomy’ under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this “world war” has placed in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands. The “Pakistan” claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted into sovereign “Independent States.” This claim has been recognized by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a threat to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness. Priding itself on its concern for minorities it finds itself coercing the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of his Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing “Indianization” and the “Draft Declaration” brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japan’s startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Philippines, in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S. A. and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market-place of world affairs. And the peoples of these areas along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India. It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things. The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country have disturbed and disrupted their habits of life; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children; the orgy of profiteering in the necessities of life; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities—all these, the latter two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the “war work” that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp. Since the “Mutiny” days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan’s hosts towards India’s north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us as we send these pages to the Press.

But it is not all dark. In our neighbourhood China has been showing how disappointments are to be faced. She alone has been showing for five years an unbeaten front against Japan. And the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in February, 1942, has been interpreted by all as bringing a message of hope to an India divided against itself and preparing herself to fight against imperialism within and aggression from without. This visit will remain a land-mark in India’s recent history. The United States of America has sent to India her armed forces across ten thousand miles of the waters of three oceans to sustain the cause of the United Nations. India, kept unorganized in the modern arts of war and peace, unequal to meeting the challenge of international anarchy, is thankful for such friendliness. But she is not quite happy with this arrangement. For, she remains a debtor both materially and spiritually.



# India in Home Polity

## Introduction

The year 1941 closed and the year 1942 opened with defeats for the "United Nations" in the Pacific area stretching from China to the approaches of Australia—about four to five thousands miles. Japan, the newest to arrive at the field of imperialistic competition and exploitation, proved during seven months from December 7, 1941 to June, 1942, that she had got the men, she had got the ships, that she had got the money too to successfully challenge the might and prestige of Britain and the United States of America, and make good her claim to be the dictator of conduct in East Asia. During these months controversy has waxed louder with regard to the personal and impersonal forces and influences that have been responsible for the debacle that has overtaken the A. B. D. Powers (America, Britain and Dutch East Indies.) The British Premier and his military advisers had promised that "every preparation" had been made to meet the danger, that "a good account" would be given of themselves by their fighting forces. These promises have not been fulfilled, presaging the closing of an epoch which is expressed so succinctly by Prof. Nathaniel Peffer of the Columbia University (U. S. A.): "The day of Western Empire in the Far East, if not in the whole East, is done". In a House of Commons discussion in the last week of January, 1942, Mr. Churchill described the strategic reasons that had advised the keeping of the various defence measures comparatively weaker in East Asia. His Vice-Premier, Major Clement Atlee, also sought to justify this by saying that they could not be "strong everywhere". Mr. Churchill made much of the facts that help had to be sent to Russia, that a major offensive had to be organized in North Africa to drive Marshal Rommel out of it. But the failure of this offensive, typified by the fall of Tobruk announced on the 21st of June 1942, has yet to be explained. A British Army 11 per cent. superior in numbers, 40 per cent stronger in tanks, 60 per cent in artillery, and at least as strong in the air, operating closer to its bases of supply, suffered a defeat in the desert warfare, because the Germans were able to "surprise" their foes with a type of anti-tank guns that they had used in every campaign in this war and with better tanks than those that had rolled out from the assembly lines of U. S. factories to the battle lines of the Middle East. In this sea-saw of advances and retreats, of victories and defeats, that have characterized the North African campaign, a joint Anglo-American attack has started, as we send these pages to the press.

Russia is a front by itself. Despite the wonderful recovery of her powers which appeared to have wrested victory from the German hosts, at the end of June 1942 she was far from reaching the objectives that would permanently halt the German advance pulled up for a while by the Russian winter. Leningrad still remained encircled. The Germans held Schlusseeburg, due east of the city, confining

Russia's wonderful  
recovery not  
enough



Russian access to it only across the ice of Lake Ladoga. Smolensk had yet to be regained. And to survive in the South the Russians must make operations on the central sector as expensive to their enemies as possible. Dniepropetrovsk, the site of the great dam destroyed by Russians themselves as a step in the pursuit of their "scorched earth" policy, remained to be captured. The surrender of Sebastople a week later showed that during winter Germany had not been idle, that "the most gigantic and most concentrated winter work that the world has ever known" was done in two-thirds of Europe, for the forging weapons of offense that made the re-capture of Theodosia and Kerch by the Germans possible. Kharkov, the Jamshedpur of the Soviet (Russia) Republic, was in German occupation. It was, therefore, no great consolation to the "United Nations" that the superb defence put up by Russia wrung from Herr Hitler the declarations: "Whatever German Armies achieved in the French, the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium), Norwegian and Balkan campaigns pales in comparison with the task in Russia"; that "we made a mistake about one thing—we did not know how gigantic the preparation of Russia against Germany had been"; "Not the Soviet Army but 30, 35, 45 degrees of front have forced the Germany Army to abandon offensive operations in favour of stationary warfare" For, the German Panzer divisions have rolled on, penetrating into the Black Sea coast of central Caucasus, and trying to go further east. But Stalingrad stands in the way, and for about fourteen weeks Slav and Teuton have been wrestling in and about it from street to street, from block to block, from room to room; a fatal fascination holds the combatants to this stretch of land where nothing built up by the hands of men could have stood under the hail of bombs and mortar shells. For about four months Stalingrad has stood as the symbol of human endurance, the height of which no human being could ever imagine—human endurance, Slav and Teuton.

What the Nazi leaders wanted we have discussed in Vol. II. of 1939 and in Vol. I. of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register*.

**The secret of  
Soviet  
recovery**

What influenced them to choose the particular time for attacking the Soviet Republic, leaving their accounts with the British Empire unsettled, has remained almost a mystery. The apostolic denunciation of Bolshevism is a thing apart. In the last week of May, 1942, however, Marshal Hermann Goering lifted a part of the veil. The decision to invade Russia at the particular time chosen, was caused by "the Russian speed-up in tank production, by the Russian construction of nearly 1,000 aerodromes in one year in the newly-occupied Polish territories." But, what enabled "the sheep-like multitudes of Russia" to beat back this attack is well-known. It was their combination of intelligent, self-reliant courage which taught the people in a country, where

"People, army, industry and soil—they are inextricably mingled in the conception of the Soviet State and in the development of its strategy, in the 'peace' years as well as to-day."

Historians have told us that "every incident of the Soviet Union's history, every item of its social programme, every change in its

**The foresight of Soviet rulers—her industries transported beyond the Volga**

political form and every enterprise under its industrial Five Years Plans is related to its state of war during the last twenty-five years." Apprehensive of German attack on the industries growing up in the western territories of the Soviet Union, the new builders of the Soviet State early decided to create a second coal and metallurgical base in the vast region beyond the Urals. This is the Ural-Kusnetsk Combine—1,250 miles apart—the combination of Kusnetsk coaking coal with the ores of the Urals. Thus have been built up "the largest iron and steel Works in Europe"—the "Stalin Iron and Steel Works"—at Magnitogorsk. Machine tool factories are studded all over from the Ural-Region to the Maritime Province on the Pacific. The Aircraft Works at Irkutsk lies almost at the centre of this 4,000 miles expanse of territory. The oil that moves the mechanism of modern fighting forces comes to Russia from its own oil fields in the Caucasus-Maikop-Grosney in the north, from Baku in the south. The world has been told that the German drive towards the Caucasus will be threatening the pipe-lines of this region, that these and the oil wells will be dynamited and devastated by the Red Army itself. A "second Baku" has, therefore, been provided for. In 1938 at Syzran in the Samara bend of the Volga an oil refinery was established for the oil fields of this region. This very short story gives an indication of the foresight of the Soviet rulers. The Urals were organized as a second arsenal of the Soviet Union. Into this region have also been crowded all the factories that were evacuated from the Donetz Basin. A summary report of the industries and factories thus evacuated may be quoted here to give an idea of the dynamics of Soviet policy :

"The Voroshilov factory, formerly at Dniepropetrovsk, began its retreat to the Urals at the end of September, 1941. In October 11, it was in production. By December 1st, it was already exceeding into former output. In the neighbourhood of Kuibyshev machine-tool plants from Kharkov have been re-erected and are in full production. Tanks, planes and guns are now being produced in factories erected in the Volga, in the Urals and as far east as Irkutsk in Central Siberia. The tremendous feat of transferring these factories eastwards can be gauged from the burden on Soviet rolling stock. Over 7,000 freight cars were used in transporting the machinery and workers of a single factory plant—now a tank plant—from Kharkov to the Samara region."

The long-ranged Five Years Plans, and the new industrialism that has been built up beyond the Urals since the eruption of German onslaught on Russia, have gained a new importance since Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbour. The destruction and disruption of Russian industries in the Ukraine and in the Donetz Basin made it necessary for Russia to indent on Britain and the United States for certain of the essentials of war. A Three-Power Supply Conference was held at Moscow—the Soviet Republic, Great Britain and United States—to find the best way for the "distribution of their common resources." A plan was drawn up. But it was held up when Japan joined the war. She prevented the U.S.A. from sending machine-tools, oil and aluminium to Vladivostok by closing the Straits leading from the Pacific Ocean to the Sea of Japan and locking the maritime coast of the Soviet Far East. No merchant vessel of the Allies

**Distant help to her from the Allies**

could risk unconvoyed the submarine-infested waters of the Pacific; they have not the capital ships and destroyers and planes to spare for convoy duty in North Pacific. As it is, Britain and the United States are engaged in an Atlantic Battle against German submarine attacks which have dared approach the eastern sea-board of the latter; in addition their ships have been trying to carry some help to Russia through the North Atlantic Ocean and the seas. By drawing the U.S.A. into the war Japan has thus deprived the Soviet Republic of a great part of the help she used to get from the Anglo-American Powers, and has thus indirectly but powerfully helped her Axis partners in Europe. She has forced on the "United Nations" the adoption of the longer supply-lines for supplies to Russia through the alternative routes—*via* the Persian Gulf, through Iraq and Iran into the Caucasus or across Turkestan and the Caspian Sea into the Urals. An idea of the help that Russia might have received from outside can be had from what the British Minister of Production, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, said on the occasion of the inauguration of the "Anglo-Soviet Week" in the middle of July, 1942: 2,000 tanks had been sent at the rate of 50 tanks a week during a period of little over nine months; by the end of May (1942) 11 per cent more aircraft had been shipped than those promised up to the end of June (1942); for every 100 aircraft promised 111 had been shipped. Whether or not they had reached their destination was another matter.

But this was not the only help that the Soviet expected to receive, and deserved to receive. For a year since the 22nd June, 1941, the Soviet people, civil and military, have been bearing the full fury of German attacks. And practically nothing has been done by the Allied Powers to draw off a part of this fury on themselves. We have seen it stated that it was not hoped that Russia could survive beyond the autumn of 1941, that any help rendered to her could not stay her defeat. On the 18th of July, 1942, some such sentiment found expression in a leading article of the *New York Times*.

"...From British and American points of view it is of vital importance that Russia in Asia should stand even if Russia in Europe should be temporarily knocked out".

Even up to the time when we send these pages to the press (December, 1942), Russia in Asia has stood whole and erect. But it has not been much of a help to the "United Nations". For, by a special clause the Soviet Government has released itself from obligation to participate in the all-out Allied campaign against Japan. By this attitude the Soviet has been relieved of any pressure from the east, from Japan. But from the west Germany has been allowed to work havoc with the life, work and liberty of the Russian people, and no pressure has been put upon her that could weaken her strangle-hold on them. To this failure of Britain M. Josef Stalin pointedly referred in November, 1941:

There is no doubt that the absence of a second front in Europe against the Germans considerably relieves the position of the German Army. Nor can there be any doubt that the appearance of a second front on the Continent of Europe—and

undoubtedly this will appear in the near future—will essentially relieve the position of our armies to the detriment of the German Army."

Four months later when the "United Nations" front had been organized, when the United States of America had been forced into war by Japan, and had been forced to take the leadership of this Grand Alliance, the Soviet people still looked

Remained yet to  
be realized

in vain for the relief which their leader had indicated.

Their ambassador to Washington, M. Maxim Litvinoff, in course of a speech delivered at the Over-Seas Press Club Dinner in New York, gave blunt expression to a widely-felt disappointment :

"We hear a lot about the common efforts of the "United Nations".....But common efforts which do not include common fighting may not be sufficient.....only by the simultaneous offensive operations on two or more fronts.....could Hitler's Armies be disposed of....."

These statements from Russian leaders brought on the notions of "United Nations" strategy, specially of British strategy,

British dissatis-  
faction with War  
Cabinet

harsh criticism. In the last week of May, 1942, a

debate was held in the House of Commons in response to an insistent demand for a "second front" against

Germany. Sir Stafford Cripps was put up to speak on behalf of the British War Cabinet. He very handsomely recognised that Russia was protecting the vital heart of our resistance in Britain itself. But with regard to the second front, he was vague and indefinite. He could only say that Britain intended to make a carefully-planned attack on the continent of Europe at the right moment. Britain's unpreparedness for such an adventure was made manifest in the same speech. "Orders for dive-bombers had been given in 1940 ; why these have not come forward could not be revealed in public." Statements like these could not but hurt the self-esteem of the British people who felt that they were not pulling their full weight in the war. Mr. Ward Price writing to the *London Daily Mail* in the last week of March, 1942, said that unless Britain took the lead in making "an attack somewhere before autumn," she could emerge only as "a minor partner in the victorious alliance", that

"when so much of the rest of the world is fighting desperately, it is hardly conceivable that this country should keep large military forces marking time at home throughout the coming summer."

The fact also came out in this article that the air-strength concentrated in Britain was "much greater than the Germans have

Air Raids into  
Germany—a sub-  
stitute for a  
"second front"

in France." Yet, these concentrations could not make

any impression on the German defence measures

erected from Norway in the north to the Bay of

Biscay in the South. An attempt was made at about

this time to send to Germany and over her cities,

factories and ports increasing numbers of bombers showering death and destruction on them, disrupting the production of weapons of offense of all descriptions. 300 planes were sent, directed against Mannheim—rail-road centre on the upper Rhine in which were the Daimler-Benz air-plane engine works (for Messerschmitts, Dorniers etc), the Lenz Armament plant, the vast Badische Chemical Works). Over Cologne were sent 1,130 planes—bombers, heavy and light—

Cologne which housed Air and Submarine Engine, Explosives, Synthetic Rubber, and Chemical Works. The Royal Air Force swept over "occupied" France with 1,000 planes; struck at Essen with 1,035; bombed Bremen with 200; swept the Channel coast with 500; revisited the Ruhr with 200; hit the Emden with 200; attacked the submarine centres at Lubeck and Rostock, shattering as the Germans had done to Coventry in September-October (1940); the blasting of Kiel and Trondheim and other small objectives used more than 1,500 planes. "Altogether Air-Marshal Harris sent between 6,000 to 7,000 planes over the continent in 8-days' time". The effect of air-raids like these has been held up for the world's instruction from a quotation made from the *Kölnische Zeitung* :

"Those who survived.....were fully aware that they had bade fare-well to the Cologne (they knew), because the damages are enormous and because the integral part of the character, and even the traditions, of the city are gone forever.

The campaign of destruction opened by these air-raids was treated at that time as the beginning of a "second front". The British Air Ministry issued a communique suggesting that 15,00,000 German troops were being kept in West Europe by this new offensive and all that it portended. The *London Times* claimed that "half of the entire fighter strength of the *Luftwaffe* is being kept away from the Russian front to meet the R. A. F attacks". As against this claim the latest estimate of the German air-strength and its distribution over Europe has to be considered—annual production 24,000; air strength 30,000, distributed as follows: France and Low Countries (Holland & Belgium)—1,050 (first-line planes); Norway—300; Italy and Sicily—700; North Africa—500; Greece and Crete—100; the Russian front—1,600; Germany—400; Total—4,650. It has to be remembered in this connection that for every air plane in the fighting line, there are about five more in reserve and in use for training and transport. Comparing these figures with Britain's there is truth in the claim made in the middle of April, by the latter's Labour Minister Ernest Bevin, that his country's air-craft production had reached parity with Germany's, and that in five or six weeks more the output of U.S.A. factories will be equalling it to the combined production of Germany, Italy and Japan. Accepting at its face-value this claim the question remained yet to be answered—why with this superiority in one of the major weapons of the present war Germany still retained her hold on "occupied" Europe, retained nine-tenths of the area that she had snatched from Russia; why Japan which has an aircraft production of 300 only a month should be able to range over more than 5,000 miles from the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific to New Britain north-east of Australia? Answers to this question have not been forthcoming. But this the world knows that the air-raids sent out from Britain that have ranged from Bergen and Danzig, to Venice Milan and Turin have failed to break through the defences erected by German engineers like Todt and Speer who have rendered the coastal areas of Continental Europe nearest to Britain "invulnerable against invasion attempt."

We have tried to draw a picture of the European and African war fronts as these stood in June, 1942, the events and developments during which form the subject of study in this volume of the *Indian Annual Register*. A "second front" to relieve pressure on Russia remained to be opened, though a U. S. A. paper spoke in the last week of May that the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov carried from his visit to Washington some sort of an "undertaking" that a "second front" would be opened in 1942. As the New York weekly, *Time*, put it :

"The map spoke eloquently for an Allied offensive in Europe. There the Allies would be closer to their own bases, closer to the enemy than in the Pacific..... They also would find welcoming, Nazi-hating populations, instead of the uncertain, imperialized hordes of the Indies, Malaya and India."

The world has been told by Mr. Churchill who dictates policy and strategy in the British War Cabinet of the many deficiencies in their armour, specially shipping and transport, of the many other difficulties that stood in the way of a "second front". But still the world speculated whether or not political prejudice has had any influence on the failure to send the long-awaited-for and long-delayed help to the Soviet people. In discussions of the subject specially after Japan's sweeping victories that had hit the U. S. A. so hard in her self-esteem, the point has been raised that as Russia has been receiving help from the "United Nations" and expecting and clamouring for more of it, she should reciprocate in some way. The news that a bomber, the "Flying Fortress", has been sent to Russia occasioned comments in the U. S. A. Press. The *Washington Post* can be regarded as representative of this feeling when it wrote :

"The landing of an American bomber on Russian soil will reinforce the feeling that the Russians should be asked at least for passive co-operation in our war with Japan."

"We are not asking Russia for active co-operation in the Pacific which the "United Nations" are giving Russia in Europe. Yet this co-operation is surely an argument for some approach to reciprocity."

The paper became concrete when it suggested that Russia should lend at least to the United States some of her air-bases in the Arctic area, thus making it possible for the latter to direct a continuous air offensive upon Japan. Certain U. S. A. tacticians planned it this-wise. As the key to the victory in the Pacific lies in the north, so does the key to the north lies in the Sakhalin. Geographic obstacles and poor communications should not be permitted to dim the value of this front. If the estimated losses of a year be concentrated and accepted in an offensive in this front that would not only eject the Japanese from Karafuto (southern half of Sakhalin) but would follow them to Hokkaido with Hanshu (the main Japanese island) and Tokyo as the objective. The invasion of Hokkaido may take place not only from the Sakhalin but via the Kurile Islands which continue the Aleutian chain. American carrier-planes and bombing squadrons based upon Kamchatka would serve a double purpose. While considering this complication, it may be noticed that the tacticians of the Japanese fighting forces have anticipated such a development by

bombing Dutch Harbour, the chief naval and air base of the Aleutian Islands and by occupying Kiska, the western-most island of this chain of islands. Though the point discussed in this paragraph is a digression from the story related above, Russia's indifference to the debacle that has overtaken her comrades of the "United Nations" has a distinct place in the record of World War II of the 20th century.

The discussion of Allied failures in Europe and North Africa traced thus far may have its relieving features in the glorious chapter of Russia's fight against the hosts recruited under the Nazi banner from almost all countries of continental Europe except Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, and perhaps Portugal. In the Far East the Allies have failed more ignominiously. The measure of this defeat is incalculable to-day. An estimate of it given by a U. S. A. weekly, *The Time* of New York, in June 1942 gives in summary the effects and consequences of Japan's victory.

"The U. S. A. is already the senior partner among its allies in the battle."

"And in the Far East the U. S. A. has actually taken over from Britain the greatest burden of the battle."

"Yet the immediate military position of the "United Nations" is far weaker to-day than it was before Pearl Harbour."

"Before Pearl Harbour the 'United Nations' commanded the Seven Seas. The British strategy has been to blockade Europe until Hitler ran out of oil. Six months later the 'United Nations' have largely lost control of the Mediterranean, the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, and a good part of the Pacific (the part where rubber came from). They have even had to permit the enemy to roam the Atlantic coastal waters of Continental U.S.A."

"Meanwhile oil has also become a problem of the United Nations. Australia must now get oil from the U.S.A. (7,000 miles). The British have to get oil from Venezuela, or around the Cape of Good Hope (11,000 miles.) In 17 States of the U.S. whose entire civilian economy has been oil-motivated for 30 years, oil is rationed. That alone suffices to tell the Americans that the winning of the war has not begun and that its losing has gone on apace."

"At the end of the first six months of the war the U.S. learnt three ugly facts :

(1) "That even its continental borders are not safe from attack, that West coast raids are 'inevitable'; the East coast is already strewn with the wreckage of its own coast-wise tankers."

(2) "That the British, as an ally, can be a liability as well as an asset. In the Far East, in Hongkong, in Malay, in Burma, aboard the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*, the unexpected weakness of their forces and the incompetence of their commanders almost made Americans forget the great lesson of 1940, that Englishmen are brave";

(3). "That defence cannot win the war."

"The campaigns to date have been won by the enemy."

"Axis submarines operating from Newfoundland to South America had attacked and sunk 213 vessels since Pearl Harbour, at the rate of more than a ship a day."

"The U.S. has been licked all along its eastern sea board."

As against this sombre story of retreats and surrenders the Press of the world could record "United Nations" success at the battles of the Coral Sea and the Midway, and the capture of vital bases in Madagascar. By the former Allied successes in Pacific & Indian Ocean areas two the U.S. Naval-and-air-forces "avenged" Pearl Harbour; "restored the balance of the Pacific naval power." By the latter Britain helped to clear the western part of the

Indian Ocean of Jap prowlers of the sea. For once, it was said, "the British made an effort to get their first." This 980 miles long island, the fourth largest in the world, belonged to France. There was every possibility that it might fall into Axis hands as Indo-China had been allowed to do. Its naval base at Diego Suarez, and the 4 major air-fields at Diego Suarez, Ivato, Fort Berge and Majunga would have been invaluable for the Axis joining of hands in the Indian Ocean. In the last volume of the *Register* we have discussed the possibilities of the grand strategy of the Axis partners in Europe and Asia in which Marshal Ernest Rommel would be over-running Egypt and the Axis forces poised in Greece, Crete and the Dodecanese Islands, and sweeping through Syria and Palestine, would be meeting Jap ships in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea. That would break the "United Nations" blockade and present Germany and Italy with the riches of the East, the Near and the Far East. The beating that Jap naval and air-forces received at Colombo and Trincomalee and the capture of Madagascar did not a little to intercept the march of this "grandiose plan". If Madagascar had fallen into Axis hands, the 250-miles wide Mozambique Channel between it and Mozambique in Africa's eastern shore would have been infested with Axis air-craft and naval ships, playing havoc with Allied shipping to the Persian Gulf, to Egypt, to Karachi and to Bombay bringing the essentials of war and peace to Russia, to Egypt and to India.

We have tried to draw up a balance-sheet of Axis and "United Nations" profit and loss during the first six months of 1942. In the last volume of the *Register* we traced the source of the many forces that enabled Japan to gain such resounding successes against Britain and the United States. There cannot be any manner of doubt that

A six months'  
Balance Sheet

the incompetence of military commands and the congenital weakness of civil administrations combined to produce the disasters that have startled the world—the vanquished and the victors alike. The report of the Commission appointed by President Roosevelt to investigate into and fix the blame for the Pearl Harbour "day of disgrace" revealed the complacent disbelief in the dangers of which the Commanding General and the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. A. Pacific Fleet had been warned by the Washington authorities for about twelve months, and exposed the other military failing that "the Navy was Navy and the Army was Army and never the twain should co-operate". With regard to Britain's Far Eastern possessions, though the British Government has refused to hold an inquest into the disease of the "Singapore spirit", the same failings have been traced all through the Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore and Burma campaigns. We must await the end of the war to receive enlightenment on the many causes that brought down in ruins the structure of British Imperialism in this region of the earth. But one thing has come out in the context of this story of failures and stupidities—"the British Colonial policy of not carrying the indigenous peoples' support" for the prosecution of peace-and-war-aims, as Mr. Hore Belisha, Britain's war minister in the Chamberlain Government, phrased the indictment.

Observers from far and near, correspondents of the British and the



United States Press, who have accompanied the British forces in their retreats and fights have time after time stumbled on this hard fact. One can go on quoting them for any length. We give below representative extracts from their comments and communications. In the *Over-seas Daily Mail* (London) of the 28th March, 1942, appeared the following :

"As the Japanese moved north the truth of the campaign in Southern Burma is emerging from the smoke, and the full extent of Burmese disaffection can be revealed".

"Numbers of Burmese went over to the enemy. The Jap formed them into 'Burmese' bands with blue uniforms, and it is believed that these were in action against us. Certainly these were active in sabotage. The civilian population also to some extent were anti-British."

The United Press (U.S.A) correspondent, Karl Eskelund, was told by an American pilot of the *American Volunteer Group* of air-men after visiting four Burma towns :

"Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way.....Rangoon is a horrible place. Foreigners risk their lives when they walk in the city, which are completely in the hands of the looters and killers who are running amok".

The most comprehensive account of the various factors that contributed to the defeat of the British was sent by Jack Belden, special correspondent of the *New York Time* (weekly).

"In the first place we lacked sound political theory ; we had no war aim in Burma. The people, advocating independence, were unfriendly from the beginning ; and when the Japanese began to succeed this ripened into open hostility."

"The open hostility of the people caused us to fight blindly.....Intelligence broke down almost completely. The Japs were led by Burmese people through country paths, jungles, thickets, into the rear of our position again and again, causing numerous road blocks, clogging our supply lines, disrupting communications and causing an adverse psychological effect on the minds of men and officers..... Railroads were wrecked, cars were fired upon in the dark...The Japanese and small groups of active Burmese that were their allies, literally and devastatingly burned their way through Burma.

"Our lines of communication were uncertain. The railroads often did not run because the railwaymen ran away or were intimidated by the Burmese".

"We never received any reinforcements....."

"Finally, the Japanese fought total war, backed by political theory and strengthened by powerful propaganda. They made this total war feasible by cornering economic life in conquered areas, utilizing labour power and seizing raw materials to supply continuing war from war itself. It is a type of war thoroughly understood by Russians and Germans, half adopted by the Chinese, and little understood by Britain and America."

"We lacked air support. The Japs continually knew our every movements and picked out holes in our lines through which they pushed their troops."

"Every cottage was a machine-gun nest. They (our troops) have trampled over treeless, waterless hills, and been sniped at by Burman traitors and Japs posing as Chinese."

In reply to analysis like this the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery, attempted a justification which only transferred the blame from these outskirts of the Empire to its centre at Downing Street. Speaking to members of the Birmingham Unionist Association, he asserted that Malaya had not been lost

"for lack of loyalty of its people or because of incompetence or want of sympathy on the part of our administrators. It is because we here at home failed sufficiently to honour the obligations for their defence implicit in our trusteeship."

In trying to explain, in course of a broad-cast to Canada, the failures in Malaya and Singapore, Lord Beaverbrook said that the latter "was not lost to superior equipment", on the contrary "that weight of munitions was on our side". In course of a speech at New York on April 23, 1942, he said : "We cannot explain our failures". This official British attitude leaves the door open to all sorts of speculations in which Mr. Amery's are as plausible as the others that have been indulged in. Whether this attitude is conducive to the ultimate victory of the "United Nations" is more than one can hazard to say. Political sympathies or antipathies will have a part in colouring these speculations. But discomfort has seized the conscience of people whom force of circumstance has ranged on the side of Britain in what appears to be a defence of British Imperialism and all that it has stood for as the pioneer of capitalist exploitation of distant lands and peoples since the middle of the 18th century. This discomfort has become most manifest in the United States which willy nilly will have to foot the bill of the present "global war". It is to this discomfort that we can trace the argument as it has been framed by one of the most wide-awake of U. S. publicists — "Pundit" Walter Lippmann :

"It has never seemed possible to the pre-Singapore British Government that it could apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter east of the Suez.....The Western nations must now do what hitherto they lacked the will and imagination to do ; they must identify their cause with the freedom and security of the peoples of the East, putting away the white man's burden and purging themselves of the taint of an obsolete and obviously unworkable white man's imperialism.

"We have reason to think that the peoples of Asia will believe us... the Phillipino knew that under American law their own independence is assured to them... This is the only part of partnership that deserves to work. It is the only kind of patnership that can work."

This statement takes us into the heart of the problem of social and colour discrimination that has been embittering relations between men and men in the modern world. India and China which are inhabited by about half the population of the world are victims to such discrimination. This lowly status of theirs in the international world cannot restore balance to it when rival ideas and ideologies, conceits and ambitions, hopes and fears have converted whole continents and oceans into so many battle fields. Japan's cannibal designs on China and her success in bringing Thailand, Malaya, Burma, the Dutch East Indies and the Phillipines into her "co-prosperity sphere," have forced the hitherto dominant Western peoples to dimly recognise that without the help and co-operation of the more than ninety crores of these two countries their own particular interests and the peace of the world cannot be ensured.

For more than five years China has been maintaining the unity of her State and the integrity of the soul of her people under the leadership of one of the greatest men of this age—Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek. She has been encircled in the north-east and south-east of her territories ; her ports in the more than two thousand miles of her coasts have been blocked or taken away from her ; her contact with the world has been all but cut. Only through the North-West "Red Route" to

Many interpretations of this failure

Racial & colour arrogance

China's "lifelines" & India

Russia and through the South-West "Burma Road" did she maintain the line of communication on which rolled to her the weapons of war and the materials of peace during these years. It has been reported that over this "Red Road" China received some of the captured German booty—Mauser rifles, machine-guns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns. Japan has been able to cut the "Burma Road" by her conquest of Burma. This danger did her far-sighted leaders anticipate. And they set their labour power to build an alternative Road. In the wild, peaked plateau where India and China meet, just above the conquered Burma "some 20,000 Chinese cutters of stones and some 4,00,000 other labourers blasted, hewed and dug away at a substitute route into India from Chengtu, capital of the province of Szechwan, across 10,000 ft. peaks, across three rivers and many other obstacles between Sichang in China and a border railhead at Sadiya in north-eastern India."—(*Time* February 9, 1942). The world knows now of this engineering feat, yet incomplete, though begun two years back; the same paper reporting that it took two years and 2,00,000 labourers to build the easier 350 miles stretch to Sichang. There is yet another substitute "route"—that supplied by about "100 transport planes" provided by the United States. Supplies landed in India's west coast are carried across India by rail and flown some hundreds of miles to China from air-bases "somewhere" in India. Each plane can carry a load of 3 to 4 tons; daily rounds of trips by these planes could carry 9,000 to 12,000 tons a month—as much as the Burma Road had carried on trucks. These planes could carry most of the things the tracks did—pack mortars, field mortars, Bren guns, small machines, engine parts, medical supplies, radio equipment. This is how through India has been going help to China from the "United Nations". By driving the U. S. administration from the Phillipines the Japanese have converted India into one of the bases of operations—distant operation through China—to be directed against them. By cutting the "Burma Road" the Japanese have shut one back-door of China, and forced another through India.

This development has given meaning to the new Allied strategy in the Far East—"India must be held not only for herself but for China also." The failure of Britain to hold Burma and  
 India's place in this strategy      Malaya and the eastern half of the Bay of Bengal, has forced this extended line of offence and defence. Till the end of the war when Governments will publish their versions of the war's successes and failures, and commanders of their armies, navies and air-forces will publish their stories, we must continue to speculate why the British did not accept the help proffered by the leaders of China in the shape of seasoned soldiers who have been trained into hardness by five years of battle with the Japanese technique. We have been told that this help was offered before the Japanese had burst into Thailand in their way to Malaya. We have yet to understand why the Allied High Command did not direct attack on the right flank or the rear of the Japanese army as it moved into Malaya. The Chinese soldiers were there at least.

The consequence of this policy or strategy was that it was

possible for the Japanese to take Burma with "only 50,000 troops", to quote Lieutenant-General Stillwell, the U. S.-born Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Burma. It might also be that the superiority of Japanese soldiers—their toughness, their ability to "linger on meagre rations"—weighed all along the campaign; that to quote Lieutenant General Stillwell again—"you can't go up against him (the Jap) with a rag-tag and bob-tail collection of troops and hope to win". This depreciation, and the story, given out later, that the army in Malaya and Burma were not trained in "jungle warfare", were hard to accept at their face value. We do not know the classes of people that constituted the British army in these two countries. But it is difficult to believe that a few battalions were not formed by men from the tribal areas to the north-west of India—the training ground of the Indian Army for about three quarters of a century; that Garhwal and Nepal did not supply their quota. All these men came from hilly and jungle tracks. Further, we learn from the *Daily Mail* that the 93rd Foot of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders went to Singapore in August, 1939, one month before the present war broke out, with the object of becoming "jungle specialists", and forming "Tiger patrols"; other sections of the Indian Army—Indian and foreign—must have been made to pass through the same training. The question will, therefore, continue to be asked—why should the British army in Malaya's jungle warfare and Burma's have failed to stand up to the Japanese as they poured into these foreign countries? Perhaps, it is best to rest content with the reply given by Lord Beaverbrook that the failures in the Far East could not be explained.

The developments during the seven months—December 1941 to June 1942—since the 7th of December, 1941, when Japan started the

Why did not  
Japan invade  
India?

war in the Far East—have brought us to this fact—to hold Burma the Japanese must attack India; to maintain possession of the Dutch East Indies they must attempt the invasion of Australia. British and

American papers gave it out that they were capable of attacking both simultaneously. None of these anticipations have come true. Between Mandalay and the eastern borders of Bengal lie 300 to 400 miles of almost uninhabited jungles and mountains without roads. In and about the Solomon Islands the Japanese have been held back. The possession of New Britain's Rabaul and New Guinea's Gona-Buna area has not enabled them to approach nearer to Australia, though they have bombed Port Darwin any number of times. The monsoon has stopped them at a distance of about 40 miles from the State of Manipur within India's borders. The hands of their opponents have also been stayed from attempts to dislodge them from Burma. Cherrapoonji and Akyab are in the same line—north and south—which is the wettest region in the world; the former registering 500 inches of rain in the year, the latter 250 inches. It is not possible to say why the Japanese did not utilize their position in the Bay of Bengal to attack India through the air and sea, trying to disrupt and destroy the various organizations and institutions that have been set up there preparing weapons of war for future use. The bombing of Vizagapatam and Cocanada, of Colombo and Trincomalee showed the danger of this

attack. In the Ceylon area the Japanese suffered a defeat, though inflicting on the British the loss of two cruisers—*Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall*—and of a small carrier—*Hermes*. Then they turned their back on India. Why ?

The air-attack on Tokyo on April 18, 1942, must have been partly responsible for this turn of the tide. From the sea to the north-east had swept a fleet of U. S. bombers and "for the first time in 2602 years the island cities of Japan were subjected to enemy assault". Tokyo received the first bombs; Yokohama, the first port of Japan, was left "a wreckage"; the great Mitsubishi and Aichi air-plane manufacturing plants at Nagoya received attention as well as the shipyards and foundries of Kobe. The raiders were reported to have numbered 60. This air-attack posed a problem for Japan—where did the raiders come from—from carriers or from air-bases in China? Much later it came out that they had flown from carriers that had started from Pearl Harbour, more than 4,000 miles away. But in April, the Japanese thought that these came from air-bases built in the provinces of Shantung and Chekiang, the latter the Generalissimo's native province. The names of Kinkwa, Nanchang, Hankow and Changsha leapt into prominence in those days. The fear of large-scale bombing attacks on their island homes from bases in China drove the Japanese to concentrate their whole attention on China—to destroy or occupy the air-bases in China, and to cut China off from all external sources of supply. For the latter purpose Japan directed attack on China's south western province, Yunnan, from three directions—up the Hanoi-Kunming railway from Indo-China, up the Burma Road, up by roads from Myitkyina into western Yunnan. This combination of Japanese moves appeared to be "a graver threat to China than any that has appeared in nearly five years of war", to quote an American authority. British failure to hold Burma intensified this threat. And the importance of India in the scheme of "United Nations" strategy for saving China and defeating Japan increased.

We noticed in the last volume of the *Register* the differences that had arisen between London strategists dominated over by Mr. Churchill and the leaders of the Pacific nations. Australia's leaders were very bitter in their criticism of this policy. But the rulers of China could not afford to be so outspoken. They had to wait, do their own part of the fighting, send their strategists to London and Washington to tell their opposite numbers amongst the "United Nations" of the experiences that they had gathered during their fights with the Japanese. In the second week of April, 1942, they sent a Military Mission to Washington headed by General Hsiung Shih Hui; the Generalissimo's nephew, Mr. Peter Chuh, was one of its members. A U. S. A paper has told us that the Mission rented a house, set up an office on the walls of which hung military maps, showing in detail the disposition of Japanese troops in China and all south-eastern Asia: inside this office sat on chairs "several men whose heads are crammed with

informations about the Japanese army, how it operates and how it fights". But during five weeks "no high-ranking U. S. Army officer" took the "trouble to call on the telephone or knock at the door of 2,374 Massachusetts Avenue". And General Hsiung issued a statement to the press pointedly pointing out that the "United Nations" might not win "unless there is a unified strategy covering all the theatres of operations."

In the last week of May the "United Nations" High Command—the Combined Chiefs of Staff—held its first session at Washington in which the principal Pacific Powers were represented. This new organization superseded the earlier arrangements, announced in the beginning of January, 1942. The bitter disappointments of the Malaya, Burma, and Dutch East Indies campaigns had led to this supersession. General Archibald Wavell reverted to his position of Commander-in-Chief of India, adding Ceylon to his jurisdiction. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek retained his supreme command of the "United Nations," which are now or may, in the future, be operating in the Chinese theatre of war including certain portions of Indo-China and Thailand. Lt. General Joseph Stillwell as Chief of Staff of the "Gissimo" controlled U. S. forces in India, Burma and China. It was at this meeting of the Allied Chiefs of the Staffs that the United States accepted "primary responsibility" for the Pacific Front.

**New High  
Command**

We in India had no part or lot in these discussions, though our hearts beat in unison with the cause represented by China. The reason for this failure and inability is implicit in the unnatural relation that subsists between the people and the State in India. The rulers of China early recognised the danger of this inner weakness of the country that should be a shield to the western frontier of their own country. This recognition must have brought Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India in the first week of February, 1942, when the Japanese were hammering their way towards Singapore. The object of this visit was, to use the words of the supreme leader of China, to have a "personal exchange of views" with the members of the Government in India, and with "prominent men" in India's public life, in order to "secure more effective united efforts against aggression". The visit had been preceded by a discussion held at Chungking between China's Supreme Commander and General Wavell as the threat to and through Burma became imminent. In his parting message he explained this idea more explicitly. To "his brethren, the people of India," he addressed as follows :

**India's helplessness  
& China's  
fears**

".....at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and the Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India there could be no real peace in the world".

To their "ally Great Britain" he confidently appealed. :

.....without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, (she) will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression

nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom.

These two quotations give us the idea which brought about this historic visit—to make an attempt for the reconciliation of India's national self-respect with Britain's interests. For the success of this work he must have used his powers of persuasion both on Lord Linlithgow and on the leaders of the Indian people. We know that his mission was a failure. Great Britain could not transfer "real political power" into the hands of the Indian leaders; the latter, therefore, could not persuade their people to render that heart-felt help to China that they desired. We will come to know the real facts of the Generalissimo's talks with Lord Linlithgow and the Indian leaders when the history of these times comes to be published. We do not know whether or not the bureaucracy in India welcomed the idea of the Chinese leader's interference, however friendly, with affairs in India. He was feasted and feated and spoken of in complimentary terms, no doubt. But the correspondents of the Press, Indian and foreign, could not help commenting on the fact that Lord Linlithgow sent his aide-camp only to the New Delhi aerodrome to receive the honoured guests from China. The New York weekly, *Time*, dated March 16, 1942, wrote: "Last month when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek paid his momentous visit to India, the Viceroy sent an aide to welcome him instead of going himself". The leaders of the Indian National Congress, of the Hindu Maha Sabha, and of the Sikhs were profuse in their welcome; the leaders of the Muslim League were of divided mind; they were afraid that the removal of the Indian deadlock at the instance of the Chinese leader might do harm to their particularistic conceits and ambitions.

It is a historical fact, however, that the vast majority of India's politically-minded people have been keen supporters of the national cause of China since the days when Dr. Sun Yat-Sen began his struggle for the realization of the "Three Principles of the People" in the life of the "Five Peoples" that make up the Chinese Nation—The Han, The Man, The Mung, The Huai, and the Tsan—The Chinese proper, the Manchus, the Mongols, the followers of Islam, and the Tibetans. It is true that Japan by her victory over Russia in 1904-'05 captured the imagination of all non-white peoples as the rising hope of their racial and national self-respect. In the opening years of this century, the visit of Kakujū Okakura, the author of *The Ideals of the East*, was one of the influences that inspired the Swadeshi Movement associated with the agitation against the Partition of Bengal. It is on record that this Japanese thought-leader was a welcome guest in the Tagore family at Calcutta where foregathered Rabindra Nath Tagore and other members of the family, Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, Bipin Chandra Pal, P. Mitra and other thinkers and public men who were planning to make a "new departure" in the political thought and conduct of our people. But Japan's treatment of Korea (1910-'11), the history of her "21 Demands" made on the Chinese Republic in 1915, her invasion of Manchuria (1932) worked a change in their dreams of

India's relation  
with China &  
Japan

an Asian Unity to be organized under Japan's leadership against the pretensions of the Western peoples.

The lining up of the Indian people by the side of the Chinese became vivid in the correspondence between the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi and Rabindra Nath Tagore (September-October, 1938). The former had appealed to the latter, and through him to the Indian people, "to study the Japanese stand-point" in this fight between two neighbours. Time was when the Indian poet had spoken of "the living bond of love and reverence" that had bound him to the land from beyond which the sun rises. In the correspondence under notice he spoke with sorrow of the causes and the many consequences of the "desolating mutual destruction" in which China and Japan had got "entangled". And this sorrow was intensified as he and his people contemplated the shattering of their hopes of an Asian renaissance in which Japan would be plying a helpful part :

"I can no longer point out with pride to the example of a great Japan. It is true that there are no better standards prevalent anywhere else and that the so-called civilized peoples of the West are proving equally barbarous and even less worthy of trust".

The Japanese poet drew attention to the ultimate harm that India's attitude of criticism and condemnation of Japan's adventure in China may lead to :

"What I fear most is the present atmosphere in India which tends to wilfully blacken Japan and to alienate her from your own country.....Believe me, it is the war of "Asia for Asia".

Rabindra Nath found no grace in this doctrine. And the developments that have taken place since then to the present day when Japan has made good by blood and iron her claim to be the leader of a "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia" have proved the hollowness of this propaganda, as unsubstantial as the idea of the unity of a Christian Europe. It was true that in our own country also the question of an Asiatic Federation had been canvassed for about the same length of time, for about 40 years since the Russo-Japanese war. In certain previous volumes of the *Register*, specially those of 1938 and 1940, we have tried to understand and explain the many personal and impersonal influences that have played their part in encouraging and discrediting belief in this propaganda. The proceedings of the Indian National Congress during the twenties and the latter thirties have to be studied to get a clear idea of the movement of thought on this subject.

At a time when the forces of progress and reaction in Eastern Asia have ranged themselves in distinct and definite positions, when Japan has become the disturber of the peace to all progressive peoples in Asia, when China has become the hope and friend of all that stands for human dignity, India has chosen her side. It is not possible to trace in full detail the history of the evolution of the new comradeship of India and China, during the recent decades. But students of international relations have not failed to take note of the fact that the Nationalist

Reflected in  
Rabindra Nath's  
correspondence  
with Yone Noguchi

"Asia for Asia"  
cry

Rabindra Nath &  
renewal of Indo-  
Chin comradeship



Movements in India and China have acted and reacted on each other. Others have tried to recall us to "the ancient bonds of history that unite the people of China and India as brothers," to quote Madame Chiang Kai-shek's felicitous expression. We had lost all traces of this history till Rabindra Nath Tagore recovered them from the debris of ages during his visit to China in 1924. The Chinese in appreciation of this great work, perhaps, conferred on him a Chinese name—*Chu-Chen-Tan*—"Thunder-voiced Rising Sun of India"—on the occasion of his 64th birth-day. Rabindra Nath recalls this episode in lines of sensitive feeling :

Once I went to China. Those whom I had not met  
Put the mark of friendship on my forehead.  
Calling me their own.

.....  
I took a Chinese name, dressed in Chinese clothes.  
This I know in my mind—  
Wherever I find my friend, there I am born anew,"

In these words Rabindra Nath speaks as a representative of India. Through him India and China have come nearer to each other, renewing ancient relations. In one of our *Puranas*—  
"The ancient  
bonds of history  
that unite" the  
two peoples records of old times—there is a reference to one of the *Rishis* and saints of the clan of Vasishta who went to *Maha-Chin*—Great China. In historic times since the rise of Buddhism the commerce of spiritual and material things between the two countries became brisk and remained so for more than a thousand years. The names of religious pilgrims, of seekers after truth, that became prominent and find a place in history are Kasyapa Matanga, Kumarajiva and Gunaratna among Indians ; Fa-Shien, Hsuan-Tsang and Ti-Tsing among Chinese. In the history of the *Tantrik Cult* there was mention of inter-communication between the two countries. How and why this profitable commerce shrank in value and volume, it is difficult to say. And there is no doubt that for about three centuries it ceased completely. From the side of China the pilgrims to Buddha Gaya and other holy places of Buddhism in India have kept up some sort of a relation. From the side of India there was hardly any appreciation of this avenue of spiritual give-and-take. It was Rabindra Nath, as we have said, who revived the old traditions. And in the *Cheena Bhavan* attached to the *Visva-Bharati*, the nucleus of a World University, established by him at Shantiniketan (Bengal), we have the sign and symbol of a renaissance in Asia that would build up a newer and better world.

For, there cannot be any manner of doubt that for better or for worse the life and labour of 90 crores of human beings will have to be counted in any world-development that we can foresee. As Will Durant put it in a magazine article, speaking of the Chinese :

"Surely the future must belong to a nation that can be happy without money, content without love, strong without good food, healthy without soap. And intelligent without knowledge ! "

The coming together of this vast mass of humanity must have a meaning in the scheme of creation, hidden though it may be at

**China's awakening  
& the world's  
future** present from our limited comprehension. A sensing of this development was presented to the European world in a book by a pacifist who suffered for his belief during 1914—'18, Dr. G. F. Nicolai, sometime Professor of Physiology at the Berlin University. In *The Biology of War* he indicated the possibilities of a Chinese awakening in these words :

....."the Sons of Heaven have the enormous advantage of being able to work equally well under all heavens, whether under the icy waste of tundras or under the burning sun of Sumatra. Apparently, this is a special Mongolian peculiarity ; even primitive Teutonic peoples simply melted away under the southern sun to which their impulse had led them, and Negro races got consumption if transferred to colder climates."

There may be a hint of "Yellow Peril" in the words quoted above. The late Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany who started and lost World War I. of the 20th Century is credited with raising the cry of "Yellow Peril" to Europe. That is no longer a factor in international affairs. New developments have started the growth of certain mental and material processes that, the world hopes and prays, will help to eliminate all narrow racial and colour conceits in the conduct of States. The joint efforts for the defeat of reactionary forces in which India and China are partners to-day indicates the possibilities of such a future. In a previous para we have referred to commerce in matters spiritual between India and China. In recovering fuller traces of it Indian and Chinese scholars and researchers will come upon many interesting things. The *Cheena Bhavan* at Shantiniketan under the guidance of Prof. Tan-Yun-Shan has been laying the foundations of a noble and necessary work—necessary for friendship between nations—friendship built on knowledge. The appreciation of the worth of this work has been more than handsome from the side of China. Funds have come from it to give the *Cheena Bhavan* a start ; the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have donated Rs. 80,000 for the development of "cultural fellowship between China and India, through the medium of the *Viswa-Bharati*."

This fellowship will also pave the way for the commerce in things material between our two countries. And in this connection it is significant of the future that the country that is to-day known as Bengal had a part to play in the evolution of China's economy. Havell's *History of India* made a reference to this fact. An article in the *Pacific Affairs* (September, 1934) has said that without a knowledge of bronze weapons and irrigated rice culture there could not have been increase in population and the foundation of large organized States in China. Referring to the development of the latter the article has the following :

"The cultivation of irrigated rice culture appears to have begun in North-eastern India, somewhere around the head of the Bay of Bengal. Its diffusion hence, both East and West, had commenced at least as far back as the second millenium B. C. It must have reached the Yang-tze Basin by the Burma-Yunnan route, and then travelled to the Red Basin of Szechuan. Thence it even worked up to Kansu where the painted pottery makers knew it. Eastward the growing of irrigated rice extended itself down the great river and latterly up its tributaries until it reached the coastal regions."

The relation between India and China has thus a longer history than we generally know of. The Burma-Yunnan Road is not a 20th century fact on which 20th-century books and newspapers have written so profusely. The necessities of survival in a 20th-century war might have brought China's South-west—the six provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan (Chungking, the war capital of China lies in this province) and Sikang—into the lime-light, as the base of China's national recovery and eventual victory in the war. We may excite ourselves over projects of building a railway between Burma and Yunnan; over the building of high roads between Assam and Szechuan. But in times beyond memory, four thousand years back, from the head of the Bay of Bengal area started a stream of culture, irrigated rice culture, material and concrete, that enriched China's life, and enabled her to build up organized States for herself. That stream flowed to meet the demands of a not less stronger urge to life. Thus through the expanse of four thousand years, India and China stretch their arms and link their fingers for the service of a common cause. And men and women with historic imagination in both the countries can view the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek as a natural event, as the renewal of a brotherhood in things material and in things spiritual.

Students of sociology have told us that there has been a mixture of Indian and Mongolian blood in the eastern provinces of India; one or two publicists of the Brahmaputra Valley (Assam) have told us that they are not Indian, that they belong to the Mongolian race, and that after centuries of "Indianness" they feel in themselves responses to the cry of common blood—the Mongolian blood. We do not know what the future holds in store for us of the two nations, how near we will be coming together through the highways and airways that are being erected in the now-unknown regions which once had been trodden by Indians and Chinese in their comings-in-and-goings-on. The dust of times and the jungles of Nature might have hidden these paths from us both. But in the 20th-century struggles for survival as self-respecting human beings, the Gods and men have brought Indians and Chinese together for the advancement of what national and international good only the future can say. In the living present we have been called upon to co-operate in a war of continents and oceans, in which old relations are being snapped and new ones forged. It is in the background of events far and near, in the perspective of revolutionary events shaking the foundations of social life far and near, that the visit to India of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek has to be viewed. And in this effort of imagination and intellect the meeting of two ancient friends, long lost sight of, gains a new meaning in the new world that is being shaped by the blood and tears of millions of men and women in all the parts of the globe.

The story told so far makes it clear that India and China have got to know more of each other if they were to co-operate for pur-

Can be realized  
by process of re-  
education

poses of world history in the near future. The politically-conscious people of India know more of Britain and Europe than of this immediate neighbour of theirs to the east; the politically-conscious classes of China know more of the life and conduct of the U. S. A. people across the Pacific Ocean, 5,000 miles distant, than of their immediate neighbour to the west. Pearl Buck has told us in an article in the New York monthly, *Asia*, that "Thanks to Japan", to Japanese bombers and the Japanese army, the intellectuals of China have been forced to know anew their country and their people which they had come to regard as non-existent beyond the coastal area of their country wherein had been built up by the 'foreign devils' the towns and cities that drew into them all that was enterprising and adventurous amongst the Chinese. As Lin Yutang has written in his book—*My Country and My People*—"Shanghai is not China, but Shanghai is an ominous indication of what modern China may come to." Authors of books on countries that bowed low before the aggressive modernism of Western countries, accepted the political domination of white rulers, have written on the class of men and women produced by the methods of administration and enlightenment of their alien rulers—men and women "who frankly did not know how to live in their own country and in the age in which their country still was." In China also this phenomenon had developed, and would have continued longer if the West had not betrayed itself during the last world war, and had not been hit by slump and depression that followed after a year or two of the war profiteers' prosperity. The failure of science to control or regulate its innumerable progeny has created the mentality of disappointment and discomfort, of bitterness and resentment amongst the hitherto "master races"—amongst their toiling masses

Masses in the  
West weary &  
disillusioned

In every country this bitterness found expression in books, pamphlets and poems. The Victory in the last Great War and the betrayal of the peace that was to sanctify it were parents of vast revolutions in thought and action. Feelings generated then draw their inspiration from misery in material life. They burst out into view in poems like the following that appeared in the *Daily Herald* (London) entitled—"The Toast". It was addressed to England, it is true. It might have been addressed to the rulers of any country, victor or vanquished, great or small, Imperial or Colonial. England which had set herself up as an example to all the world or claimed to do so, England as guide to conduct to all people, England in this poem is taken as the representative of the ruling classes in all countries. The poem was written by "an unemployed Ex-Service man," Frank W. Howe of 35, Addington Road, Bow, London E.

"Protector of weaker nations, whether Arab, or Pole, or Greek ;  
Always ready to help—abroad—'tis the second time we speak,  
We have drunk before to thy greatness where the sunken roads ran red.  
Some of us drink this second toast—but the lucky ones are dead.  
Ocean and dock and harbour, where flaming warship sank ;  
Field and forest of Flanders are red with the first we drank.  
Now—workless, homeless and hopeless—a second toast we give  
To a land where heroes—and profiteers—but no one else—can live.

We're down in the gutter, England—down and damned and done—  
 But we pledge a toast to thy greatness, thy greatness that we have won,  
 With water stale from the gutter, we pledge thee, deep and strong,  
 Oh land, where a man is free—to starve, if he doesn't take too long."

Interpreters of the new developments in world history known to us as Bolshevism, Fascism and Nazism or the "Imperial Way" of Japan, have told us that the people, the toiling masses in almost all countries, have shown by their conduct that they were prepared to sacrifice their freedom and the democratic ways of their life if they could get an assurance of economic stability, of peace between men and men, between nation and nation. These experiments have not yet fulfilled the hopes and desires of the masses. They have, on the other hand, been called upon to more work, to sacrifice more, to bleed more, for the sake of hopes that are proving to be liars, for the sake of desires that are destined to remain unfulfilled. Faced by disappointments like these, thought-leaders amongst western nations have been surveying the world for a philosophy of conduct that would restore health to their twisted world. In this search they stumble on Eastern truths that appear to promise them peace, and deliverance from the fret and fever of which they are the victims. The story of this search suggest to "colonial" or "semi-colonial" peoples that they should return to their own institutions of society and state, and regaining their—*Swraj*, contribute to the healing of the world. This appeal has helped to strengthen the nerves of understanding and the moral fibre of disinherited peoples. This come-down of the dominant nations, the description and demonstration of the failure of Western peoples to uphold human happiness have come to Asiatic and African peoples with a new message of assurance that perhaps their habits of thought and conduct were not "so bad" after all, that perhaps their quietitude held in its bosom seeds of a completer life. In the 1936 volume of the *Annual Register* in tracing the evolution of the process by which the people of India re-captured confidence in the philosophy and practices of their composite national life, we dealt with this aspect of the matter in certain detail. The present stirring on the waters of life in all countries will start fresh comparisons between the social patterns of the Western and Eastern peoples, and we have no doubt that the latter will come out of the test quite honourably. Not only in the realms of thought but also in the practical conduct of affairs of State a new confidence is astir among Arabs and Persians, Egyptians and Afghans, Turks and Syrians, Indians and Chinese, that is the promise of a better world order.

For five years China has been meeting Japanese assaults on her honour and material interests. Single-handed she has been keeping up this fight. And when Japan has presented to her such valuable allies as the United States of America and Britain, she appears to be facing a greater danger in June, 1942, than in July, 1937 or 1938 when she had to leave her capital at Nanking to the tender mercies of the Jap soldiery. It was a tragic irony that Britain refused or declined her assistance at the early stage of the Burma campaign; and it was an eye-opener at a later stage, after the fall of Rangoon, that for about ten days

**British failures &  
China's fears**

since March 18 at Toungoo and round about, "a lone Chinese division" was left to fight "the Japanese motorized 55 Division and regiments from the 33rd Division," to quote from the chapter—"Military Affairs"—in the book—*China after Five Years of War*—published by the Chinese Ministry of Information, and available at the Calcutta Branch. The book is made up of certain pamphlets written by Chinese publicists on various phases of Chinese life functioning under the pressure of a national war. The disappointing experiences of the Chinese divisions with British tactics in Burma must have been partly responsible for the Burma debacle, throwing light on the political and military deficiencies of British administration in eastern Asia. This discovery must have been one of the reasons that brought the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India to use their influence in setting right the political deficiency by persuading the leaders of political thought and conduct in our country to throw in their weight and prestige—their individual and party influence, into the defence-and-offence organization of India.

The Supreme Commander of China had a right to expect better results from his Mission to India. His people had demonstrated that they had the stature, moral and physical, to stand up and exchange blows with the Japanese, not for weeks or months, but year after year, for five long years. The New York *Time* has recorded this glorious chapter in China's history.

"His people had been beaten and battered from one end of China to the other. Their cities had been bombed; their soldiers gassed; their women raped. From Valley Forge through Valley Forge he has fought and gone on fighting. The aid that the democracies promised him was never enough. But he kept on. In earlier years he had fought a retiring battle. But in 1941 he fought the Japanese to a stand-still. That was an achievement neither British nor Americans have yet accomplished."

This epic of endurance is being written by men and women—crores of them—in their blood and tears. How the miracle has been achieved will be the theme of bards and poets of

How China discovered herself many lands which they will love to celebrate in words of pathos and of fire. Lin Yu-tang in the chapter entitled—"Story of Sino-Japanese War"—in his book—*My Country & my People*—has traced for us the process by which China did discover herself: how the bitter lesson in disillusionment first at the Versailles Conference, then at the League of Nations, and finally through a life-and-death struggle with Japan, rid her "of hesitancy and importunity and begging for mercy, of evasion and futile pleas for intercession, and useless crying over broken pledges," and at last enabled her to "nerve herself to the new atmosphere of the household" of modern aggressive and predatory nations. In *China after Five Years of War*, we have an informing record of the various organs of social life and institutions of constructive nationalism that have grown up under the auspices of the Kuo Min-tang. These have undertaken the task of shaping "a sprawling mass of humanity" into a modern "fighting nation organized by railways and radios and propaganda bureaus and equipped and armed for carrying on or resisting international aggression." It, China's history of shame and disgrace since 1840, when Britain's "Opium War" started the era of aggression and encroachments on her sovereign

rights to 1893-'94 when pigmy Japan defeated her, to the "Boxer" outburst in 1900—organized by "The Righteous Fraternity of Fists"—and the sack of Peking by the international army—this history discredited the Manchu Court beyond recovery. Then came the attempt at recovery by the Republic; the "21 Demands" presented by Japan which, if acted upon, would have reduced the country to a "colony," followed by persistent encroachments till Japan exposed her hands by the "rape of Manchuria"—this story of a diseased body politic recovering itself by the inner strength of its being is told us in the two books from which we have quoted above in many places.

Lin Yu-tang's book helps us to probe into the biology of the Chinese people and understand its psychology. The miracle of her survival through the centuries, as of India's, is an argument in support of the plea that these two ancients amongst the other nations of the world have continued in the world's stage for thousands of years because in the scheme of creation they have a definite contribution yet to make for the enrichment of the world's life. He has given us a character-study of the Generalissimo whom he calls "the supreme chess-player of the Far East and one of the greatest political chess-players of all time." His "inhuman coolness" has enabled him to stand the insults that Japan heaped on his people for about twenty years; the cultivation of this virtue has made it possible for him to rein in his people from making an ultimately outburst against the aggressor from the east. His coolness, his "fine calculations," his stubbornness, "unusually un-Chinese," have made him the recognized leader of "a new nation," the law-giver of "a new society," recognized all over the world as such—one of the builders of China—one of those few in every age and every clime whom Pearl Buck described as "a modern, whose roots are firmly in the past, but whose rich flowering is in the present." The spirit that moves these millions has embodied itself in the Generalissimo, the spirit that has enabled unknown men and unknown women to face the Japanese terror, to see their homes burnt over their heads, to see their children die, and yet go on building roads and dams and clearing waterways so that a better China may emerge out of the tribulations in the material conditions of their life. Watching from afar the hundreds of Chinese labourers building her roads, a Western writer broke out into this paen of praise :

The great Himalayas tower about the men, toiling at their task. Like white-capped giants the mountains look at labourers who seem like ants, scurrying hither and thither. But in the hearts of these men there is a great faith. And it is a faith which can move mountains."

This admiration, so poignantly felt and so vividly expressed sanctifies the sorrows and sufferings of our Chinese neighbours. And India would have been glad and proud to be of service to the noble cause represented by them. The Indian National Congress has been consistent in its sympathy with China. And we know that under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's leadership the politically-conscious among the Chinese showed their awareness of the many events that was demonstrating the strength of the Nationalist Movement in India. The founder of the Chinese Republic in his lectures

**The General-  
issimo embodies  
the spirit of new  
China**

**The Indian  
National Congress  
& China**

on the methods and ideals of Chinese Nationalism delivered in 1923-'24, which were later incorporated in *The Three Principles of the People*, drew attention to the Non-Co-operation Movement in India, and its application to the different conditions in his own country where the "foreigners" had not yet come to run into Governmental and administrative machinery. From the side of India the establishment of the Republic in China had been welcomed as paving the way to an "Asiatic Federation,"—a topic on which C. R. Das and Srinivasa Iyengar as Presidents of the Congress had expatiated in their inaugural speeches in 1922 and 1926. At the Madras session (1927) a proposal to send a Medical Mission to China was mooted ; a resolution was passed recording protest against "the dispatch of Indian soldiers by the Government of India to suppress the Chinese national movement of freedom," demanding the recall of Indian troops from China and calling upon Indians never to go to that country "as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people." The Congress Medical Mission failed to go because the Government refused to allow the necessary passports. At the Calcutta Session (1928) the Congress sent greetings and congratulations to China for having "ended the era of foreign domination in their country." The next few years in India were years of intensive political fight against British Imperialism. The Lucknow, Faizpur and the Haripura Congress sessions were marked by an international out-look that had developed under the inspiration of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Basu ; Japan's "China Incident", started in July, 1937, swung India's feelings and opinions wholly against the aggressor. And it was while the latter was head of the Congress Executive (1938) that the Indian Medical Unit could be arranged to be sent to China on September 1, 1938. A former President of the Congress, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, spoke of the unimportance of this Unit compared to China's needs. But its value lay in the fact that it was "a gesture of India's solidarity in endorsing China's valour." Dr Atal who had experience of similar service in Spain was head of this Unit. Since those days the sympathy of India and her admiration for China has been constant and unwavering. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's flight to Chungking in August, 1938, linked the two countries more closely. Till to-day Japan's victorious march through Malaya and Burma has made the two countries comrades in feeling in a common fight for the defence of international decency and national self-respect.

Japan has turned China's flank, and both by land and sea she has made a threatening advance in her rear. Confronted by this new peril the Generalissimo and the Government of China had to know what was the position in their rear, represented at present by India. It was for getting this information first-hand that the leader of China paid his visit. The Calcutta British daily—*The Statesman*—thus described the purpose of this visit, and the impression the party carried with them from India ;

To know where India stands, how solid she is in support and, if not solid, how she can become so, what potentiality and resources she can be counted on to develop and contribute, what is the country's morale—all these information is vital for China.....They are not satisfied with what they found. They have indicated clearly what is wrong and they return full of hope that under the

The Chinese  
Government had  
to know  
conditions in  
India



compelling impact of the world war India is about to find herself fully where she ought to be."

We have tried above to understand and explain the developments that led to this latest contact between India and China, forced by the conditions of war released by Japan upon the hundred crores of men and women in Eastern Asia. It was suggested in "die-hard" quarters that the leader of China by trying to interfere with the affairs of India did a thing which was unusual. But the times were unusual also. And China by her heroic endurance of five years has earned her right to say something on how the "grand strategy" of the "United Nations" should be carried on in her immediate neighbourhood.

China's life and death struggle, her concentration on war activities, form part of an evolution that was laid down by the founder of the Chinese Republic about 20 years back. It has not been possible for us to deal in detail with the basic ideas that started from Dr. Sun Yat-sen and have brought China into this war with Japan—the doctrine of the *Three Principles of the People*, and the three stages by which these have to be realized in the life of the people, and how they have responded to their message. The "The Principles" are :

- (1) Independence of China as a nation ;
- (2) Democratic control of the internal life of China ;
- (3) Socialization of the more important units of economic activity, such as railroads, electric power etc.

The stages are—Militarism, Tutelage, and Constitutionalism. At the first period the revolutionaries are to subdue the war-lords and other provincial satraps who would try to take advantage of the transition created by the fall of the Manchu dynasty. These men tried to set up independent administrations thus threatening the unity of the country. Their defeat was the first duty imposed on the republican leaders by the conditions of their country's ultimate victory over all separatist and selfish interests. This stage—the Napoleonic stage of the Chinese Revolution—Dr. Sun Yat-sen defined as Militarism. The war against Japan has also been helping to strengthen this militarism. The second stage—Tutelage—was built on the belief that the Chinese people were not ready to undertake the form of representative and responsible government of the present times. On the party—the Kuo Min-Tang—devolved the exercise of the sovereign powers of government and the duty of preparing the people for the exercise of their political rights. The third stage—State Socialism—would work out the problem of decent "livelihood" for the people. The Re-organization Convention of the Kuo Min-Tang adopted, in January, 1921, a programme in this behalf ; a few items of which are given below :

- (1) all unequal treaties to be abrogated.
- (2) All loans that do not injure the country politically and economically to be repaid.
- (3) Loans contracted by militarists which do not serve the good of the people of China, not be paid.

These have been the basic principles and policies of the Chinese Nationalist Movement. Tactics have differed with different times and

**Political affilia-  
tions of China's  
leaders in post-  
Republican days**

different leaders. Dr. Sun-Yat-sen in his early life as a revolutionary, for instance in 1905, was rigid in his programme of the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, of the foundation of a Republic; at that time the Tong Min-hui in which were represented the three principal groups of Chinese revolutionaries had suggested or adopted as a plank of their party "an alliance between the Chinese and Japanese peoples." It is well-known that Dr. Sun received valuable help from Japanese civilians and militarists, and often found asylum there from the wrath of Manchu administrators, and of the reactionary politicians of China after the foundation of the Republic. Of these the most prominent was Yuan-Shi-kai, and the agents of foreign capitalist interests, the chief of whom was Chun Limpak, leader of the Canton Merchants' Party, the "campadore" (head business agent) of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Canton. This person organized a Merchants' Volunteer Force which aimed at the overthrow of the Canton Government. The Generalissimo himself had had his military training in a Staff College in Japan, and had served several years in the Japanese army. As a matter of tactics the Kuo Min-Tang had resolved in 1924 to co-operate with the Soviet Union, to allow communists into membership, and to organize the farmers and workers to build up a basis of mass support for the Party. In his last days Dr. Sun had leaned on Soviet help. The Russo-Chinese Agreement signed on May 31, 1924, had by its Art. IV abrogated all the treaties and agreements "concluded between the former Tsarist Governments and any third party or parties affecting the sovereign rights or interests of China." For years the Soviet has been helping to uphold China's struggling democracy. But General Chiang Kai-shek, as he then was, did not appear to have much appreciated the value of this alliance. Lin Yu-tang has spoken of his "anti communist complex, born of his days of association with Borodin." His campaign against the labour unions, the peasant movement and the student organizations, begun in 1927, has cost China dear. The Nanking Government under the control of General Chiang Kai-shek had pledged itself to "the ruthless extermination of the communists", an activity that became "an obsession with him." For seven long years "he spent his best time and a very heavy part of China's national revenue in fighting them, in five successive campaigns, using more and more resources until in the Fifth Campaign, in late 1933, he mobilized nearly a million soldiers." In Edgar Snow's book—*Red Star Over China*—we have this epic story told; Lin Yu-tang has summarized it, and tells us why he dwelt on the "anti-communist complex" of the leader of China, the bias that

"made him commit the one mistake of policy in all those years and pass by the opportunity of making a definite alliance with Russia in 1935, which would have prevented the war" (between China and Japan).

This interpretation was based on insufficient data, as it appears from later events which came to light in January, 1939. Lin Yu-tang's book was first published in February, 1939; the edition we have seen is dated May 1939. This fuller knowledge makes necessary a modification of the criticism of the policy followed by the Chinese Government. We get

**Soviet help and  
advice to China**

it from Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, in a statement made on January 1, 1939. It appears that M. Bogomoloff, the Soviet ambassador to China, arrived at Nanking in April 1, 1937, with proposals for a full-dress Russo-Chinese Alliance, namely, that Russia and China should sign a Non-Aggression Pact as also a Mutual Assistance Pact; he also suggested that China should take the initiative in proposing the convocation of a Pacific (Peace) Conference. The Chinese Government "deliberately" postponed action on the lines suggested by the Soviet Government "for fear it might prejudice assistance from Great Britain and America". This expectation was not realised then, and even now when China is one of the pillars of the "United Nations", British and American help during these months since December 7, 1941, has been like a trickle. It was not any "anti-communist complex" that really stood in the way of a Russo-Chinese Alliance. All the same, it has to be deplored that the Soviet suggestion was not acted upon. Chinese initiative in convening a Pacific Conference would have turned the tide of world affairs, at least of affairs in Asia. By acting as suggested China would have come as a leader and not as a suppliant to the imperialistic Powers of the world. Such a Conference would not have confined itself to Japan's "special position," but would have dealt with the special privileges of other Powers—the presence of foreign troops in China, concessions, extra-territoriality, spheres of influence, control of China's Customs Administration, leased territories, naval bases, etc., etc.—problems that China had unsuccessfully raised at the Washington Conference (1921-22).

It appears also that Japan got scent of some such matter, and announced on July 4, 1937, its plan to call "a Continental Economic Conference to consolidate the economic relations of Korea, Manchuria and North China" and to establish a unified economic system under a comprehensive economic plan for the three areas. British capital was to assist the

**Japan's move to  
Counter China's  
recovery**

Japanese in the exploitation of this "Organic continental bloc"—particularly North China; and this "bloc" was to be closely linked, through capital investments, with Japanese industries. Questions in the House of Commons with regard to negotiations between leaders of British and Japanese industries could not wholly re-assure feeling in China, as Dr. Arnold Toynbee in his "Survey of International Affairs (1937)" commented :

".....there can be little doubt that the fears engendered by the London negotiations contributed to the determination of the Nanking Government to strengthen their grip on North China before any agreement among third parties had time to become effective."

We have told our story of the many recent events that have brought India and China nearer to each other in one of the greatest crises of their national life. Both the countries had adopted the "hermit policy" as a protective measure of their social and cultural values. Why they did so we will never know, when they did so we cannot point out to any exact

**A remarkable  
century & its  
prophets**

date. Four thousand five hundred years back India and China were not hermit nations. Historians have commented on a remarkable fact that during the century, five hundred years previous to the Christian era, a galaxy of prophets appeared almost at the same time in countries as far apart as China and Italy—Laotze and Confucius in China, Buddha and Mahavira in India, Zoroaster in Iran, Ezekiel and

the Second Isaiah in Judea, Thales in Ionia and Pythagoras in Southern Italy. Their advent can be explained by a wide-spread social disintegration threatening the life and conduct of millions of men and women. These path-finders must have appeared in response to keenly-felt distress and doubt felt by the Chinese, the Indians, the Iranians, the Jews, the Greeks and the pre-Roman Italians. This distress and doubt must have been a link between peoples so distant from one another. And the prophets must have been moved by a common impulse to have appeared almost at the same time and to have pointed to the way of salvation to so many millions of people. This history ought to have prepared them for a League of Nations where their representatives would meet and discuss the many ills from which their societies suffered. But experience proved otherwise. And our ancestors more than four thousands years back who had thrilled to the message of these prophets in the different countries were followed by men and women who knew not their common heritage.

To-day it requires no little effort of imagination to draw inspiration from this history. But world events, the threats of barbaric appetites and ambitions, have made us all, in all countries, into partners in an adventure on the result of which the self-respect and happiness of mankind depends in ways not fully understood at present. Humanity may be divided into warring nations to-day.

Through rivalry  
of material inter-  
ests to co-part-  
nership

But the forces released by modern science and the present war must compel us, if we desire to survive, to build a world-scheme of partnership in a common work. The visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India, and the manner in which the Indian people welcomed them, have spun new threads of fellowship for ninety crores of human beings, counting almost half the population of the world. We may hope that this will be no short-time war-arrangement. India and China might not have gained the immediate object desired by both of them. But the events of February, 1942, will stand as a land-mark in the history of their two countries, and will influence world-history, and its future evolution. Men and women conversant with international affairs, in touch with vital forces of present-day history, have begun to speculate on the outcome of an Indo-Chinese Alliance, and its influence on "the inevitable Consortium of Asiatic Powers". Thirty years back Bipin Chandra Pal in *Nationality & Empire* discussed the consequences of the awakening of the giant nation of eastern Asia. Upton Close in *Revolt of Asia* prophesied that Asia's rise to consequence would remove the centre of world affairs from the Atlantic to the Pacific Basin; that Russia, China and the U. S. A. would assume the importance which the size of their populations and the wealth of their resources would enable them to do, that the U. S. A. will "succeed Great Britain as the spokesman of Western Civilization and the vanguard of the white peoples in their front against a revived 'Asia.'" Scott Nearing in his book—*Whither China*—published in the latter part of 1927, looked forward to "a rivalry of races and cultures as well as of economic interests" in which he placed a "Eurasian bloc," consisting of Soviet Russia, China, and Japan "as a subordinate but powerful member"—one-third

of the world's population—in opposition to “the arrogance and predatory ruthlessness of the last two of the Great Empires”—Great Britain and the U. S. A. He arrived at another interesting conclusion from these stated premises.

“The Soviet Union will continue to be the spiritual father of the new social order. But the Chinese will be its business manager.”

World War II of the 20th century has, however, modified, for the time being at least, the alignment of forces in the international field. Japan has moved out of the bloc; the Soviet Union, China and the United States are allies in a “global War”. India, the second largest country in the world in point of population, is an uncertain and unknown factor as her man-power is under the direction and control of a non-Indian State. But when India comes by her own and is able to make her own decisions in national and international affairs, she will have a decisive say in the development of human relations. Placed almost at the centre of the continent of Asia it may well be her destiny as well as her desire that she should play a “co-ordinating role” in the clash of races, cultures and economic interests which Scott Nearing had prophesied. An Indian publicist, long resident in the United States, Krishnalal Shridharani in an article in the *Pacific Affairs*, entitled—“India In A Changing Asia”—has indicated this role for his country. He sees India as “the centre of the coming consortium of Asiatic Nations.” Geographically, the Sinkiang province of China may look as a probable. But the logic of economic forces would weigh the scale on the side of India. And the Hindu-Muslim rivalry within India herself would be playing a decisive part in the matter.

“.....the Muhammadans are dragging India westward towards the Muslim world, while the Hindus are accelerating India's eastward orientation towards the Buddhist world. This tug-of-war may result in a tie and turn India into a meeting place of the two great arms of Asia.”

This study in power politics puts a narrow interpretation on the role that India may have to play in the near future. Thought-leaders

**The ideal role  
that India could  
play**

of India from times beyond recorded history has reserved a nobler part for their sacred land to play. As the meeting-ground of many races, of many cultures, now lost in a new composition, her social legislators had

risen over creeds; they spoke not of racial or national creeds but of *Manava Dharma*—the law of being of humanity. In our own days and in our own times, the prophets and poets of Indian Nationalism have spoken and sung of their country as the ocean into which many streams from the right and the left empty their waters and find their fulfilment in this loss of identity in the heart of a great immensity. All the living cultures have their followers in this country—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis, to name only a few of them. By their neighbourhood to one another they have had to arrive at some sort of a synthesis and reconciliation. This spirit of give-and-take will have influence in all other spheres of life—in politics and economics also. Therefore has it been thought that India offers the best testing-house of the many problems of racial, political and economic conflicts and competitions that twist and disfigure the life of the modern world. India has developed

the mind fit to receive and impart a wider and all-embracing view of human relations. It is felt that being the meeting-ground of all the living cultures of the world India has gained the experience and earned the right to act as the co-ordinator of all separatist conceits and ambitions of the various nations of the world. An identical service to the Western world, to Europe and to the Americas, could have been rendered by the United States which has been called the "melting-pot" of races, of Western races specially. It was expected that she would act as the arbitrator between the warring nations of the West. But the experience of the two world wars have belied these hopes, and there is none in the world, individual or nation, who by reason of his or their prestige and tradition of disinterestedness can act as the peace-maker between modern States. Perhaps, hopes like these are never realized in actual life or never have been. The experiences of India during the centuries of her history supports the hopelessness of such hope. In her epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, are recorded how attempts at peace and reconciliation proved failures, and Vivishena and Sri-Krishna had to be witnesses of mass-murders which they did their best to halt and stop.

Feelings like these assail our minds as we survey the battle-fields in all parts of the globe. Old men and old nations are said to be cynics with regard to the talk about justice and international friendship; they know that it is merely a diplomatic mode of speech and sheer "rubbish", and that all international diplomacy is based not on sentiment but on the conflict or community of interests. Indians and Chinese have acquired this knowledge through their bitter experiences of the remembered and recent past. In the case of the former, being a dependent country, this feeling stands between her and Britain who has been using her man-power and her natural wealth for the purposes of her survival as a Great Power. The Generalissimo could understand this during his visit, and the reasons for the failure of his efforts at reconciliation. His appeal to the people of India and to the British, carried in his parting message, has not borne the fruit desired and expected. The British Government made, however, an offer sent through Sir Stafford Cripps which did not in any sense transfer "real political power" to the people of India and their representatives and accredited leaders. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek returned to their country in the third week of February, 1942.

And on the 11th March a discussion was held in the House of Commons in course of which the British Premier made an important statement bearing on the Indian situation—  
 Her political subjection stands in the way  
 "Die-hard" recognition of the need for India's help  
 important not for any positive change to be brought about in the irritated relations between the two countries but for the recognition on the part of a "die-hard" politician that a change was required.

"The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader."

As Leader of the House of Commons Sir Stafford Cripps announced that "a debate will be held possibly very shortly upon the

basis of a Government decision in the matter." This came off on the 28th of April after his return from his mission to India. These announcements did not, however, seem "too late" & "far from enough" to assure world opinion, or "United Nations" opinion, though many regarded them as some sort of a response to the Generalissimo's parting appeal to the British Government and people. A sample of the opinion expressed in those days spoke of the fear that "Britain's something would not only be late but far from enough," that when the war was bearing down fast on "India's disunited, disaffected Hindus, Moslems, Princes and untouchables," Britain's "shortly" was much too far away for "either action or debate on India." The retention of Mr. Leopold Amery as Secretary of State for India during many of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet re-shufflings was also regarded by many as "a bad sign for India's political hopes." The British Labour Party issued a statement in the first week of March, 1942, in course of which they said that it was "the duty of the British Government to take every possible step to promote Indian Agreement." And as preliminaries thereto the British Government should give "all posts in the Viceroy's Executive Council of 14 to Indians," that this Council should immediately take steps towards the drafting of a new Indian Constitution to be ratified after the war. There were other indications that the British and other peoples who were organized in the "United Nations" were uneasy with happenings in Malaya; they were justly suspicious of a regime that could betray their cause in the way it was done there.

The debate in the House of Lords held in the first week of February was expressive of anxiety widely felt, and of "die-hard" mischief-making. Lord Farrington who initiated the debate put the Labour point of view with moderation; Lord Bankeillour in putting forth the Conservative view doubted whether the calling into the Governor-General's Council of more Indians, the releasing of political prisoners, would avail more in conciliating extremist Indian opinion than the remittance of Southern Ireland's debts and the handing over of naval ports had done. The official view was put forward by the Under-Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Devonshire. The difficulty in India to-day was not with regard to transference of power by the British Government but "what Indian Government or Governments were to take over" the reins of administration from British hands. The use of the word—"Governments"—is significant, for it occurs in one or two other places of the speech, showing that even more than a month before the Cripps Mission was thought of the mind of the London Government had been dallying with the idea of more than one Government for India. The Duke of Devonshire was scion of a family whose the-then head did his best or worst to kill the first Home Rule Bill for Ireland in the eighties of the last century. The father of the present Premier of Britain was the inspirer of revolt in Ulster when he declared—"Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right". And the Duke of Devonshire was carrying on a very venerable tradition, when he declared :

"The Moslem and Hindu communities do not want the same thing, and to think of them as a majority and a minority is to risk a serious error, for that line

of thought will suggest that it is the duty of the minority to bow to the wishes of the majority. The minority has no more duty to bow to the wishes of the majority merely because it is a majority than the smaller peoples of Europe, such as the Greeks had to bow to the wishes of the Germans merely because they were a minority."

The Under-Secretary of State did not rest satisfied with granting this "charter of intransigence" to all minorities in every part of the world ; he spoke of "chaos" into which India would be plunged if the British Government transferred "control of the Government" without securing some measure of agreement between various elements of the population of India. We have our doubts with regard to any good coming out of any argument, mild or heated, on this imperialistic plea. We have grown so familiar with it that we propose to dismiss it with quoting what the Calcutta Indo-British daily said so neatly in noticing this speech.

"The British Government continually adjures Indians to get together. It omits to say what it is prepared to transfer to them as soon as they do so. That is the root of the trouble. Hindus and Moslems will not face the fact that neither of them can have all the cake they want till they are offered the cake between them.

We have to recognize that in getting hopeful over the proposals that Sir Stafford Cripps was carrying to India it was not possible for any one, even in those days, to forget this history. Politicians

**A sampling of  
advice and  
threats to India  
from outside**

both in India and Britain might speak of the British War Cabinet sending Sir Stafford to India as a move in the right direction, as a proof of British sincerity. But the majority of the politically-minded people in India could not help feeling anxiety over last-minute penances. The Press of the "United Nations" did their best to boost the Mission. The people of India became recipients of advice from all and sundry. From far and near flowed into our country these streams of advice and veiled threats. It was difficult to resist resenting all this solicitude. From the United States came most of the pleadings passing through the sieve of a discriminating censorship the control of which was in British hands. We propose to sample out some of these for the benefit of nations. As was but natural the reported intervention in the Cripps negotiations by Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's "envoy in New Delhi" in those days, was given a wide Press in his country. The majority of the U. S. Press cuttings that we have come across asked us to take note of and understand the significance of this intervention. They made this the text of their preachings.

"This should bring home to India the United States' profound concern at the Indo-British negotiation. That concern is not limited simply to the desire to see an agreement as such between Britain and India but it extends to the details of the agreement. India's fortunes and ours now are so inter-locked that the gates of India at which the Japanese are hammering have become as vital to our security as if they were our own frontiers.....The agreement which Colonel Johnson is urging in New Delhi, as the Indian people must know, has the support of the neighbouring China as well as of a friendly America."—*Washington Post*.

'We in the United States are inexperienced in the mazes of Indian politics but we can see with perfect clearness that if no agreement is reached the lot of India and Britain, our own too, will be infinitely worse than even if an imperfect compromise is accepted. Final failing would be devastating to the cause of freedom for India and the United Nations. If such occurs and if persons responsible can be identified the burden of their public guilt will be enormous.'—*New York Times*.



"The notion that the United States could do so (impose a solution) tends to stultify the position which nationalist leaders themselves have claimed that India should be free to work out her own destiny without artificial hindrances or restrictions by the British. That opportunity Britain seemed categorically to promise in her latest offer, but now the objection to it is that various Indian leaders are not now asking for greater freedom to meet their own problems. Instead they seem to be insisting that the problems should be fore-closed in their favour. .... The way in which the offer has been received has not increased American estimate of the realism of Indian political leaders. The most that any of us can hope for in this desperate world is the chance to solve our own problems and not guarantee that they be solved for us."—*New York Herald Tribune*.

"If Indian leaders reject Britain's amended terms it means they cannot agree between themselves on the alternative proposal; for, it is evident that Mr. Churchill, probably prodded by President Roosevelt, is ready to accept almost any compromise that would be backed by the two main groups in British India—the Congress Party and the Moslem League. Whatever is the answer to the British offer India is at war. The military problem remains the same. The immediate decision of India's leaders cannot affect the effort of the other fighting nations to defend India to the utmost against the common enemy."—*Ann McCormick in New York Times*.

"There is every indication that the military situation will soon run over the political, that no matter what decision is reached there will be no time to put it into effect before the Japanese are on India's door-step. What happens on the fighting fronts in Burma is likely to mean more to the future of India than what happens in New Delhi."—*Philadelphia Recorder*.

"India's decision is almost as important to the United States as to Britain. The United States with Britain and other nations fighting the Axis has a right to ask India's acceptance of freedom which is qualified only by the demands of war itself."—*Nation (Weekly)*.

"India will not fight for any kind of empire personified by Mr. Amery, and we gloomily see a major disaster ahead for the United Nations."—*Chicago Times*.

"The crux of the situation in India does not lie so much in the character or degree of Indian independence—or rather of English dominion—offered by the British Government. It lies in the unwillingness of Asia any longer to recognize any form of foreign dominion. Asia for Asiatics is the principle around which the people of Asia are for the most part rallying. The first obligation of England, the first step in framing a practical plan for the defence of India, is to overcome that sentiment and completely convince the leaders and people of India that co-operation with the United Nations means not only freedom from the Japanese aggression but from English domination. There is only one requirement necessary in the situation and it is sincerity."—From the *Hearst chain of newspapers*.

We present this sample of U. S. A. opinion to enable our people to see themselves as others see them. A similar result will be gained if they cared to study the debate in the House of Commons on April 28, 1942, that ensued on the report submitted to it by Sir Stafford Cripps on his Indian Mission. The impression is left on the mind that the members of the House could not make out why the negotiations failed. Mr. Gordon Macdonald who spoke on behalf of the Opposition drew attention to the "authoritative statement on the break-down of the New Delhi negotiation," made by Pundit Jawaharal Nehru, "which presents a different viewpoint and puts an entirely different complexion upon what happened." His analysis of the character of Sir Stafford Cripps, and the manner in which he presented his case, is so interesting that it should be shared with our readers.

"Mr. Gandhi has been defined as a saint brought up in a lawyer's office."

"Sir Stafford was a lawyer brought up in a saintly home."

"He seemed to do his job pretty well like a lawyer this morning, and I detected here and there, especially in the closing passages of his speech, a hint of the saint,

but I saw more of the lawyer from the beginning. I would not expect anything else from him."

His reference to the Secretary of State for India was perfectly courteous but devastatingly cruel.

"..... I know that policy sometimes fails because of certain types of personality. I am just wondering..... I have already said that the best man fitted to be sent out to India was sent out. That in itself is a reflection on the Secretary of State..... I do not want any man who has not the confidence of the Indian people, and whose words do not carry the weight that the words of a Secretary of State ought to carry, to remain in office too long."

Sir Alfred Knox quoted two un-named Muslims, "one very responsible and highly placed" and another "who has done great service for the

British politicians' excursion into Indian politics

British Government in his own country," slanging the Indian National Congress. The former represented it as "a body of industrialists and capitalists, essentially of non-martial elements" which will try to "save itself and the

moneyed people.....in the manner and fashion of Thailand"; the latter complained that the Government has "given latitude to Congress Fifth Columnists and others." Earl Winterton attempted a bit of psychoanalysis of the Hindus and Muslims of India. "Unfortunately" in many cases the former seemed to produce better briefs for the information of the members of the House of Commons than did the latter. "Possibly the latter are not as acute politicians." He represented the Muslims as feeling that "partly connected with the extremely intellectual character of the Hindu religion," the Hindus were good in putting a case. But this is an old story : they do not or need not feel like that today. For, they have found in Mr Jinnah "one of the most acute and analytical brains that any community has had in India for many years." He also threw a bouquet at Mr. M. N. Roy—"a very remarkable man of whom much will be heard in the future"—who was "prophetic" when he said that as in China so in India as a result of the "revolution," old ideas and regimes would be destroyed ; and that when power came into the hands of the workers and peasants not much would be heard of "the type of leaders like Mr. Nehru." Sir Stanley Reed instructed the world on the reason why the word "Union" was used in preference to the word "Federation" in the declaration that Sir Stafford had carried with him to India. The latter meant "a supreme Central Government handing something back to the constituent units which are the Provinces," while the use of the former meant "that the Provinces are the constituent units giving powers to the Central Government for the purpose of unity, strength and direction." Mr Sorensen believed that he was right in saying that "the actual breakdown in negotiations was precisely on the question of the transfer of power." Mr. Richards confessed that he was "left with the feeling that even he (Sir Stafford Cripps) finds it rather difficult, when he analyses the position, to say exactly why the negotiations should have broken down."

One member, Mr. Cove, expressed the opinion that Mr Churchill's Indian record should have prepared them for the failure of the Cripps Mission. He quoted from the British Premier's

The Churchill tradition & failure of the Cripps Mission

"Speeches on India," picked up from a second-hand shop, extracts to drive home his point. During discussions on the Government of India Bill, Mr.

Churchill had blurted out in the House of Commons the truth of the hypocritical side of British policy in India :

"It was even pretended, or at any rate allowed to appear, that Indian disunity was the only or the main obstacle to our speedy departure."

And to give colour to his picture of Hindu-Muslim antagonism in India, Mr. Churchill used very picturesque language indeed :

"Side by side with this Brahmin theocracy and the immense Hindu population .....there dwell in India 70 millions of Muslims, a race of far greater physical vigour and fierceness, armed with a religion which lends itself too readily to war and conquest. While the Hindu elaborates his argument, the Muslim sharpens his sword."

Three extracts from Sir Stafford Cripps's speech of this day, his presentation of the New Delhi negotiations, will enable us then to turn to India, to her parties. to her official and non-official participants in the Delhi talks. Sir Stafford stated thus the difficulties that stood in the way of the success of his Mission.

Sir Stafford Cripps'  
difficulties

"I was not prepared to bind the Viceroy to accept any particular arrangement for the conduct of his Executive."

"But once self-determination has been promised to India as was proposed in the Draft Declaration, it would be impossible for his Majesty's Government to impose terms in the new Indian constitution."

.....the position of complete power asked by the Congress—which was not demanded by any other section of India—would leave the matter in an impossible situation. The Executive Council, once chosen by the Viceroy, would not have been responsible to any one but themselves, or in a somewhat looser way, perhaps, to their political or communal associations, and there would have been no protection, therefore, for any of the minorities....."

In the days when the Cripps negotiations opened at New Delhi, there were high hopes in the "United Nations" that Britain was doing the right thing, and India could do no less. *The New York Times* could, therefore, write : "The prayers of all who pray, the hopes of all who hope, are with her (India) at this terrible moment." After the publication of the Draft Declaration of the British Government, the paper

How they missed  
the central issue  
of the contro-  
versy

came on solid ground, and could appreciate the stand-point of India : "There is justice in the Indian demand for participation in the direction of the war. Nor can the Americans consistently quarrel with the objection raised against the right of secession from the All-India Union which the British proposal provides." Then followed the days of exhortation and hectoring, of the growth of "a tendency to indulge in judgment of this group or that, and this leader or that, and so bringing bitterness to the controversy", to quote the words of Dr. William Temple, the Archbishop-designate of Canterbury. The *Washington Post* could go so far as to write : "Congress control would be a dissolvent rather than a cement of resistance to a Japanese invasion." In their anxiety for the success of the Cripps Mission many a British and U. S. A. publicist did lose sight of the central issue of the controversy as it emerged out of the vague generalizations of the "Draft Declaration"—the issue stated so succinctly by Mr. Brailsford in the *Reynold's News*.

"Does Englishman shrink from serving under an Indian Minister of Defence ? This one misunderstanding we dare not risk. Our white skins are not at this moment an asset. This is by all accounts the main issue which endangers the Government's offer, and its substantial issue because it touches India's self-respect so closely."

By bringing into a focus the view-points of U. S. A. and British people, as reflected in the Press and in the House of Commons

respectively, we get a clear view of the argument that has been agitating the relations between India and Britain. The fortunes of war, the defeats suffered by the "United Nations" in course of the first six months of 1942, have made this Indo-British quarrel a concern of the whole world,

**Helpless rage of  
the Indian  
people**

despite the desperate attempts of the British authorities to keep it a "domestic question." The impact of Japan's war and the unpreparedness and incompetence of British strategists, however, forced on the British Government this unpleasant task of making advances to Indian Nationalism. This may be true. But the time chosen was or seemed to be in March, 1942, "too late". British troops had begun retreating out of Burma. Singapore, the bastion of the British domination in the Far East, had long ago fallen; Rangoon had been left a burnt city; by the time Sir Stafford Cripps reached India the Andaman Islands with its bases had been captured by the Japanese. And the feeling even amongst loyalists, and beneficiaries from British connection, was expressed by a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: ".....we have been left in the lurch. Goodness knows how we are to defend ourselves!" There is bitterness in these words, there is helplessness in them. Prof Coupland in his book—*The Cripps Mission*—has tried to indicate the various ways in which people in India reacted to the happenings that had brought the dangers of war to the frontiers of their country.

".....it is understandable enough that people who had been so often told that, if British had taken away their freedom, she had paid for it by giving them the *Pax Britannica*, should vent their rage on the British Government. And this new bitterness inevitably sharpened the nationalists' earlier resentment at the false position, as they conceive it, which had been forced on India from the very outset of the war."

An Indian participator in the Cripps negotiations has speculated what would have been the result of a Mission like what brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India if it had come before the fall of Singapore, before the fall of Rangoon, before the Japs began bombing India itself. The Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, has suggested that if Japs bombs had not fallen on Vizagapatam and Coconada, Colombo and Trincomalee, the response of the various political parties in India, specially of the Congress, would have been different. Candid friends of the Indian Nationalist Movement have charitably probed into the feeling of Congress leaders thus—"this was no time to be accepting any increase of political power whatever." This kindly interpretation was put in face of the words used by the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his letter dated April 11, 1942, the last letter that he wrote to Sir Stafford Cripps:

"But we pointed out to you that so far as the proposals relate to the future they might be set aside, as we were anxious to assume responsibility for India's Government and defence in this hour of danger. This responsibility could only be undertaken, however, if it was real responsibility and power."

Another factor that must have had its influence in creating difficulties for the negotiations, apart from the imminence of Jap attack

on India, was the story that was brought\* from Burma by the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing from the Japs and Burmese. This evacuation had extensively started in the last week of December, 1941, when Rangoon had begun to be bombed. And in handling this vast problem, the racial discrimination as between Indians on the one side and Anglo-Burmans, Anglo-Indians and the "allied communities" on the other, stirred feelings of disgust the like of which we have not witnessed during recent years. From the statement issued over the signatures of two members of the Central Legislature—Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru (Council of State) and Sri Ananga Mohan Dam (Legislative Assembly) who accompanied the Hon'ble Mr. Aney, Member-in-Charge of the Department of Indians Overseas, in his tour through border stations in Assam including the State of Manipur, this feeling can be gauged. The experiences of the "White Road" and the "Black Road" will long be remembered; the bitterness carried in the hearts of evacuees and transferred to their friends, relatives and neighbours has like the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy lengthened over the whole of India. By the time Sir Stafford Cripps arrived, these experiences and details of them had become the talk of the country. Jack Belden, the correspondent of the New York Weekly, *Time*, who accompanied Major-General Stillwell in his retreat from North Burma, in his letter to his paper that appeared on May 11, wrote of "the utmost misery" that he witnessed—"roads were lined with belongings abandoned by refugees"; on the day before he wrote this letter 20,000 of these had crossed the Irrawady, "hoping to get to India, but their chance is very slight." Even those who escaped into Indian territory, at Tammu for instance, "were unanimous in complaining bitterly of the callous and insulting attitude of the evacuation officers and their principal subordinates," (we are quoting from the statement issued by the two members of the Central Legislature):

"It appears that Indian refugees are treated in such a way as to humiliate them and make them feel that they belong to an inferior race."

"In this matter, as in some others connected with evacuation, we are paying the penalty of our political subjection."

We have tried to indicate the adverse conditions under the shadow of which the Cripps negotiations were carried on. Prof. R. Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, came to India in the autumn of 1941, "to study the constitutional problem under the auspices of Nuffeld College." When he was on the point of returning to England, Sir Stafford Cripps arrived, and at his request the Professor "joined his staff." He has attempted a brief record of the Mission's work, seen at "close quarters" and while his "impressions were still fresh." This record has been prefaced by a record of the mental and moral reactions of India to the British handling of affairs since September, 1939. A title of one of his chapters is—*Distrust and Disunion*. In tracing the growth of the "distrust of British intentions" he found it difficult "to exaggerate the disquieting effect of.....Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1941, that the Atlantic Charter was primarily intended to apply to Europe." He found a new suspicion spreading "beyond nationalist circles"; he reports the confes-

Resentment with  
Burma evacua-  
tion methods did  
the same work

Prof. Coupland's  
Study of India

sion of a "highly intelligent Indian official"—the anxiety and uncertainty which "this business of the Charter had for the first time implanted in his mind"—and there was little doubt that "many of his colleagues felt the same." And it seemed to Prof. Coupland

"more than probable too, that many of the young Indians who were obtaining commissions in the fast-expanding Indian Army were affected by something of the same uneasiness about the future."

Then he traced the "intensification of the old antagonism between the great Indian communities, Hindus and Moslems"—how the rivalry

between them "has now become a struggle for political power". He dealt with Mr. Jinnah's "atrocities" story—and came to the conclusion that "the case against the Congress Governments as deliberately pursuing an anti-Muslem policy was certainly not proved." The

Oxford professor then reports on the evolution of the idea of Indian Muslims being a separate "nation"—how what had hitherto been a "vague dream," a theme for poets or young visionaries became a "definite political objective—Pakistan". The adoption of this theory has tended to stiffen the political dead-lock in India. Sooner or later the grim words, 'civil war', were uttered by most of those with whom Prof. Coupland had occasion to discuss the communal question; Mahatmaji has talked of its possibility "coolly enough". And he reports further that many sober-minded men, indeed, are thinking that India may have to tread the Chinese road before she attains a final solution of her major problem, be it union or partition". As a report of developments in India, one may not quarrel with its authenticity. For these are impressions gathered by him during his tour. And impressions depended so much on one's mental attitude. Even an Oxford professor, however, may miss some of the other factors that have contributed to the "disunion" in India that he came here to diagnose. For a full and truthful report he ought to have at least hinted at the contribution that his own people, men and women, official and non-official, made to encourage and patronise the many forces, personal and impersonal, that add to the volume and extent of this "disunion". Men and women do not welcome the dread prospect that Professor Coupland's "sober-minded men" hold before us, unless something more valuable than peace was involved in the matter. The United States through whose help Britain hopes to tide over the present crisis will appreciate the choice that the Indian people may be called upon to make. China has made it, and come out victorious over separatist conceits and ambitions. Britain with all her proud boasts has not been able to save us from this choice. The verdict of history will amend Prof. Coupland's report on this point at least. Till then we have to suffer this misrepresentation. We know that Sir Stafford Cripps and many British public men and publicists have been trying to represent the failure of this mission as due to communal bickerings in India; in his report to the House of Commons Sir Stafford stated that the shadow of communal differences constantly lowered over his attempts to negotiate acceptance by the Hindus and the Muslims of the "Draft Declaration" of the British War Cabinet—the "Declaration of Independence", Professor Coupland calls it in his enthusiasm. How unsubstantial was the structure sought to be built up by the Declaration has been proved during the last few months as the smoke-screen, raised by British public men and publicists,

has had time to get thin. The hectoring of U. S. papers has grown weak and silent. British propagandists have found their occupation discredited. The truth of Abraham Lincoln's words has been again vindicated that—you can mislead some people for all time; all people for sometime; but you cannot mislead all the people for all the time.

Writing after about seven months of the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India, it is easy to lose sight of the many psychological factors that played havoc with the negotiations during the last week of March and the first ten days of April. It becomes necessary, therefore, to labour to build up the back-ground of those three weeks which were regarded as fateful. The seven months that have followed have not realized all the fears entertained then. But one fact has remained unchallenged yet—as a U.S.A. paper, *The New York Times*, put it then—"the significance of the proposal (Cripps) lies in the fact that Britain does not feel confident in their ability to defend a reluctant and divided India." The compulsion of an apprehended full-scale invasion by Japan was the driving force of British and Indian policy—Britain recognized the need of the help of the "unbribed" mind and body of India; India was anxious to play her legitimate part in the defence of her hearth and home, but she was not quite confident of the competence of British military leadership to do this; Britain was even then suspicious of the *bona-fides* of Indian opposition to the Axis Powers, specially to Japan; India saw Britain planting Ulsters all over her territory. On this lack of confidence (Indian) and on the rock of suspicion (British) the Cripps Mission was wrecked. The Indian point of view was confirmed by what happened in Malaya, Burma and Borneo; the British point of view was asserted by Sir Stafford Cripps in the first Press Conference held by him at New Delhi on March 29, 1942. In reply to a series of questions on the defence of India and whose responsibility it would be, he said :

"The defence of India will not be in Indian hands, even if all the parties want it. It would be the worst thing for the defence of India."

The representatives of the Congress to talk with Sir Stafford Cripps—its President, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad with his interpreters—at first Mr. Asaf Ali, M.L.A., (Central) of Delhi and then Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru—knew of this declaration of the "agent" of the British War Cabinet. Yet for twelve days they carried on negotiations with him. They, perhaps, believed that they would be able to pin him down to his talk about "National Cabinet" and of the Governor-General acting as the king in England did—reigning but not ruling. There is no denial from any quarter that even at his first interview with the Congress President Sir Stafford Cripps did use the words "National Government" in various public statements and in private talks also he used these words. In his letter dated April 7, 1942, to the Congress President there were the words—"New National Government." It appears now that he used the words in a sense that is different from what is attached to them by constitutional

India's lack of  
faith & Britain's  
suspicion

Loose use of the  
words—"National  
Government"—  
by Sir Stafford  
Cripps

*pundits* and by the general public. And the Congress President was right in his suggestion that Sir Stafford was playing with these words.

"These have a certain significance and we had imagined that the new Government would function with full powers as a Cabinet with the Viceroy acting as a constitutional head."

The above appeared in the letter dated April 10 from the Congress President to Sir Stafford Cripps. And in his letter dated April 11 intimating the rejection of the "Draft Declaration," there is an element of bitterness felt by negotiators who found out rather late that they had been misled and misunderstood.

"The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview."

This bitterness has characterized all reference to Sir Stafford Cripps and his Mission in the controversy that ensued on the failure of the March-April (1942) negotiations. The public do not know details of the many conversations that Indian leaders of various parties and schools of politics had with him. *The Congress Bulletin*, issued by the

Reports of negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps

office of the All-India Congress Committee, containing the "Congress Resolution and other Papers Relating to Negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps," is the fullest that we have so far seen. The Congress resolution rejecting the "Draft Declaration," and a few letters that were exchanged between the Congress President and the negotiator of the British Government, are given in full; the other papers and statements are published therein in summary. The other organizations and their representatives—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the "Scheduled Castes," the Indian Christians, the Sikhs and others—have not cared to help the public with even this much in understanding the various issues involved in the proposals of the British Government. The failure of the Muslim League to do this obvious duty has given opportunity to Sir Stafford Cripps and British propagandists, big and small, to beat the big drum of the "absolute dictatorship of the majority," of subjecting all the minorities to "a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet," to quote from Sir Stafford's letter to the Congress President, dated April 11, 1942.

On behalf of the Indian National Congress it has been asserted times without number that the "communal question" did not occupy any important part during the whole of the negotiations. In his letter to Sir Stafford dated 11th April, 1942, the Congress President made the positive assertion that

Communal question did not form a major subject of discussion

"in my first talk with you, I pointed out that the communal and like questions did not arise at this stage. As the British Government made up its mind to transfer real power and responsibility, the other questions could be tackled successfully by those concerned. You gave me the impression that you agreed with this approach."

Of course, there is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League released to the Press on April 11, in course of which it is said that "as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the

Muslim League & All-India Muslim Conference



immediate arrangements." But there is no reference in it nor in the speech of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah as President of the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad, to the difficulties in the way of accepting the Cripps proposals so far as these applied to the immediate present. The Muslim League appeared to have had no concern for the self-determination of India; it asked for the self-determination of Muslims only; it demanded the unequivocal acceptance of "Pakistan" which required the division or partition of the country of India that geography and history has made one and indivisible. But not all Muslims in India are of this politico-religious persuasion. The All-India Muslim Conference claiming to represent 44 millions of the Muslims of India, about half of the Muslim population of India, spoke with another voice. Its Working Committee adopted a resolution declaring their firm belief that

"the solidarity, integrity and unity of India is vitally essential for the common good of the Indian people and especially in the best interests of the Muslims of India";

"that such communal dissensions and animosities as exist at present will completely disappear with the establishment of full self-rule in India."

The Committee further held that

"the proposal relating to the option given to the provinces to keep out of the proposed Indian Union has been ingeniously devised in-as-much-as its practical effect would inevitably be to create several 'Ulsters' in India."

And a constructive suggestion was made with a view to meeting the fears and suspicions of "minorities" in the following modification:

"That no province be allowed to keep out of the Indian Union unless the scheme of one single Indian Union were given a fair trial for ten years."

The Congress negotiators had exerted their utmost powers of persuasion on Sir Stafford Cripps for acceptance of the "National Government" and "National Cabinet" ideas on which he had expatiated with eloquence in his talks with some of the Indian leaders. Except the Muslim League, all other organizations, national and sectional, were startled into flaming opposition to the whole of the "Draft Declaration" owing principally to the presence in it of Clause (C) which ran as follows:

"His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to (i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

"With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union....."

The Hindu Mahasabha based its rejection of the scheme on religious and cultural grounds, on the "basic principle" of its being—that India is one and indivisible. It takes another objection which we think goes into the heart of the pretence that the British Government was giving India "an opportunity...to determine for herself and organize in all liberty of choice her freedom and unity..." to quote words from Sri Aurobindo's message of appreciation sent to Sir Stafford Cripps. It contended that

"The right of non-accession of any province to the 'Indian Union' cannot be

Angry reaction to the "non-accession" clause

The Hindu Mahasabha goes into the heart of the question

justified on the principle of self-determination, and no such right can be imposed by any outside authority."

The British Government by indicating how the "New Indian Union" should be formed has tried to "determine" the future development of India, thereby taking away from the principle of self-determination its very pith and marrow. The Indian people are not left any "liberty of choice" to frame their constitution, to mould its shape and size. And the British offer to accord to non-acceding provinces the opportunity to enter into a new State-organization having the same status as the "Indian Union" creates a competition or rivalry between different conceptions of the future State in India that will be approaching conditions of civil war in the country. This promise or readiness to promise recognition to any and every recalcitrant element in India's vast population has taken the grace away from the promise to completely transfer responsibility for the governance of India "from British to Indian hands." How intense was the feeling raised by this part of the "Draft Declaration" was vividly brought to view by the representation made to Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the Sikh All-Parties Committee. It characterized "the specific provision" made for the separation of provinces as a blow to the "integrity of India," as "a betrayal of the Sikh cause." And the bitterness was expressed in language instinct with the sentiment of outrage to moral prestige and injury to material interests.

"Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in every battle-field of the Empire and this is our reward that, our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position, has been finally liquidated."

In their despair of receiving any consideration from the British Government, the Sikh All-Parties Committee has, strange to say, succumbed to the very temptation that is the parent of all the separatist fears, conceits and ambitions in the country. By its very question—"why could not the population of an area opposed to separation be given the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit?"—it supplies an argument to the secessionists organized at present, for instance, under the leadership of Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah. Their objection to the "extraneous trans-Jhelum population"—the people of the districts of Jhang and Multan—dominating "the future of the Punjab," raises the question of the proper redistribution of the Punjab as at present constituted. The Committee tells the world that "the Punjab proper extended up to the banks of the Jhelum," that the trans-Jhelum area, the districts of Jhang and Multan, were "added by the conquest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and retained by the British for administrative convenience." The purpose of reciting this history is, evidently, to suggest that it is the huge Muslim percentage in these two districts that has made the Punjab the "Muslim majority Province" that at present it is represented to be, that the elimination of these two districts from the Punjab would weaken the basis of the claim made by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah that along with Bengal which will be corner-stone of Eastern Pakistan the Punjab should be the "centre-piece" of Western Pakistan. By quoting figures from census reports the Sikh All-Parties Committee prove their contention. We quote from their Memorandum :

**The Sikh All-Parties Committee's Stand**

**They call for a redistribution of the Punjab**

"From the boundary of Delhi to the banks of the Ravi river the population is divided as follows : Muslims—45,05,000 ; Sikhs and other non-Muslims—76,46,000.

"From the Delhi boundary to the banks of Jhelum river excluding Jhang and Multan districts : Muslims—82,88,000 ; Sikhs and other non-Muslims—93,48,000,

"To this may be added the population of the Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, which is about 26,00,000. Of this the Muslims constitute barely 20 per cent and this reduces the ratio of the Muslim population still further.

The facts stated and the claims built thereon by the Sikh All-Parties Committee would require the overturning of the boundaries of all the provinces in India. They indicate that every group, class, caste and community in India are preparing their body and mind for cutting their country's body into slices. People have begun to think and speak of it as a "struggle for political power." For the capture of this very material thing the help of religion, philosophy, history and even of mysticism has been requisitioned—the memories of wrongs done by dead men and women to dead men and women have been sought to be stirred into life. The cynicism and materialism at the back of this mind was best brought out in the speech of Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf as Chairman of the Reception Committee to the delegates and visitors of the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League on April 3, 1942.....

"... The conception of a strong unitary form of Government is all right as long as the British Government is there as the third party to hold the balance evenly between the Hindu and the Muslim nations. But the moment we think of the British withdrawal and the mooted question of transfer of power to India, they manifestly give rise to some pertinent questions such as "Who will be heir of the British Government ? On whom should the power devolve ?" Obviously the power cannot be handed over to the Hindus although they happen to be in majority because the Mussalmans do not agree to it. Similarly the power cannot be handed over to the Mussalmans simply because the British Government snatched away the empire from them. If no agreement could be reached then it is possible that some form of constitution may have to be imposed from above, namely, by the British Government, or the British Commonwealth of Nations....."

The "Depressed Classes" or the "Scheduled Castes" opposed the Cripps proposals for reasons not stated in their letter to Sir Stafford Cripps. Dr. B. R. Ambedker and Rai Bahadur M. C. Rajah told the world that they had stated these reasons at their meeting with the British negotiator on March 30, 1942, why they were "convinced that the British proposals would do the greatest harm to the depressed classes and are sure to place them under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule." They also asked him to impress upon his Government that they look upon it

"as a breach of faith if his Majesty's Government should decide to force upon the depressed classes a constitution to which they have not given their free and voluntary consent and which does not contain within itself all the provisions that are necessary for safeguarding their interests.

We do not know what they proposed to obviate the necessity of their being placed "under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule", the 'safeguards' that they would require in a democratic State in India.

For, this is the consummation towards which all public men and publicists, all reformers in every sphere of our life, since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, have been taking their people. This State or social organization in the bosom of which all men, women and children will have assurance of the full flowering of their personality, in which their self-respect will have a secure anchor in the awakened conscience of all of them, where the decencies of material life will be made possible for them from their birth to their death—the foundation of such a State or social organization has been the dream of these path-finders amongst us, has engaged every thought and activity of their active hours, has lived in their unconscious minds as the patterns of conduct to be realised in the life of every man, woman and child of India. Every one of us who draws his breath under the Indian sky, who draws sustenance from the soil of India, has this duty imposed on them to strive to build this life beautiful in the land of their birth. There may be controversy with regard to the ways and methods of realising this dream, of bringing into being all the institutions that will work towards enriching our common life by freeing individual lives from the cramping conditions of selfishness and ignorance. Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Rajah may have very good reasons, very well-documented histories, to support the brief they placed before Sir Stafford Cripps. But the public statement that we have seen in the Press issued over their signatures has not told us the constructive suggestions that the Indian public may consider with a view to ameliorate the conditions of our life in its various phases.

A section of the Muslim community feels and thinks that they will find their salvation in "Pakistan", though it is difficult to say how they propose to bring the same solace to their co-religionists who happen to find themselves in areas where they are in a minority. We have not yet heard of any such scheme of "Ghettoes"—"reserved plantations"—being suggested for the "Depressed Classes"—the "Scheduled Castes" of the British Government's manufacture. Dispersed as they are all over the country, forming countless racial varieties, they have either to remain as they are and be prepared to play their legitimate part in the composite life of their neighbourhood or fall back upon what has been indicated for them by Dr. Abdul Latiff—"the fullest freedom to select their place in either the Hindu Nationality or the Muslim or the Christian." By supporting or seeking advantage under the "Communal Award" of the MacDonald Government, the leaders of the "Depressed Classes" or "Scheduled Castes" must bear on their foreheads the hall-mark of one of the religious communities—hall-mark that has been given a "vote-value", a hall-mark that has become the most important qualification of voters in India, of the rulers, potential and legal, of the country.

The census reports tell us that there are six crores of people placed in the enumeration of these classes. Their number can have a deciding influence on the future of the country, either for good or for evil. Many of these classes supplied from amongst their number

rulers over various areas of India. Rightly may they claim to have a share of the future democratic rule in India. The builders of India-to-be Their numbers awakened after centuries of torpor will secure them this right. The instinct for the right and the true that is implanted in every human heart will not long allow them to be used for separatist purposes. From certain points of view they are the upholders of the patterns of life sanctified by Indian tradition; they have been holding fast to these, unknown to most of us though the reason for existence of these social and cultural habits may be. And it may be that our intelligence illumined by modern science and thought may enable us to find in them answers to the riddles of the many discontents and despairs that infest the life of modern humanity. If such illumination ever comes to us, then will there be reason for all of us to feel grateful to the millions who far away from the glare and speed of 20th century life have been nursing in their neglected hamlets the seeds of the ancient wisdom made pregnant by modern knowledge and experience.

The two leaders of the "Depressed Classes" had, as we have said, no constructive suggestions to make with regard to the transfer of real political power at the present moment, a moment of crisis when their country stood in apprehension of Japanese invasion. It is this apprehension that had forced the British Government to propose to make the "Draft Declaration" It is conceivable that without the compulsion of the events in East Asia the British Government would not have cared to make a move in the matter of constitutional liberalization in India. The Congress had for decades been working for the root-and-branch re-form and re-construction of the State organization in India. In this it represented the most advanced school of political thought in the country, giving voice to its heart's desire—the desire that builds the character of individuals and nations.

Representative  
character of the  
Non-Party Lead-  
ers' Conference

Other political parties not tinged with sectionalism or communalism have been working for the evolution of an Indian State owing allegiance to the British Crown, satisfied with the position of a Dominion in a "Commonwealth of Nations"-to-be Of these, that organized as "The Non-Party-Leaders' Conference" under the leadership of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has for about two years been trying to use their prestige as friends of the British connection for the complete Indianization of the Governor-General's Executive Council. This step they have been pressing for its psychological effect on the people. An Indian in charge of the defence of the country as Minister would alter the present indifference of the people by appealing to their sense of self-esteem so long insulted by the military policy of the British Government. Concrete proposals in this behalf were sent to the British Premier by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in January, 1942. To the proposal for recognition of India's equal status with the principal members of the "United Nations", Mr. Churchill sent a reply intimating that the Government of India had been invited to send representatives to the British War Cabinet and the Pacific Council This reply has been regarded by some as going "some way at least to meet Sir Tej on the point of national status." So, when on March 11, it was announced that Sir

Stafford Cripps, a new member of the British War Cabinet, Leader of the House of Commons, with a new prestige gained as the patient diplomat who had "brought Russia into the war", was being sent out to India, it was natural that hopes would be raised high amongst the sedate and sober politicians in our country—the old Liberals who, soured by many disappointments, yet retained their faith in Britain doing the proper thing by India. Even amongst people represented in the Congress there was discernible a little flutter of hope. For, has not Sir Stafford Cripps mixed mostly with Congress leaders, and has not Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah publicly complained when the news of this "gesture" was made public that "he (Sir Stafford) is a friend of the Congress?" Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru represented even this sector of Congress opinion.

And the Memorandum that he and the Rt. Hon'ble Mukunda Ram Jayakar presented to Sir Stafford gave expression to their disappointment with the measures proposed by the British Government for the transference of "real power in the Central Government at the present moment". This Memorandum, which appeared in the Press on April 4, 1942, was a carefully prepared criticism of the scheme brought out to India. Half of it was occupied with consideration of the problem of the "defence of India" which has gained a new significance since the advent of Japan on the eastern frontier of our country and in the Bay of Bengal. They pleaded for the abandonment of "the old-world ideas of keeping Indians in the perpetual position of un-armed helplessness, and also the feelings of distrust and suspicion which has led to this policy....." They pleaded for the appointment of an Indian Defence Member as "an unmistakable token" of the reality of the transfer of real political power from British to Indian hands, and "as a symbol of the confidence" of the London Government in the people of this country. Those who have gone even carelessly through the "literature" that has grown round the Cripps Mission must know what has been the response of Mr. Churchill's Government to these pleadings. The Sapru-Jayakar idea of a Defence Member was transformed beyond all recognition into a mockery and a parody. To meet the criticism of the Indian public on Clause (e) of the original "Draft Declaration", Sir Stafford Cripps was authorized to make some amendments to this part of the scheme. In his letter to the Congress President dated April 7, he proposed a way out of the present difficulties.

The Defence Membership was bifurcated—the Commander-in-Chief was to retain his seat in the Governor-General's Executive Council as "war member"; an "Indian representative member would be added" to the Council who would take over "those sections of the Department of Defence which can be organizationally separated immediately from the Commander-in Chief's war Department....." These were specified in an *annexure* sent with this letter. The matters thus to be transferred to a "Defence Co-ordination Department" are as follows :

British Cabinet's  
idea of an Indian  
Defence member

- (i)
  - (a) Public Relations.
  - (b) Demobilization & Post-War Reconstruction.
  - (c) Petroleum Officer.....
  - (d) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.

(e) Amenities for, and welfare, of troops and their dependents, including Indian soldiers abroad.

(f) All canteen organizations.

(g) Certain non-technical educational institutions, e.g., Lawrence schools, K.G.R.I.M. Schools and the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College.

(h) Stationery, Printing and Forms for the Army.

(i) Reception, accommodation, and social arrangements for all missions, representatives and officers.

(ii)

In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence, but difficult to locate in any particular existing department.

Examples are :

Denial policy.

Policy of evacuation from threatened areas.

Signals Co-ordination.

Economic Warfare.

A lot of negotiation was carried on between the Congress representatives and Sir Stafford Cripps. The former asked for a list of the subjects to be transferred to the Defence Minister when a new "formula" was presented by a "third party." The politicians of the Army Headquarters at Delhi Simla Was it Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's representative? Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru has told the world that this "formula" afforded, in the Congress Working Committee's opinion, "a basis for arriving at an agreed formula for Defence." The list was never sent. Instead, the Congress negotiators were treated to "a long disquisition on the Indian Army;" that "it was really an off-shoot of the British Army, controlled by the British Government, through their representative the Commander-in-Chief." From the report, summary of the report, given by Pundit Jawaharlal, it appears that the two Congress representatives were rather quiet listeners to this pedantry. They took eager pains to explain to the pedagogue that "it was not their intention to do anything to upset arrangements, but what they wanted was, firstly, to make the Indian army feel that the Army was theirs". But the pedagogue was "rigid", instructed from London and by his New-Delhi surroundings to be "rigid". We get an inside view of these interesting talks from what the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, told a Press Conference, held on April 11, 1942, when the negotiations had completely broken down. Referring to these talks on the Defence problem, he said :

"In the course of our talks, Sir Stafford Cripps had repeatedly emphasised the technical difficulties in the way of transferring defence to an Indian member. He had suggested that we should meet General Wavell, because he could explain the technical side better."

"But curiously enough, throughout our interview with the Commander-in-Chief, at which other military officers were present, not a word was spoken about any technical difficulty; the entire discussion proceeded on political lines. It did not strike me for a moment that we were interviewing a military expert but an expert politician."

The discussion at such length of this "Mission that failed" has become necessary to expose the propaganda of British public men and their dupes that Sir Stafford Cripps returned to England without being

The crux of the  
differences—  
Clause (e)

able to deliver the Dominion Status because there was none in India with authority to receive it, because the Hindus wanted one thing, the Muslims another, and the others something else. Sir Stafford Cripps took infinite pains to propagate this fiction. But within the course of four months or so we have seen it exploded. A U. S. A. publicist and lecturer, Mr. Louis Fischer, who was in India during these negotiations, told the world that the Mission had failed not because there was the Hindu-Muslim disunity but because Sir Stafford Cripps could not make or was not allowed to make good his assurance about the "National Government". In an article in the New York weekly, *The Nation*, he said that he had interviewed "the British official" whom Sir Stafford Cripps met "late every evening" to report on his conversations with Indian leaders. This high personage told him that negotiations had failed because of political reasons, because the Congress negotiations had "reverted to the question of the Viceroy's rights in relation to the Indian members of the Government." He had interviewed a high-ranking military man who told him that in talking about "National Government", Sir Stafford Cripps was saying something which he had no "authority" to do. The "British official" could be no other than His Excellency Lord Linlithgow. For, it was to him that Sir Stafford had to report every day. The high-ranking military man could be no other than one of the two—General Hartley and Major-General Molesworth—who were present when the Congress President and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had met General Wavell to get enlightenment on India's military complexities. Yet, even to the uninstructed Indian, the matter was simple. Long before Sir Stafford Cripps was heard of we had known that the Indian Army was an instrument of Britain's imperialist policy, used in countries as far apart as South Africa, Egypt and China; since 1914 it is being called to Europe to fight the Empire's battles. Control over this Army, power to order its movement to any part of the world, is not a military problem. It is the major political problem on the rocks of which the Cripps Mission was wrecked. Clause (e) of the "Draft Declaration" wherein it is claimed that the British Government "must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their world war effort"—was the crux of this problem. We do not know whether or not the two Congress negotiators did put any question with regard to the basis of this conceit of the British strategists which after the bitter experiences of the Malaya and Burma campaigns could think of using the words "must" and "inevitably" in connection with their self-inflicted sense of responsibility for the defence of India. The British Government has never shown imagination to understand the insult to the self-respect of India implied in the assumption of this responsibility. Sir Stafford Cripps with all his radicalism did not show himself any way better; he most naturally fit himself into this assumption of superiority. And his Mission "inevitably" failed, as it deserved to do.

The bitterness of disappointment with this much-applauded man was symbolized in Mahatma Gandhi who made himself the mouth-



piece of the programme for the "orderly and timely British withdrawal from India." These words appeared in an article in *Gandhiji's reaction to the Cripps Mission* *Harijan* dated April 26, 1942. From an article in the same paper dated July 5, over the pen-name of M.D., entitled—"Friends' Ambulance Unit in India"—we are able to get a glimpse of the genesis of this idea in Gandhiji's mind. In a letter written to Prof. Horace Alexander of Wood-brooke College (Birmingham), sent by air-mail on the 22nd April, voice was given to this idea for the first time. As M. D. said: "he was the first person with whom Gandhiji had shared his great thought." Again: "He had not discussed it with any soul on earth, but as he was writing the letter the thing that was, so to say, cooking in his mind ever since his return from Delhi, came to his pen". The relevant words were put thus :

"My firm opinion is that the British should leave India now in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malaya and Burma. That act would mean courage of a high order, confession of human limitations, and right doing by India.

In this letter Gandhiji described his feelings with regard to the "dismal mission" that had brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India; the meeting between them; how he did not want to go to New Delhi; how—he being "anti-all-wars"—all his suggestions were brushed aside as "not practical". All this he narrated to give Prof. Alexander and through him all progressive men and women "the back-ground" of the developments in India. This he tried to draw up for the world in successive issues of *Harijan* all through May, June, and July, 1942. In an article that appeared in May 17, entitled—"To Every Briton"—Gandhiji analysed the glib British talk of "India's participation in the war"; described the British "ingenuity" in making even "an anti-all-war register" like him pay for the war in a variety of ways—he is made to pay two pice as an indirect war-tax on every letter he posted, one pice on every post-card, two annas on every wire sent. Even before the Japanese menace approached India her homesteads were being occupied by British troops—Indian and non-Indian; the dwellers were summarily ejected and were expected to shift for themselves; they were paid a paltry vacating expense which carried them nowhere; their occupation was gone; people in East Bengal may be regarded as amphibious—living partly on land and partly on the waters of their rivers; light canoes enable them to go from place to place. "For fear of the Japanese using the canoes the people have been called upon to surrender these". This is like cutting a limb of theirs. And to complete the most prominent of the details of this background, more in sorrow than in anger he wrote what appeared in the issue of May 24 :

"But it is from the frustration of every effort made to bring about unity by me among many others, that has arisen the, for me, logical step that not until British power is wholly withdrawn from India can there be any real unity, because all parties will be looking to the foreign power".

From that time on it became "the fixed determination behind every act" of Gandhiji's that "the British must withdraw". By the first week of May, 1942, this demand and request of his gained world-

wide publicity. In the "Question Box" columns of *Harijan* dated May 3, a correspondent put him the straight question—".....are you not inviting the Japanese to invade India, by asking the British rulers to withdraw?" The answer was as explicit: "I am not, I feel convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British wisely decided to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the

Struggle with  
the implications  
of his own idea

Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans. The very novelty of the British stroke will confound the Japanese, dissolve the subdued hatred against the British....." Questions like these began to pour in on him, and in trying to answer these he was helped to clarify to himself the various issues involved in this suggestion, charged with the destiny of nations, of 50 crores of men, women and children. For an "orderly withdrawal" of British domination would require a moral revolution in India and Britain, in all the peoples—Briton and non-Briton—who are united to-day in a disagreeable companionship. It is the realization of this unpleasant state of things that led Gandhiji to reverse the story of Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea in its general application to the relation between India and Britain. This he did in course of a conversation that he had with Mr. Preston Grover, the representative of the *Associated Press of America* (News Agency). M. D. in the issue of *Harijan*, dated June 21, has reported this interview from which we quote the words :

".....Gandhiji reversed the simile and likened Britain and the Allies to Sindbad carrying a heavy carcass on his shoulders.....India is thus a corpse—a heavy carcass of which the weight might make your victory impossible. If by some chance England comes to her senses—the Allies come to their senses—and say, 'let us get rid of this carcass', that single act will give them a power which no military skill or resources and no amount of American help can give them."

"To-day the Allies are carrying the burden of a huge corpse—a huge nation lying prostrate at the feet of Britain, I would even say at the feet of the Allies. For, America is the predominant partner, financing the war, giving her mechanical ability and her resources which are inexhaustible. America is thus a partner in the guilt."

It was natural for Mr. Grover to try to get a clear idea of the implications of Gandhiji's ideas on the matter. He asked the question—"Do you see a situation when after full independence is granted, American and Allied troops can operate from India? .....whether you contemplated complete shifting of the present troops from India?" Gandhiji's answer to the second question was—"Not necessarily"—ought to have removed the "lot of misconception" which Mr. Grover wanted removed. When India is free, the Allies, the "United Nations"—will see "real co-operation"; it will be "real help from a free India". In the same issue, in its "Question Box" columns, Gandhiji was more explicit.

He softens in his  
attitude to India's  
participation in  
the war

"But I would recognize their own military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers but as allies of free India.....The terms on which the Allied Powers may operate will be purely for the Government of the Free State to determine."

In an article in *Harizon* of the 28th of June, entitled—"A Poser"—Gandhiji returned to the same problem. He accepted the reasonableness of the contention that the "abrupt withdrawal of the Allied troops" from India might result in the "Japanese occupation of our country and China's sure fall".

"I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore I feel that if in spite of the acceptance of my proposal, it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the National Government. .... But India must not by any act of hers short of national suicide let China down or put the Allied Powers in jeopardy."

There were critics, friendly critics, who regarded this concession to Allied necessities as a derogation from India's independent status.

Non-violence &  
recognition of  
"United Nations"  
necessities.

There were others who criticized Gandhiji's "reconciliation" to the presence of Allied troops in India as "a descent" from his position of non-violence. The first class of critics argued that if India had or attained independent status as a nation, she might not get entangled in the present war or might remain neutral as Eire (Southern Ireland) has been though she is part of the British imperial organization. We have seen it suggested that it was Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's anti-Fascism or anti-Nazism and his adhesion to the cause of China's freedom, his hatred of Japan's "Imperial Way" that has forced Gandhiji to make this compromise with his creed of non-violence by agreeing to the idea of India taking part in the present war, by recognizing the Allied necessity for India being made "a vast arsenal and supply base" for the organized offense against Japan, for the campaign in north Africa, for the support of Soviet Russia through Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. Reading through all these articles one can detect the unexpressed regret that India, even free India, should have had this choice forced on her of joining in this suicide of nations. Gandhiji could only plead that his "non-violence dictated a recognition of the vital necessity" of the Allies, that he was "unable to state that the non-violent effort will make India proof against Japanese or any other aggression"; that the "whole of India not being non-violent in the sense required," it would be honester to say that the policy of free India would be a mixture of non-violence and "militarism of a modified character." The existence of so many martial races in India would incline our people towards the latter development. This reasoning showed that Gandhiji was not the impatient idealist that he is represented to be. It also showed the mental worry and struggle that he was working under, the effort that he was making to make his proposal "fool-proof".

But there remained one objection that appeared to baffle the intellect. "To whom are they to entrust the administration?"—asked the representative of the *Daily Chronicle* (London) on May 14, 1942. The reply was: "Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance to anarchy, and this anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From these a true India will rise in place of

The fear of  
anarchy &  
Gandhiji's  
prescription

the false one we see." When the same enquirer pointed out that "already there were signs of civil insecurity", that life would be more insecure if the present administration were suddenly to withdraw, Gandhiji replied that the present insecurity has been "chronic", and, therefore, "not much felt". He said the same thing to the representatives of the Bombay Press: ".....we are living today in a state of ordered insecurity.....this ordered disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as a result, I would risk it....." The anxiety of Allied peoples with regard to this matter was not abated, however. It became manifest in the many interviews that were sought of Gandhiji in order to get enlightenment or in order to persuade him to reconsider the steps that he proposed. The columns of *Harijan* were full of questions and answers on this subject during the months of May, June, and July, 1942. A few of these we have already noticed in course of our interpretation and chronicle of the developments that had forced Gandhiji to propose the "orderly and timely withdrawal" of British Power from India.

It was quite natural for Britain to get furious with the demand made by him. We can also understand the cause of this fury. The demand required such a revolution in the thought and the conduct of the ruling classes of Britain, required such a sacrifice of conceit and arrogance born of it, that we were not surprised at the strength of this fury and the vigorous language in which it was expressed. We have long been habituated to the manners of the British public and its Press. But the reaction of a section of the United States to Gandhiji's proposal came as a surprise to many in the country. Not that many of us were much impressed with the window-dressing in the life of that country. We have discussed in previous volumes of the *Indian Annual Register*, specially those of 1940 and 1941, the many ties, mental and material, that bind the two peoples of Britain and United States, and traced the development of the many common material interests that have made the latter come forward for the defence of the former in two World Wars. We can, therefore understand why a section of the Press of the United States should be joining in the howl raised by their opposite number in Britain, should be slinging at India and her leaders threats and insults. A sample of this method of controversy was selected by *Reuter* from the *Herald-Tribune* of New York and wired for our benefit. We were told by this organ of a section of U. S. A. opinion that if India, as represented by Gandhiji, did expect that the "United Nations" other than Britain could be frightened into a demand upon the latter for a greater concession to nationalist "face" than Sir Stafford Cripps had made, then they were going to "learn that American public opinion which Mr. Gandhi rates so low, does not react that way to a stick-up."

This ill-mannered outburst came naturally from that section of U. S. A. feeling and opinion which has constituted itself as the protector and guardian of the various vast assets that Britain commands. Some such development was foreseen by public men and publicists long ago. A book on the Anglo-American relationship of economic competition

The anger of a section of the U. S. Press & public

Why they have accepted the British brief

has quoted a predecessor in office of Mr. Churchill, William Ewart Gladstone, as prepared to accept such a dispensation

"It is she (the United States) alone who, at a coming time, can and probably will wrest from us our commercial supremacy. We have no title, I have no inclination to murmur at this prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the requisition by the right of the strong and the best. We have no more title against her than Venice, Genoa, and Holland against us."

In Bertrand Russel's *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* we have the same reading of the future :

"It is, of course, obvious that the next Power to make a bid for world-empire will be America. She may not, as yet, consciously desire such a position, but no nation with such resources can long resist the attempt. And the resources of America are more adequate than those of any previous aspirant to universal hegemony."

Politicians and diplomats of the United States were not, however, as unconscious of the destiny that awaited their country as Bertrand Russel thought. We find Joseph Davis, ambassador to Britain during World War I. and to the Soviet Republic twenty years later, writing to President Wilson in 1917 :

"The future of the world belongs to us. The English are spending their capital....Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands? And how can we use the British for the highest uses of democracy."

In an article in the pages of the *Empire Review* of August, 1941, Lord Queensborough wrote :

The needs of the first World War, and the more dire necessities of the second World War, have forced Great Britain into a position of dependency upon American friendship and goodwill... the Lease & Land Act, and the ceding of certain power to America over our territorial bases in her hemisphere, have made formal this dependency, which confers dignity upon both parties to the common bond."

But it is not political ambitions alone that have driven the United States to assume this responsibility. Finance-capital which seeks outlets

**The driving force of U. S. finance-capital** as naturally as rivers tend towards the sea has been creating conditions for the emergence of U. S. A. leadership of the Anglo-Saxon Bloc of world Powers.

We have seen an estimate of the growing strength of U. S. capitalism. It showed that in 1913 investment by foreigners in America amounted to a little over 1,500 crores of rupees while the foreign investments of U. S. citizens were half of that amount only ; in 1933 foreign holdings of U. S. citizens has risen over 5,000 crores of rupees, and those of foreigners in the U. S. has risen to a little over 2,100 hundred crores of rupees only. This huge accumulation of capital in the hands of a single nation—the U. S. A.—has posed a problem for solution by the leaders of that country. It has presented to them a strict alternative—either their country's productive power be switched to all corners of the globe and American capital becomes instrumental in such "long distance transmission" or American superiority, the American standard of life, could not be maintained in the long run. This alternative has dictated the policy that has brought the U. S. A. into Britain's wars and even into the internal concerns of her far-flung empire. Britain represents today, even after the loss of Malaya, Burma and Borneo, incalculable riches hidden in the purchasing power of 40 crores of Indians, of 6 or 7 crores of Africans, of another 7

or 8 crores of the "colourless" people of Great Britain, Eire, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The challenge of the Axis Powers to British capitalist-imperialism has thrown it almost helpless into the arms of U. S. A. capitalism. And it would be more than human for the latter to refuse to exploit this grand opportunity for the use of her abounding powers. A U. S. A. publicist has speculated whether his country can more successfully make a stand against "the economic nationalism of the West" by under-writing the imperialism of Britain, by accepting the managing directorship of this firm, than by rendering assistance to "the struggle for economic and political independence in the East." We have a certain feeling that the dominant classes of the United States have made their choice.

The threats and warnings that appeared in the Press of that country during the time of the Cripps Mission to India and the months following have given the show of detachment away. And we in India need not take a too tragic view of the discrediting of the many slogans in the name of which Britain and the United States have been leading or misleading the "United Nations" today. For us the issues of the war in the Far East, at least, have been made vivid by what R. H. Parker, an I. C. S.-man, enjoying a pension from India, said in course of a paper read at a meeting of the East India Association (London).

"If our victory destroys Japan as a Power on the Western model we at the same time destroy the grounds upon which Indian claims rested, ... .. India in part claims equality because Japan has risen to equality."

The response or reaction of the Anglo-Saxon leaders of the "United Nations" to Gandhiji's challenge to the sincerity of their professions has not helped to ease feelings in our country. The conceit and arrogance that have been characteristic of their conduct has had wider repercussions. What the leaders of the Soviet Republic have been thinking and saying on the political deadlock in India we do not know, because censorship has thrown a smoke-screen around the matter. What China feels, thinks and says we know from the Generalissimo's parting message to us in the third week of February, 1942. China's Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong, brother of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, projected these on the wider screen of Asia. This he did in course of a speech delivered by him in the second week of June, 1942, returning thanks for conferring on him the honorary Doctorate of Laws by the Yale University: "Asia is tired of being regarded only in terms of markets and concessions, or as the source of rubber, tin and oil or as furnishing human chattel to work raw materials."

This sensitiveness of China and India with regard to their status in the comity of modern nations has been at the bottom of the many disasters that have overtaken the modern world. The tactics of British and U. S. A. politicians and publicists do not, however, appear to show that they appreciate the danger to world peace from an unreconciled India and China. Even in their anxious speculations on the shape of the world they would like to have in the near future when the smoke of war will have rolled away from over the

face of the earth, they develop a curious short-sightedness. A sample of this was presented to the world in the third week of April, 1942. It was prepared by a Committee headed by Raymond Leslie Buell, chief editor of the weekly, *Fortune* (New York), belonging to the same organisation that runs the two other weeklies *Time* and *Life*. The Committee was helped by the various editors of these weeklies, and obtained "over a period of several months unofficial advice and criticism from diplomats of the 'United Nations', from U. S. officials and many an expert on world affairs, internationalists and isolationists alike." The purpose of this round-table discussion was to explore the problems of post-war economic, political and social existence and arrive at thoughtful, "if still debatable", conclusions. A pamphlet entitled—*Relations with Britain*—started with three "frank assumptions" :

- (1) The "United Nations" will win the war ;
- (2) That in the post-war world the centre of gravity of all military and economic power will rest in the U. S. A.;
- (3) That a peaceful world cannot be attained without "profound collaboration between the U. S. A. and Britain.

We are told that the members of the Committee were "no imperialists," as the statement of their belief—political belief—went to show : "The time for an American or British Empire in the old sense of the word has passed, but the U.S. can and should work out with Britain and the Dominions a programme of leadership, outmoding past imperialism, while working toward eventual world unity." Those of us who can remember the slogans with which President Wilson enthralled the world during the latter part of World War I. of the 20th century, can remember how the European leaders of the victorious Powers sabotaged these, and can remember how "Mandates" were invented to do duty for naked imperialism—those of us who remember this betrayal of the world's hopes, will smile at the innocence of Editor Buell's political belief. This criticism apart, we detect in the economic programme drawn up by the Committee, in their economic 'conviction', the hint of a conflict between two schools of economic thought and two systems of economic organisation which may well be the seed-plot of another world war. This "conviction" has been bifurcated thus :

- (1) That a free enterprise system must be made safe against any assault of collectivism ;
- (2) That a "free market area" must be established between the U. S. and the United Kingdom, aimed towards universal free trade as the ultimate goal of a peaceful world.

In Vol. 1. of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register* we have indicated the various elements that go to make up the economic "conviction" of Editor Buell's Committee. In driving home the point of this argument we summarised the statistics to support it that had appeared in the book—*A Trade Policy for National Defence*—written by Percy Bidwell, Director of Studies, Council of Foreign Relations, and of Arthur Upgren, Associate Professor of Economics at the School of Business Administration in the University of Minnesota. We showed how the eager search by U. S. A.

The conflict  
between "collect-  
ivism" & the "free  
enterprise system"

"Profound collabo-  
ration" between  
U. S. & the  
United Kingdom

leaders of industry and finance-capital for a "free market area", for the maintenance of "free economy" and of the "free enterprise system", has found its harbour of safety in the British Empire. The argument of this part of the present study is our excuse for referring again to this book, for quoting the following from it :

"The British Empire area furnishes the markets and supplies the materials which can keep the western Hemisphere a going concern. We are interested, therefore, in preserving the British Empire as a political entity so that its markets may remain open to our exporters, and so that its raw materials may remain accessible to our importers".

Here we get at the material basis of the concern felt by the leaders of the United States of America for the people of India and China. Japan had shown by her treatment of U. S. trade and finance-capital in Manchuria and the territories in China that she dominates that she entertained no respect for "free economy", for the "free enterprise system." This attitude created all the bitterness between these two countries and has driven them to the present war.

**India's instinct understands the meaning of this "collaboration"**

Britain has been content to follow U. S. A. lead in matters concerning the countries of the Pacific area, and the U. S. A. has been found to be acting as the protector of her honour and interests therein. The cruel necessities of the present war, specially Japan's victories in Malaya, Burma and Borneo, have extended the area of this protection. This is the psychological back-ground of the excitement that has been prevailing in the United States over the controversy between India and Britain. Indian irritation and resentment can also be explained by the fear of a rising capitalist-imperialism that would step into British shoes. The evolution of the development which we have indicated above may not be known to many in our country. But their instinct has helped them to appreciate this danger. When Mr. Churchill repudiated the meaning and application of the "Atlantic Charter" to the British Empire, his co-signatory who is President of the United States kept silent over it. Since then we have had occasion to read reports of many a "fire-side talk" of Mr. Roosevelt holding forth on the many "freedoms" that the world would be enjoying as a consequence of the defeat of the Axis Powers. But of concrete steps in this behalf in any part of the "subject" countries under the rule of Mr. Roosevelt's co-signatory, we have had no sign. Considering this history U. S. concern for India is not above suspicion.

We have tried to trace above the many factors that have broadened and deepened the sense of frustration that has prevailed in

**Failure of the Government & the helplessness of the people**

India during the first six months of 1942. The handling of the problems of the military and civil defence of India, of the provision of food and clothing for the millions of this country, of the organisation of industries serving the needs of peace and war—the handling of these by the bureaucracy in India has not helped to ease the situation. As the Japanese marched through north Burma to the borders of Assam, as their ships of war rode over the waves of the Bay of Bengal, panic seemed to paralyse all coherent activities in the country. The masses yielded to the sweep of the current, while



the politically-minded amongst the people—the majority of them—made futile attempts to harness the powers of the State in India to the slowly awakening resolve of the people to do something for the defence of their hearths and homes. Lord Linlithgow's Government did practically nothing to encourage and quicken this resolve. When in their bewilderment people began to think and talk of "Home Guards", the Government could only say that they had no instructors to train "Home Guards" for India, and no equipment to put into their hands. When it was pointed out that in Britain itself the instructors were old soldier-pensioners, that for weapons the civilian people there had only "pitch-forks, sharp-edged spades, old swords, shot-guns, pistols and revolvers of varying ages, knuckle-dusters and sand-bags—anything calculated to stop the enemy if caught unawares"—the reply of the Government was stolid silence, and some sort of a stony stare. The fear of "Fifth-Column" people utilizing the "Home Guards" for their own purposes may have been partly responsible for this official unresponsiveness. As the "martial races" theory of the Army Headquarters at Delhi-Simla has killed in the major part of the country all military traditions, we, therefore, find foreign correspondents in early May (1942) writing of "the uncertain, undependable Province of Bengal", and of "the doubt that the soft pliant masses of Southern India would be much of a help for the military defence of India." The British bureaucracy must have supplied this brief to these correspondents, little suspecting that it was a reflection on their own policy—a policy that could be responsible for the disgrace that only 20,00,000 persons out of India's 40,00,00,000 population have ever seen a rifle. As this military policy has affected even the "civil defence" organization of the country, it touched on the whole of the Indo-British disagreement and made "civil defence" even a problem of politics—a "contention" between the self-respect of India and the self-interest of Britain.

This political discontent born of helplessness found the country ill prepared to meet the onslaught of the attack on the roots of India's economic life, on the very fibre of its being. Published statistics showed the movement of mounting prices of the necessities of life during the 33 months of the war. We quote from a statement the following index numbers of whole-sale prices :

August, 1939.....	100.
Average of 1939—'40.....	115.
Average of 1940—'41.....	119.
Average of 1941—'42.....	144.
April, 1942.....	157.
May, 1942.....	169.
June, 1942.....	182.

The Government in India has been looking helplessly on this crisis in the life of the millions of this country created by the war and intensified by their want of foresight. The needs of war appears to have monopolized all their thoughts and activities; they appear to have had no time to think of the many factors that upheld civilian morale—the most important of which is the provision of food and raiment for the people. Distribution of men and things through the

**Breakdown of  
supply arrange-  
ments**

normal channels of communication—railways, motor lorries, boats and steamers, bullock-carts—has broken down so far as the needs of the people are concerned. 200 locomotives and 12,000 wagons were reported to have been sent to the Middle East from India, explaining part of the difficulty in our transport system. This aspect of the matter was brought out very prominently in the debate initiated by Sri Kshitish Chandra Neogy on behalf of the Nationalist Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly during its March session at Delhi. He cited instances of the remissness of the railway administration in the matter of wagon supply even to factories that had been doing war work, one of which deserves record. The Indian Mining Federation of Calcutta authorized him to state that on a particular day "there were not less than 600 wagons standing idle between the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway". The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, Minister of Bengal, brought a graver charge in course of a discussion held on March 8, 1942, in the Bengal Council :

"The position at present was that it was not the price of coal (in the mines) that counted, but it was the price of wagon. Whoever succeeded in unrestricted competition to pay for the wagon secured the coal".

We have read of the self-complacency of the ruling classes of Britain ; in India it has been the theme of more than one Royal Commission report. The irony of the thing in the

Food front in  
"total war"

present case is that this stringency in food supply occurred during the regime of a Governor-General whose name has long been associated with agricultural and bovine improvement, both in Great Britain and India. He pushed this country into a "total war" without, it appears, understanding its implications, without caring to organise the food front Lloyd George who was organiser of victory on the British side during the last great war appeared to give more credit for foresight in this respect to Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini, and M. Stalin than to the rulers of what has been called the "democratic front". In course of a House of Commons discussion on the food problem in Britain, he called the Governments they headed as "war governments" because they had regarded war as "inevitable", because they had prepared for it, and also because they had regarded "increased food production as about the most important part of their programme for a war" The British Government and their "subordinate branch"—the Government in India—have played with the idea of war for about six or seven years before the present war caught them unawares, since the days when Mr. Baldwin had talked of the frontier of Britain being on the Rhine. In India they have also played with the problem of food production even after three years of war.

Lord Linlithgow has been seven years in India ; half of his time has been peace years when he talked much of rural economy and of the cultivator being the corner-stone of India's economic life ; the other half has been war years when his Government has been found helpless in face of soaring prices, of profiteering, of scarcity of food grains that has reached famine conditions in different areas of the country. The absurdity of the situation became vivid as we compared the price of loaf in Britain with that in our country. The Ministry of Food

Comparison between India and Britain

in the former announced in March (1942) that the price of a 2-pounds (one seer) loaf in the former was 5 pence (about 5 annas) while it cost us double that amount. The wheat from which the loaf was made in Britain came from a distance of more than 4,000 thousand miles of which 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean were infested by submarines. And the wheat that came from the Punjab to Bengal, for instance, has to move on trains, motor lorries and bullock carts over a distance of 1,500 hundred miles only. Since the declaration of war any number of Price Control Conferences have been held in India, the fifth being held in the second week of April 1942. Conditions have grown worse with each of them. Price Control attempts have failed, increasing the confusion and distress of the people. Any benefit from them went to the bureaucracy—the big fish and the small fry. For they had not to stand in the queues before shops. A "Grow More Food" propaganda was started, the member in charge of Lands, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, dilating on a planned attack on the problem, on the "ploughing up" campaign that was reported to have notably expanded the area under crops and increased their production in Britain, in America and in Russia. The book—*Science in War*—does not support the story of this achievement. They talked of "standard cloth", samples of which was displayed at the fifth Price Control Conference. None of these have appeared in the markets and eased conditions for the millions of this country. And cotton grows at our door-steps. The same futility attended the supply of sugar in a country which produced more of it than it could consume. The disappearance of small coins from the markets of India has pressed heavily on the life of the poorest in the land who could not sell their homely things and buy the homely needs of their existence. Trade that enabled the poor man and woman to live was thus restricted.

It is an arguable proposition that a certain amount of discomfort and suffering must be our lot in a war whose dimensions are world-wide. Technological improvement in the means of transport has made the earth smaller and brought distant countries nearer one another. And the picture of the cultivator driving his plough undisturbed by a battle being fought somewhere near is a pleasant imagineering today. "Black markets" flourish as vigorously in India as in other countries. Rationing of food threatens to become a habit with peoples in all parts of the globe. In Britain the egg ration was 3 a month; "most people have forgotten the taste of cheese or wished they could forget it." Restaurants have not served real butter for months, and the portions of margarine are "half the size of a postage stamp and nearly as thin." Cauliflowers are a shilling and six pence a head. The consequence has been that "most Britons are already thinner—as much as 10 lbs. per man." This discomfort may appear comfortable placed against the back-ground of conditions that prevail in the conquered countries in Europe, and in China where more than two crores of men, women and children are reported to have died owing to scarcity created by war. The self-satisfied bureaucracy in India may feel satisfaction that things are not as bad here as in other countries. But we are just at the beginning of hard time

No human Govern-  
ment is found  
equal to "total  
war" conditions

The masses in India have habituated themselves to habits of life and comfort that are by modern standards abnormally low; and their acceptance of the decrees either of fate or of the *Sarkar Bahadur* has given the State in India a charter of indifference to what they felt or needed. In other countries the Governments have been more careful, if not very much more successful. A "Chinese economist" writing to an Indian weekly on "Japan's war-time Economy" has told us of the ineffectiveness of the many measures taken by the Government to control and regulate the soaring commodity prices. The ordinance in Britain that "limited" meals to "three courses" only and banned the sale of fish, game and poultry on "certain days" of the week, tells the same story of discomfort and suffering. Perhaps, no human Government can pass the test of a "total war."

But in our country owing to alien leadership of the State the people do not feel any exhilaration in the many sacrifices that people in other countries have been doing. The latter accept

**"Grow More Food" campaign** these as part of their duty to their nation; here in India they grudge these sacrifices, and sufferings. "Grow More Food" campaigns they watch with a certain air of unconcern, because it is led by people who do not know the country, do not appreciate its habits of work. Therefore this campaign has made so much noise and printed so much "literature" with so little to show. "Experts" imported from Britain wilt and wither under the Indian sun. But such is the conceit of our rulers that they have been importing ship-loads of them. The window-dressing of an Indian member presiding over the department has not been able to hide the poverty in the counter. The "experts" from Britain judge the requirements of this country by the standards of a foggy country, and they fail, as they have been failing since the beginning of British rule. To discuss this "Grow More Food" campaign. It does not require much imagination to realize that in the growing of food under war conditions the whole attention should be centred on getting the food in the quickest possible time. The cultivator is being called upon to plough more lands. For that he must be provided with the lands—with more lands; with more labourers to help him; with many more ploughs; with many more cattle; with more seed. We have not yet seen an organisation equal to such an effort. Land there is in plenty, even Government land. But it has remained in the state in which nature left it. Labourers there are plenty, but unorganized. Ploughs—the simple Indian plough—can be made by any village black-smith and carpenter. Cattle in India we have been told number more than there is necessity for. There is no assurance that there is enough seed to make a success of this campaign. The co-ordination of all these elements of the work that would produce more food has been absent. Otherwise, there would not have been the wide-spread scarcity that has created bitterness in the country. It has been estimated that our shortage in the principal food crops—rice and wheat—amount to about 19 crore maunds of rice and about 1 crore 25 lakh maunds of wheat; that about 6 crores of people in India go without sufficient food during 364 days of the year. The demands of "total war" have worsened conditions for them and many more crores of our people.

We do not know if the scarcity of food in India has been caused by the arrangement undertaken by the British Government to partly feed the people of Iran, Iraq and the countries near about ; by the feeding of other peoples for strategic reasons. We know that Indian troops have been fighting in Egypt and the deserts around her, that it is expected that India should not only finance a part of their upkeep but must arrange for their food carried across the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea. We know that India has also to think of feeding the 60 lakhs of the people of Ceylon included in which are 10 lakhs of Indian-born men, women and children, the majority of whom has made the island their home for generations. The Government of Ceylon who desire to see the last Indian leave their shores at the quickest possible moment appear to have found a new use for their Indians—as a lever for the larger importation of rice from India to the homes of their people. The nature of this pressure can be understood from the fact that the quantity of rice consumed by Indians in Ceylon before rationing was introduced was 20 per cent of the total imports ; that the percentage allotted to them in April, (1942) is only 11 per cent of the imports. Indians in Ceylon who have made what she is economically and financially to-day are being required to be fed from India. But their share is getting less every month.

In the field of industrial development and organization, in the opportunities offered by the war for the starting of new industries in India and the expansion of the old, the differences between the British bureaucracy and the Indian people has remained as keen as ever. These are as old as the East India Company whose policies and practices killed Indian industries. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Romesh Chunder Dutt and William Digby have done pioneer research in exposing the processes of this destructive work. No student of affairs, Indian or foreign, does question today the truth and validity of this indictment ; no writer on India's life and institutions can pass by this fact without commenting on it. One of the latest, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, a member of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council taken into it at its last enlargement, can be quoted in this connection :

"Ever since the Industrial Revolution, British-Indian tariffs have shaped India as a raw material producer for British industry, a market for British finished goods, ... British-made goods drove India's handicrafts out of business, forced millions back to the over-populated soil."

The bad traditions of those days have been persisting even unto these days in the inner counsels of the British empire. The little modern industrialism that one finds in India has grown in opposition to these traditions, in spite of the frowns of the *Burma Sahibs* in the Delhi-Simla Secretariat and in face of the anger of their opposite numbers in merchant offices of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Cawnpore, and the other industrial centres of India. Even during the present war when India is being proclaimed as the "arsenal" of the "United Nations" in the Indian and Pacific Oceans areas, this bias has been halting India's industrial efforts on their behalf, and has been a point of contention

India's food &  
other countries'  
need

Indian industries  
and British policy

British monopoly  
of war-work in  
India

between the Government and the leading Indian industrialists. The latter view with suspicion and apprehension the enthronement of British commercial and industrial leaders in the seats of the mighty in the various departments called into being in India to serve the multitudinous needs of a "total war". In the Legislative Assembly at Delhi a member made a grievance of the fact that the appointment of purchasers of various war materials had gone invariably to British industrialists; that there is only one Indian name amongst these. The list of names is interesting. Mr. Owen Roberts is purchaser of wheat and cereals; Mr. Inskip of hide and leather goods; the wool adviser is Mr. Watts; the adviser on jute fabrics is Mr. Walker; the supplier of *ghee* is Mr. Alopī Pershad. The criticism of this British monopoly is another proof that British capitalists and industrialists who have passed the best years of their life in India, making their pile here, have not been able to make themselves into Indians, to be accepted as Indians. The ways in which the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy tried to give effect to the recommendations of the American Technical Mission, popularly known as the Grady Mission after the name of its Chairman, Dr. Henry Grady, brought out this spirit of monopoly. In the absence of a full report of the Mission submitted to the President of the United States, it is not possible to make constructive criticism on it. The summary published by the Government of Lord Linlithgow has been challenged by American correspondents as inaccurate. Sir Homy Mody as Supply Member was spokesman of the Government in this matter. His comments giving a summary of the Grady recommendations left the impression of a tepid interest in the matter; he appeared to dismiss these with faint praise. The Mission had suggested some sort of a "War Cabinet." Lord Linlithgow gave it shape in a "War Resources Committee of the Council" (his Executive Council), a re-shuffle of the old Economic Sub-Committee of the Governor-General's Executive Council. This War Resources Committee consisted of His Excellency the Governor-General as its President, His Excellency the Defence Member (the Commander-in-chief), the Supply Member (Vice-President), the Commerce Member, the Finance Member and the Communications Member. Four of the members are non-Indians; the Secretary of the Committee also belongs to this category. Power and influence in non-Indian hands is thus preserved. Resentment with this state of affairs found expression through the words of Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, and a leader of Indian industrialists: "just as the Indian element is entirely absent from the higher ranks of the army, navy and air force services, so heavy industries have been excluded from the orders placed with Indian industrialists or firms."

There is another factor in this criticism—the presence during war-time of business leaders in Government Directorates raises the question

A question of  
political ethics

of private interests influencing or being in a position to influence State policy and practice towards their own profit.

Their being honorary workers offering their experience to the State during a crisis in its life makes the problem delicate and difficult. During the last great war the Munitions Board scandal in India pointed to this danger; during the present war there have been instances of it in Britain herself; there is a record

that "in at least one case an important 'Trade' official has been, simultaneously with performing his duties in the Ministry, engaged as a Trade Representative in negotiating with the Ministry as regards the operating margins to be allowed to his own trade." Bipin Chandra Pal in his book—*The New Economic Menace to India*—based on the experiences of the last war, devoted more than one chapter to this source of evil. The experiences of the present war have not re-assured the world that the evil has been scotched either here or outside.

Here we must conclude our interpretation of the many happenings during the first six months of 1942. The attempt to understand and explain their significance has not been an easy one. The minds of crores of people have been disturbed as never before, except once in 1857, during the last one hundred and eighty-six years. The throb of the war drum in Europe had left the vast majority of them indifferent for about two years. But Japan's vaunting ambition and her successes in Malaya and Burma, in the Bay of Bengal, have changed all that. She has entrenched herself in her new strong-holds, aiming her thunders at India, leaving the rulers and the ruled guessing where the blow would fall. She had expected that under this threat and under her blockade India would "soften and crumble". The intervention of the monsoon has postponed the realization of this expectation. And India has remained the enigma that she has been to history. The British Government has elected to carry on without the support of the "unbribed intellect" of India. The leaders of organized public opinion in India have remained unreconciled to the ways of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Unprepared and kept untrained by the State policy followed in India to face the danger such as Japan has projected, the reaction to it on the part of our people has been resentment against the managers of this policy, as Prof. Coupland has indicated. This reaction has coloured all the thoughts and activities of our people during the whole period. At the end of which they appear to have resigned themselves to whatever the future might bring, trying to find solace and strength in the traditions of their country built up by thousands of years of various experiences. Whether this poise will be maintained when real danger approached their homes is more than one could say. This note of interrogation lengthened over India described her at the end of June, 1942.—*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.*

Proceedings of  
**The Central Legislative Assembly**  
**The Council of State**

PROVINCIAL BUDGETS FOR 1942-43

AND

The Indian National Congress

The All India Muslim League

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Generalissimo Chiang's Visit

Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission

AND

**Provincial Political Conferences**

*JANUARY—JUNE 1942*



# The Government of Bengal

## Financial Statement for 1942—43

A provision of Rs. one crore and twenty-five lakhs for civil defence measures and a lump provision of one lakh for promotion of communal harmony are the outstanding features of the Bengal Government's budget for 1942-43, which was presented by the Finance Minister, the hon. *Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee* before the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the opening day of its budget session at Calcutta on the 16th February 1942.

This is the first budget for the new Ministry which was constituted two months ago under the leadership of the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*.

The budget discloses a deficit in revenue account of Rs. one crore and five lakhs. The year start with an opening balance of one crore and fifteen lakhs which is the anticipated closing balance for the current year. Revenue receipts are placed at fifteen crores seventy lakhs, or fortyone lakhs higher than the revised estimates for the current year. The estimate of expenditure on revenue account stands at sixteen crores seventy-five lakhs, which is forty-four lakhs greater than the anticipated expenditure in the current year. On the basis of these estimates, the deficit on revenue account amounts to one crore and five lakhs. Outside the revenue account, the budget anticipates a net surplus of sixty-nine lakhs. The joint effect of the revenue deficit of one crore five lakhs and the surplus of 69 lakhs in the capital and debt deposit section of the budget is to reduce the opening balance by thirty-six lakhs. The year is accordingly, expected to end with a closing balance of seventy-nine lakhs.

Pointing out that, in a limited sense his budget was in the nature of a "war budget," dealing as it did with the schemes of civil defence of considerable magnitude, *Dr. Mookherjee* explained that in the estimates that he was placing before the House, "nation-saving" took the place of "nation-building". After referring to the international situation which had brought the war to the very doors of India, the Finance Minister observed: "All parties in the House will agree that, so long as the present emergency continues, there can be no diversion of the resources of the Province to purposes that can wait. This must be the guiding principle of our budgetary plans for the coming year. We must bid adieu for a time—short or long as Providence may ordain, to the normal standards of peace-time budgeting."

### FOUR CRORES FOR CIVIL DEFENCE

Out of total estimated expenditure of four crores provided in the next year's budget for civil defence measures, two crores will be required for the payment to the personnel of various A.R.P. services, thirty-five lakhs for construction of shelters, fifteen lakhs for the relief of persons rendered homeless by air attacks, forty-nine lakhs for supply of stirrup pumps, respirators, helmets and eye-shields, nine lakhs for the civil nursing scheme, five lakhs for expansion of the Fire Brigade, fifteen lakhs for organisation of street fire-fighting services, eight lakhs for rescue service, thirty-one lakhs for hospital accommodation for air raid casualties in vulnerable areas, two lakhs for mass inoculation against cholera and small-pox and six lakhs for the establishment of infectious diseases hospitals.

The revised civil defence expenditure estimates in the current year including fifteen lakhs for temporary housing and feeding of persons rendered homeless by air attacks, sixteen lakhs for an alternative water supply in Calcutta by means of tube-well, nine lakhs for expansion of the Calcutta Fire Brigade, five lakhs for fire-fighting services in industrial areas outside Calcutta, nine lakhs for protection of essential Government buildings and emergency hospitals by means of baffle-walls and ten lakhs for provision of emergency hospitals and motor ambulances for the treatment of persons injured in air raids.

### ONE LAKH FOR PROMOTION OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

As regards the lump provision of one lakh under the head, General Administration, for the promotion of communal harmony, the Finance Minister emphasised that it would be one of the foremost endeavours of the present Ministry to restore amity and understanding between the two communities that have a common interest in the prosperity of the Province. In explaining the reasons for increase in expenditure in the current year, *Dr. Mookherjee* had stated in the earlier part of his speech that a heavy drain on the provincial exchequer

was caused by the protracted communal disturbances in the town and the district of Dacca.

After pointing out that the Ministry had barely three weeks' time to formulate its budget proposals, Dr. Mookerjee said that a Ministry taking office at the fag-end of the year did not take over a clean slate but a running concern with all its commitments, good and bad, "Some of these commitments", he said, "may well call for reconsideration and revision in the wider interest of the Province. I can assure the House that, if on further scrutiny, we are of opinion that it will be in the best interests of the Province, to revise any such commitments, that revision will be undertaken."

In conclusion, Dr. Mookerjee made a fervent appeal for help and co-operation from all sections of the people to enable the Ministry to serve the needs of the Province.

## Government of the Punjab

### Financial Statement for 1942—43

"The coming year's budget makes a provision of over Rs. one crore to meet the situation created by the war, and I make bold to affirm that, when we consider our total resources and the exiguousness of provincial finance, this will compare favourably with any province in India," observed Sir *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister, presenting the budget estimates for 1942-43 in the Punjab Assembly at Lahore on the 27th. February 1942.

The salient features of the Budget, which discloses a deficit of Rs 10 lakhs, are the provision of Rs. 61½ lakhs for air raid precautions, an additional Rs. 25 lakhs for Police, Rs. 14 lakhs for grain compensation allowance on account of the heavy rise in prices, Rs. 2 lakhs for war publicity and Rs. one lakh for the promotion of communal harmony.

The revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 13.53 lakhs and the revenue expenditure at Rs. 13.63 lakhs, resulting in a small deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Sir *Manohar Lal* said : The deficit is due to the fact that a large provision of Rs. 61½ lakhs had to be made for air raid precautions. If this exceptional expenditure had not been incurred, there would be a normal surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs ; or what would be a more correct way of describing the position—this Rs. 50 lakhs more would have been available for Government's other activities, mainly in the beneficent departments.

Reviewing the accounts for 1940-41, the Finance Minister said : "When revised estimates were available at this time last year, a surplus of Rs. 24 lakhs was in sight. Actually the year has ended with a surplus of Rs. 69 lakhs."

#### INCREASED SURPLUS IN 1941-42

Coming to 1941-42, the Finance Minister said that when the estimates were presented last year a surplus of Rs. 4½ lakhs was expected. About two months ago a position of substantial surplus definitely emerged in sight and it was realised that the surplus would certainly be not less than Rs. 50 lakhs. The final revised estimates would have shown a surplus of over Rs. 85 lakhs but for the decision of the Government to add a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs to the Special Development Fund and create a new fund called the Peasants' Welfare Fund with a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. Even after making this provision of Rs. 60 lakhs and after allowing for exceptional expenditure under air raid precautions of nearly Rs. 16 lakhs, the year is expected to end with a surplus of over Rs. 25 lakhs. The total revenue receipts are now estimated to be Rs. 14.19 lakhs as against the budget estimate of Rs. 12.60 lakhs i.e., an increase of Rs. 1.59 lakhs. On the side of expenditure the revised estimates disclose a figure of nearly Rs. 14 crores as against the budget estimate of Rs. 12.56 lakhs, i.e., an increase of Rs. 1.38 lakhs, leaving a surplus of over Rs. 25 lakhs.

#### ESTIMATES FOR 1942-43

As regards the year 1942-43, Sir *Manohar Lal* said, the ordinary revenue receipts of Rs. 1,353 laks marked an advance of Rs. 65 lakhs on the accounts

of the year 1940-41. These include Rs. 33.68 lakhs under the head "Taxes on income other than corporation tax," received from the Government of India, Rs. 22.80 lakhs under other taxes and duties and Rs. 9.38 lakhs under provincial excise. The main fall is under irrigation where the direct receipts show a decline of Rs. 10 lakhs and working expenses an increase of Rs. 7 lakhs. The receipts under the Motor Vehicles Act also show a drop of Rs 3 lakhs, which is a direct result of petrol rationing.

Revenue expenditure proposed for 1942-43 stands at Rs. 13,63,50,000. This marks a drop of Rs. 31 lakhs on the revised estimate for the current year, but almost the whole of it is explicable in terms of smaller expenditure on strategic roads that were a special feature of the current year, financed from increased transfer from the Central Road Fund.

#### INCREASED PROVISION FOR INDUSTRIES

Dealing with the beneficent departments, the Finance Minister said : "Though there is an advance of Rs. 21 lakhs on the accounts of 1940-41, and of Rs. 13 lakhs on the revised estimate of 1941-42, the expansion has not taken place on the scale we all should have desired because of the heavy call of famine and now of war. The Industries Department has an additional grant of nearly Rs. 4½ lakhs. The problems of the production and industrial utilisation of Punjab coals are to be studied, cottage and small-scale woollen industries are to be developed, subsidies under the Punjab State Aid to Industries Act, 1935, to the extent of Rs. 75,000, are to be given and a huge glue factory at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs is to be established."

Dealing with irrigation, the Finance Minister<sup>1</sup> said that during the current year a sum of Rs. 32 lakhs had been provided for the Thal project and in the next the provision stood at Rs. 55 lakhs.

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## Government of Sind

### Financial Statement for 1942—43

A revenue deficit of Rs. 15.27 lakhs is revealed in the budget estimates for the year 1942-43 which were presented before the Sind Legislative Assembly at Karachi on the 4th, March 1942.

The total revenue is estimated at Rs. 4,80,74,000 and the expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 4,96,01,000. This deficit is proposed to be met from the free balance which at present amounts to Rs. 1,27,29,000. No fresh taxation is proposed.

Major heads of expenditure include Rs. 13 lakhs on irrigation schemes and A.R.P. and civil defence for the province get an appropriation of Rs. 10 lakhs.

The province has benefited from the large expansion of war industries in the country and the large expenditure on supplies not merely on behalf of the Government of India but also on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Allied Governments and Sind's share of income-tax revenue has risen considerably. The estimated revenue under this head is Rs. 17,10,000 against Rs. 14,54,000 in 1941-42 and has become, next to the land revenue and the provincial excise, the most important source of revenue for the province.

The estimates under civil defence include Rs. 2,25,000 for air-raid precautions, Rs. 29,000 for civic guards, out of which Rs. 10,000 is recoverable from the Government of India, and Rs. 7,65,000 on civil defence works. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is earmarked for construction of air-raid shelters for the civil population at Karachi, Rs. 1,25,000 on A.R.P. for public utility services in Karachi, Rs. 3 lakhs for fire-fighting in Karachi, Rs. 40,000 for A.R.P. measures in Sukkur and Rs. 1 lakh for A.R.P. in connection with electrical undertakings.

The rationing of petrol supply has affected the provincial revenues in the coming year to the extent of nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs under the Motor Vehicles Act and the Sind Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act, due to the fall in the number of motor vehicles anticipated and the difficulty in importing motor cars because of the international situation.

A special provision for a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 has been made in the budget this year for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

#### LLOYD BARRAGE DEBT

The Lloyd Barrage debt position is very satisfactory. The current year marks the end of the interim period. Before the introduction of regular funding of the Lloyd Barrage debt up to March 31, 1942, the repayment of debt is entirely dependent on receipt from the system. From the next year, however, the debt is to be refunded by the payment of fixed blocks of capital beginning with Rs. 75 lakhs and decreasing gradually together with interest at a fixed rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on all debt outstanding in each year. In 1940-41 Sind was able to repay more than Rs. 75 lakhs and again in the current year it hopes to re-pay considerably more than Rs. 75 lakhs, thanks largely to increased realisation of instalments of Malkano. From 1942-43 onwards, if the barrage yields more than is required to meet the funding arrangements, the surplus goes to the benefit of provincial revenues. If, however, there is a short fall, the deficit must be made good from provincial revenues.

So far as the next year's budget estimates are concerned, it is expected that the revenue receipts of the Lloyd Barrage system will be sufficient to repay the interest plus Rs. 75 lakhs and yield a small balance of Rs. 3 lakhs. From the latest review of the prospects of the system, it is expected that for the next five years receipts will produce sufficient revenue to cover the debt charges.

#### NO FRESH TAXATION

Though no fresh taxation is proposed, the Government expect that if the Bill before the Assembly to amend the Local Boards Act is passed in this session it would add Rs. 2,25,000 towards their revenue, by way of Government's share of the local fund cess for improvement and maintenance of the local board roads.

Sind has now completed almost six years as a separate province and nearly five years of autonomy. During this period, Sind has not merely been able to pay its way but has been able to build up a reassuring balance. It has met all its obligations and can continue to do so.

A word of caution is, however, sounded in the budget note. "The war situation is liable at any moment to give rise to expenditure on a very considerable scale on measures of defence which brook no postponement. There is also the ever present fear of inflation which has already begun to lift its ugly head. It should also be remembered that the province was separated when India as a whole was beginning to recover from a deep depression and the past six years cover an upward curve of the trade cycle. The future years may not reveal such satisfactory financial results as have been achieved in the last five or six years. Nevertheless there is reason to suppose that the province will be able to keep an even keel and ride successfully the inevitable ups and downs of the financial sea."

## Government of Bombay

### Financial Statement for 1942-43

A provision of Rs. 50 lakhs for any intensified A.R.P. measures that may become necessary and of a further amount of Rs. 20 lakhs for other expenditure indirectly arising from the war is made in the Bombay Government Budget estimates for 1942-43. The estimates provide for a revenue surplus of Rs. 98,000, the revenue receipts being Rs. 1,518,16 lakhs and expenditure being Rs. 1,517,18 lakhs.

It has been decided that all existing forms of provincial taxation should continue during the Budget year.

In regard to the Urban Immovable Property Tax, the rates of which were reduced at the commencement of the current year from 10 to 8 per cent and from 5 to 4 per cent, account has been taken of a further slight reduction in rates, viz., from 8 to  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent and from 4 to  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent, with effect from April 1, 1942. The reduction corresponds to an increase of Rs. 4 lakhs in the extra revenue anticipated to accrue to the Government on account of the relaxation of Prohibition measures. This extra revenue was placed at Rs. 24 lakhs for 1941-42 and is expected to be Rs. 28 lakhs for 1942-43. In pursuance of the stated policy of the Govern-

ment the benefit of the extra revenue so accruing is to be passed on this body of taxpayers.

#### GOVERNOR EXPLAINS BUDGET DETAILS

His Excellency *Sir Roger Lumley*, Governor of Bombay explained the Budget proposals to a press conference in the Secretariat on the 27th. March 1942. His Excellency said that the year 1941-42 had from the financial point a view been very satisfactory. The revised estimates of Revenue and Expenditure based on the results of eight months showed a surplus of Rs. 137.79 lakhs as against a surplus of Rs. 65,000 anticipated at the time of the Budget. The most important sources of increased revenue were Income-tax, Provincial Excise, Land Revenue, Stamps and Forests. On account of increase in the total amount of income-tax to be distributed by the Central Government to the Provinces, Bombay's share of income-tax receipts was Rs. 56.20 lakhs more than was anticipated at the time of the Budget.

Provincial excise had given Rs. 42.03 lakhs more, due largely to increased consumption both of country and foreign liquor. His Excellency explained that of this amount only Rs 4 lakhs could be attributed to the changes made in the Prohibition policy during the year 1940-41. Land revenue collections showed an increase of Rs. 28.93 lakhs over the Budget figure. The war did not seem to have affected the volume of business transactions as much as was anticipated, and there was an addition of Rs. 20.90 lakhs under Stamps. The sale of trees uprooted by a cyclone and supplies of timber to the army and railway had caused an increase of Rs. 21.27 lakhs in the receipts under 'Forests.'

Provision is made in the new Budget for transfer of Rs. 100 lakhs to the Special Development Fund, Rs. 94,000 for the establishment of a pre-cadet school at Poona for giving preliminary training to candidates for emergency commissions, who are not up to the standard required for the army, Rs. 12 lakhs estimated increase for the grant of a dearness allowance to Government servants drawing below Rs. 50 a month in Bombay and Rs. 35 a month in the mofussil, and an increase of Rs. 19 lakhs towards social services. In this Budget provision has also been made for setting apart Rs. 22½ lakhs to form the nucleus of a Post-War Reconstruction Fund.

His Excellency added it was not proposed to borrow and a reserve had been kept in hand of Rs. 161 lakhs in cash and Rs. 75 lakhs in securities. Other allocations made in the Budget include Rs. 208 lakhs for education, which includes Rs. 85,000 as additional grants to local authorities for compulsory education; Rs. 46,000 as direct grants to primary schools under the mass literacy scheme; Rs. 55½ lakhs for Medical Relief; Rs. 56 lakhs towards Public Health, which includes Rs. 15 lakhs for village water supply; Rs. 114.25 lakhs as grant for roads next year, including repairs to original works, and Rs. 10.5 lakhs grant for the Industries Department. It is proposed to spend Rs. 14 lakhs towards minor irrigation works.

#### AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

His Excellency said that the sum of Rs. 50 lakhs allotted to A.R.P. work in the Budget includes Rs. 3 lakhs to deal with casualties in case of raids, Rs. 6½ lakhs for the purchase of trainer pumps and tenders to deal with fires, an appreciable amount for the construction of 48 static tanks in the City and for the reopening of most of the 1,600 wells and sinking of tube-wells, Rs 13 lakhs for the purchase of materials for A.R.P., including ten million sand bags, and Rs. 8 lakhs for protecting municipal water mains and sewage installations.

Public Health schemes which the Government have undertaken for the current financial year include a scheme for serum manufacture at the Haffkine Institute, the appointment of a staff for dealing with epidemics, malarial survey and the establishment of a permanent malarial organisation.

## Government of Behar

### Financial Statement for 1942—43

An apparent surplus of Rs. 62,83,000 is envisaged in the Budget Estimates of the Bihar Government for the year 1942-43 published from Patna on the 24th. March 1942. The total estimated revenue for 1942-43 is Rs. 6,43,25,000 against an expenditure of Rs. 5,80,42,000.

The estimated revenue for 1942-43 is Rs. 6,43,25,000 as against Rs. 6,50,99,000 for 1941-42. There is a drop of Rs. 12 lakhs under industries mainly due to a decrease of Rs. 9½ lakhs in receipts from cess on sugar cane and of Rs. 3½ lakhs in the provincial share of the jute export duty. Forests have gone down by Rs. 1½ lakhs and Police by 1½ lakhs. Bihar's share of the income-tax revenue is, however, expected to be Rs. 13 lakhs better than the revised figure of 1941-42.

A large part of the surplus is due to the very appreciable increase in the share of income-tax receipts and this, in turn, has mostly resulted from war conditions.

On the debit side, very heavy expenditure is anticipated on civil defence measures including expenditure on air raid precautions.

According to the revised estimates for 1940-41 there was to have been a surplus on revenue account to the extent of Rs. 6,48,000. Actually there has been a revenue surplus of Rs. 3,02,400 due to a slight improvement of revenue (1½ lakhs) under different heads and to a decrease in expenditure of Rs. 22 lakhs.

The year 1941-42 will close with a total balance of Rs. 3,40,50,000 including Rs. 2,00,00,000 in the cash balance investment account of which Rs. 1,31,40,000 is ordinary balance and Rs. 1,59,10,000 other balance for specified purposes or in deposit accounts. There is an estimated increase of Rs. 46,46,000 in the former and of Rs. 43,98,000 in the latter.

## Government of The Central Provinces

### Financial Statement for 1942-43

The budget of the C. P. and Berar Government for 1942-43 published from Nagpur on the 24th. March 1942 discloses a surplus of Rs. 3,24 lakhs. The revenue is estimated at Rs. 526.62 lakhs and expenditure on Revenue Account at Rs. 523.38 lakhs.

The accounts for the year 1940-41 closed with a Revenue surplus of Rs. 29.93 lakhs. The revised estimates for 1941-42 show a revenue surplus of Rs. 4.52 lakhs, an improvement of Rs. 2.54 lakhs over the Budget estimates.

In the Budget for 1942-43, a lump provision is made for the present of four lakhs for air raid precautions and for providing hospital accommodation to air raid casualties. There has been a considerable improvement in the Ways and Means position.

The year 1942-43 is expected to commence with an opening balance of Rs. 89.03 lakhs and to close with a balance of Rs. 108.55 lakhs.

## Government of The United Provinces

### Financial Statement for 1942-43

The United Provinces' fourth budget since the outbreak of the war estimates a surplus of over four lakhs. The Budget was published from Lucknow on the 19th. March 1942.

The budget has an opening balance of Rs. 1,26,01,000. The revenue receipts total Rs. 17,12,32,000 and charges amount to Rs. 17,08,30,000 leaving a surplus of Rs. 4.02 lakhs.

The year 1940-41 finished more favourably than was anticipated and at the close there was a balance of Rs. 2.49 lakhs or Rs. 1.19 lakhs better than the budget estimates. In 1941-42 when the Government first considered the revised estimates of receipts and expenditure, a revenue surplus of Rs. 92 lakhs was anticipated, nearly half of which was a direct result of the war. The Government then thought it prudent to set aside the major portion of the anticipated surplus in such a way that it might be available in future for emergency purposes. With this end in view

they created a Revenue Reserved Fund, the primary object of which would be to finance expenditure on Civil Defence.

Revenue receipts for 1942-43 have been taken at Rs. 17.13 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 63 lakhs on the revised estimates of the current year. There will be no fresh taxation. Capital expenditure is being restricted as much as possible and has been taken at Rs. 33 lakhs. The result of all transaction will be an improvement of Rs. 89 lakhs, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 215 lakhs. In the current and coming years this province will receive Rs. 1.07 lakhs more as its share from Income-tax. The first charge on this unexpected windfall will be the expenditure on Civil Defence and other purposes connected with the war. The Governor has decided that sixty lakhs from the surplus of the current year and another forty lakhs should be placed in the Revenue Reserve Fund on this account, and it is hoped that the Government will be able to meet all expenditure on civil defence in the present and coming years, which is at present estimated at Rs. 75 lakhs but may be considerably more, without having recourse to any contribution from the Government of India.

Estimate for receipts from forests for the coming year is Rs. 90 lakhs and the large increase is due to the orders for timber from the Supply and Defence Departments.

#### INCREASE IN POLICE FORCE

Of the provincial departments, the one most affected by the war was the Police Department the expenditure on which rose from Rs. 175 lakhs in 1939-40 to Rs. 181 lakhs in 1940-41. The budget estimate for the current year is Rs. 189 lakhs and the estimate for the coming year is Rs. 211 lakhs. The most important recent development was the formation of special armed constabulary, which alone accounted for twelve lakhs of rupees, besides the money spent on the expansion of the regular police force. Expenditure on jail was unusually heavy owing to the abnormal number of prisoners and the high prices of grain.

The Government proposes to spend Rs. 71 lakhs during the coming year over maintenance and repair of communications. The Department of Industries will have at its disposal during the coming year a sum of Rs. 94 lakhs, which is fourteen lakhs more than the current year's estimates. The explanation is the large orders for blankets, locks and camouflage nets and other smaller orders received from the Government of India. The activities of the Department are to be further expanded with the object of developing small scale industries to meet war demands.

Total liabilities at the end of the current year are estimated at Rs. 37.08 lakhs and at the end of the budget year at Rs. 37.46 lakhs. The increase is entirely due to the expectation of a large issue of bonds under the Encumbered Estates Act. The ways and means position has been exceptionally easy throughout the current year and is likely to remain so next year. The U. P. Government now hold about one and a half crores worth of defence loans.

## Government of Madras

### Financial Statement for 1942—43

The Madras Presidency's Budget for 1942-43, published from Madras on the 16th. March 1942 estimates the revenue at Rs. 18,97.87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 18,94.28 lakhs, leaving a small surplus of Rs. 3.59 lakhs.

Explaining the reasons why no reduction in taxation is proposed, the Government state :

"The Government have considered very carefully whether the favourable revenue situation in which they find themselves justifies any reduction of taxation or the suspension of any of the commercial taxes. They have come to the conclusion that the course of events during the coming year is so uncertain that there is a possibility that revenues may be seriously affected, that expenditure on Air Raid Precautions or on relief of distress may far exceed what has been provided, and for this reason they have reluctantly come to the conclusion that any such proposal must be abandoned and that all resources must be conserved for employment in any emergency which may develop."

The budget estimates provide for the grant of usual land revenue concessions and for the continuance of all the existing taxes at their present rates. Owing

to the uncertainty of the political situation no provision has been made for a Ministry or for the pay or travelling allowances of the Members of the Legislature or for elections to the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Provision has, however, been made for the revision of electoral rolls and for the triennial elections to the Legislative Council.

An increase of Rs. 19.20 lakhs is anticipated in the Income-tax revenue, while the revenue from Provincial Excise is expected to fall by Rs. 29.08 lakhs. The Revenue from the Motor Vehicles and Petrol Taxes shows a decrease on account of petrol rationing. On the expenditure side, provision has been made for payment to local bodies of an additional toll compensation amounting to Rs. 22.57 lakhs for payment of an additional contribution of Rs. 9.75 lakhs to the Sinking Fund, for a block grant of Rs. 5.76 lakhs, inclusive of the half grant expected from the Government of India, for the relief of groundnut cultivators, and for an expenditure of Rs. 15.00 lakhs for the relief of distress among handloom weavers. A sum of Rs. 60.10 lakhs has been provided for expenditure on Civil Defence measures, while additions to the Police Force are also to be made to bring it up to the strength considered necessary to deal with any emergency.

Provision has been made for schemes of new expenditure involving a net liability of Rs. 41.24 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 22.23 lakhs recurring and an expenditure in 1942-1943 of Rs. 28.85 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 17.67 lakhs recurring.

Provision has been made for the multiplication of good cotton seeds and their distribution to ryots who grow cotton, for the creation of five new posts to touring Veterinary Assistant Surgeons and for the opening of four new veterinary dispensaries and also for the establishment of village shearing and grading centres in the tracts of the Province where woolly sheep are bred and for the opening of a buffalo-breeding station at Prattur in Guntur district. Nearly Rs. 10 lakhs have been provided for new educational schemes, which include grants to the Annamalai and Andhra Universities, provision for opening of a B.Sc. Course in "Home Science" in Queen Mary's College, Madras, grants for the opening of new schools, hostels and forms, teaching, building and equipment grants to local bodies for public libraries and for acquisition of play-grounds. A sum of Rs. 2.19 lakhs is provided for further extension of the facilities for education and the provision of midday meals for school children among the communities eligible for help by the labour Department, for the construction of more wells and for the acquisition of house-sites for them.

## Government of Orissa

### Financial Statement for 1942—43

A revenue surplus of Rs. 12,000 was revealed by the budget proposals of the Government of Orissa for the year 1942-43 which were placed in the Provincial Legislative Assembly at Cuttack on the 5th. March 1942 by the hon. *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister. The total revenue for the year is estimated at Rs. 1,97,07,000 while the total expenditure on revenue account amounts to Rs. 1,96,95,000.

Outside the revenue account, the budget anticipates a receipt of Rs. 4,29.00 lakhs and expenditure of Rs. 3,91.81 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 37,19 lakhs. The combined effect of the revenue surplus of Rs. 12,000 and the surplus of Rs. 37.19 lakhs in the capital-debt-deposit section is that the opening balance of Rs. 12.2 lakhs at the beginning of the year will be raised to Rs. 49.59 lakhs at the end of the year which will be the closing balance of the year's budget.

On the revenue side, a drop of about Rs. 4.87 lakhs is expected under "land", mainly on account of arrear payment to local bodies in South Orissa for land and cesses collected on their behalf amounting to about Rs. four lakhs. Forest revenue is likely to fall by Rs. 0.91 lakhs, the primary reason being that extra sales of timber for supply to the War Board may not be on such a large scale as in the current year.

On the expenditure side, one of the noticeable features is the provision of



Rs. 3.36 lakhs for civil defence. Provisions under Education, Agriculture, industries and Medical have been increased by Rs. 0.49 lakh, Rs. 0.58 lakh, Rs. 0.54 lakh and Rs. 0.55 lakh respectively. Expenditure under "Police" is expected to be Rs. 0.58 lakhs more than in the current year.

After explaining the budgetary position of the province, the Minister referred to the various schemes which the Government proposed to give effect to for the improvement of education in the province. The schemes included opening of a pre-medical course of study in biology at the Ravenshaw College, introduction of vocational and industrial education in the middle English and middle schools managed by local bodies and conversion of the Board Higher Elementary Schools at Koranur into a Middle English School.

Pandit Misra said that the expenditure under "Education" had increased. But the problem still lay where it had lain when the province was created six years ago. "Little in the field of education can be done without solving the most important question of inaugurating a University of our own. There is a widespread feeling that a University should be started immediately. I am trying to expendite preliminaries and to come before the House within a few months' time, with a University Bill drafted on the lines suggested in the report of the University Committee and also with a supplementary demand for the necessary money."

Referring to public health, Pandit Misra informed the House that a provision had been made in the Budget for the appointment of Committee for establishing a link between the Public Health Department and the public. Pandit Misra also referred to the various schemes proposed to be undertaken by the Government during the ensuing year for the improvement of agriculture and industries in the Province.

#### CIVIL DEFENCE

Dealing with civil defence measures, Pandit Misra said that theirs was now a full-fledged province which must be able to carry on its civil defence as worthily as possible. So far as military defence was concerned, necessary preparations were being made. "The Government are conscious of their responsibility at the present crisis. Therefore, necessary funds are being provided even at the sacrifice of nation-building developments; because nation saving is more important than nation building. I assure the honourable members that everything possible within our means will be done to ward off danger."

Concluding, Pandit Misra observed: "We have long and probably too long relied on external protection. That has unfortunately proved now to be the weakest spot in our national character, a fact which is being realised by our rulers in Britain. However, we must prove that in spite of our want of equipment, the defence of our province is our first concern."

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# The Council of State

## LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—THE HON. SIR MANECKJI  
BYRAMJI DADABHOY

Nominated—including the President—(26)

(a) Officials—(12)

H. E. GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD  
PERCIVAL WAVELL  
THE HON. MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON  
" MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO  
" GENERAL SIR ALAN FLEMING  
HARTLEY

THE HON. SIR ALAN LLOYD  
" MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH  
" " A. DEC. WILLIAMS  
" " C. E. JONES  
" " G. C. BOZMAN  
" " JOHN D. TYSON  
" " C. M. TRIVEDI  
" " SHAVAX A. LAL

(b) Non-Officials—(14)

THE HON. SIR DAVID DEVADOSS  
" DIWAN BAHADUR SIR K.  
RAMUNNI MENON  
" SIR A. P. PATTRO  
" " RAHIMTOOLA CHINYO  
" " JOSNA GHOSAL  
" RAI BAHADUR SATYENDRA  
KUMAR DAS  
THE HON. RAI BAHADUR SIR SATYA  
CHARAN MUKHERJEE  
THE HON. SIR MOHAMMAD YAKUB  
" SIRDAR NIHAL SINGH  
" RAJA CHARANJIT SINGH  
" MR. KHURSHID ALI KHAN  
" SIR MANECKJI BYRAMJI DADABHOY  
" LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR S.  
HISSAM-UD-DIN BAHADUR  
THE HON. SARDAR BDR. SOBHA SINGH

Elected—Non-Officials—(32)

THE HON. RAO BDR. K. GOVINDACHARI

THE HON. MR. M. CT. M. CHIDAMBARAM  
CHETTYAR

THE HON. MR. NARANDAS GIRDHARDAS  
" " V. RAMADAS PANTULU  
" SAIYAD MOHAMED PADSHAH  
SAHIB BAHADUR

THE HON. MR. GOVINDLAL S. MOTILAL  
THE HON. SIR. SHANTIDAS ASKURAN  
" MR. MANOCKJI N. DALAL  
THE HON. SIRDAR SAHEB SIR SULEMAN  
CASSUM HAJI MITHA  
THE HON. KHAN BAHADUR ALLI BUKSH  
MOHAMED HUSSAIN

THE HON. MR. R. H. PARKER  
" " KUMARSANKAR RAY  
CHAUDHURY  
THE HON. KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN  
SINHA OF NASHIPUR  
THE HON. MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY  
CHOWDHURY

THE HON. KHAN BAHADUR SYED IHTISHAM  
HYDER CHAUDHURY

THE HON. MR. ABDUL RAZAK HAJEE  
ABDUL SUTTAR

THE HON. MR. R. R. HADDOW  
" RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH  
" PANDIT HIRDAY N. KUNZEU  
THE HON. PANDIT PRAKASH N. SAPRU  
THE HON. HAJI SYED MOHAMED HUSAIN  
" CHAUDHRI NIAMATULLAH  
" RAI BAHADUR LALA  
RAMSARAN DAS

THE HON. SARDAR BUTA SINGH  
" CHOUDHRI ATAULLAH KHAN  
THE HON. MAHARAJADHIRAJA SIR  
KAMESHWAR SINGH  
THE HON. RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN  
MAHTHA

THE HON. MR. NIKUNJA KISHORE DAS

" " HOSSAIN IMAM  
" " V. V. KALIKAR  
" " BRIJLAL NANDLAL BIYANI  
" MAULAVI ALI ASGAR KHAN

# The Central Legislative Assembly

## LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—THE HON. SIR ABDUR RAHIM

Elected—Non-Officials—(102)

(1) Madras—16

S. SATYAMURTI, Esq.  
K. S. GUPTA, Esq.  
ADDEPALLY SATYANARAYANA MOORTHY,  
Esq.

PROF. N. G. RANGA  
M. ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR, Esq.  
T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR, Esq.  
K. SITARAMA REDDIAR, Esq.  
K. SANTHANAM, Esq.  
SHRIMATI K. RADHA BAI SUBBARAYAN  
SRI K. B. JINARAJA HEGDE  
UMAR ALY SHAH, Esq.

MAULVI SYED MURTUZA SAHIB BAHADUR  
H. A. SATHAR H. ESSAK SAIT, ESQ.  
SIR F. E. JAMES  
RAJA T. MANAVEDAN  
M. R. RY. SAMI VENCATACHELAM

CHETTY GARU

(2) Bombay—16

DR. G. V. DESHMUKH  
SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR, BART.  
DIWAN LALCHAND NAVALRAI  
BHULABHAI JIVANJI DESAI, ESQ.  
HOOSAINBOY A. LALLJEE, ESQ.  
JAMNADAS M. MEHTA, ESQ.  
RAJMAL LAKHICHAND, ESQ.  
S. K. HOSMANI ESQ.  
MAHOMED ALI JINNAH, ESQ.  
NABI BAKSH ILLAHI BAKHSH BHUTTO,  
Esq.

SETH HAJI SIR ABDULLA HAROON  
H. G. STOKES, ESQ.  
E. L. C. GWILT, ESQ.  
MANU SCBEDAR, ESQ.  
KHAN BAHADUR MIAN GHULAM KADIR  
MD. SHAHEAN  
SIR VITHAL N. CHANDAVARKAR

(3) Bengal—17

N. C. CRUNDER, ESQ.  
DR. P. N. BANERJEE  
BABU AMARENDRA NATH  
CHATTOPADHYAYA  
PANDIT LAKSHMI KANTA MAITRA  
K. C. NEOGY, ESQ.  
AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, ESQ.  
SIR ABDUR RAHIM  
HAJEE CHOWDHURY MOHAMMUD ISMAIL  
KHAN  
SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUZZAVI  
CHOWDHURY SEKANDER ALI, ESQ.  
SHAIKH RAFIUDDIN AHMAD SIDDIQUEE  
DR. HABIBAR RAHMAN  
C. C. MILLER, ESQ.  
C. P. LAWSON, ESQ.  
T. CHAPMAN-MORTIMER, ESQ.  
SRIJUT DHIRENDRA KANTA LAHIRI  
CHAUDHURY  
BABU BAIJNATH BAJORIA

(4) United Provinces—16

PROF. CHANDRA BHAI JOHRI  
CHOUHURI RAGHBIR NARAIN SINGH  
PANDIT SRI KRISHNA DUTTA PALIWAL  
BADRI DATT PANDE, ESQ.  
SRI PRAKASA, ESQ.  
KHEDAK LAL, ESQ.  
SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA  
RAJA JAGADAMBIKA PRATAP NARAIN  
SINGH  
SIR SYED RAZA ALI  
QAZI MOHAMMAD AHMAD KAZMI  
SIR MUHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN  
NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD LIAQUAT ALI  
KHAN  
DR. SIR ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

MOHAMED AZHAR ALI, ESQ.  
J. RAMSAY SCOTT, ESQ.  
RAJA BAHADUR KUSHAL PAL SINGH

(5) Punjab—12

LALA SHAM LAL  
RAIZADA HANS RAJ  
BHAI PARMA NAND  
SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG  
MAULANA ZAFAR ALI KHAN  
H. M. ABDULLAH, ESQ.  
NAWAB SAHIBZADA SAYAD SIR  
MOHAMMAD MEHR SHAH  
KHAN BAHADUR SHAIKH FAZL-I-HAQ  
PIRACHA  
KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB MAKHDUM  
MURID HOSSAIN QURESHI  
SARDAR MANGAL SINGH  
SARDAR SANT SINGH  
M. GHIASUDDIN, ESQ.

(6) Bihar and Orissa—12

SATYA NARAYAN SINHA, ESQ.  
BABU HARI SHARAN PRASAD SRIVASTAVA  
B. DAS, ESQ.  
PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS  
RAMAYAN PRASAD, ESQ.  
GAURI SHANKAR SINGH, ESQ.  
KAILASH BIHARI LALL, ESQ.  
BABU RAM NARAYAN SINGH  
MUHAMMAD NAUMAN, ESQ.  
MUHAMMAD AHSAN, ESQ.  
MAULVI MOHAMMAD ABDUL GHANI  
MAHARAJA BAHADUR RAM RAN VIJAI  
PRASAD SINGH

(7) Central Provinces and Berar—6

GOVIND VINAYEKRAO DESHMUKH, ESQ.  
SETH GOVIND DAS  
PANDIT SHAMRHUDAYAL MISRA  
NAWAB SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN  
SETH SHEODASS DAGA  
WAMAN GOPAL JOSHI, ESQ.

(8) Assam—4

KULADHAR CHALIHA, ESQ.  
SREEJUKTA ANANGA MOHAN DAM  
ABDUR RAHMEED CHOUDHURY, ESQ.  
P. J. GRIFFITHS, ESQ.

(9) Delhi—1

M. ASAF ALI, ESQ.

(10) Ajmer-Merwara—1

RAI BAHADUR SETH BHAGCHAND SONI

(11) North-West Frontier Province—1.

ABDUL QAIYUM, ESQ.

NOMINATED—(39)

(a) Officials—(20)

THE HONOURABLE SIR REGINALD  
MAXWELL  
THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW  
THE HONOURABLE SIR JEREMY RAISMAN

THE HONOURABLE DEWAN BAHADUR  
SIR ARCOT RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR  
THE HONOURABLE SIR H. P. MODY  
THE HONOURABLE SIR SULTAN AHMED  
THE HON. MR. N. R. SARKER  
THE HON. MR. M. S. ANEY  
T. S. SANKARA AIYAR, ESQ.  
SIR GEORGE SPENCE  
O. K. CAROE, ESQ.  
V. T. DEHEJIA, ESQ.  
SIR GURUNATH BEWOOR  
T. S. PILLAY, ESQ.  
MOHAMMAD IKRAMULLAH, ESQ.  
H. C. PRIOR, ESQ.  
J. D. TYSON, ESQ.  
A. V. PAI, ESQ.  
R. A. GOPALASWAMI, ESQ.

(b) Non-Officials (19)

SARDAR BAHADUR SARDAR SIR JAWAHAR  
SINGH  
N. M. JOSHI, ESQ.  
DR. R. D. DALAL  
DR. FRANCIS XAVIER DESOUSA

MAJOR NAWAB SIR AHMAD NAWAZ KHAN  
KHAN BAHADUR SIR ABDUL HAMID  
RAO SAHIB N. SIVA RAJ  
"SHAMS-UL-'ULEMA" KAMALUDDIN AHMAD  
LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR HENRY GIDNEY  
DR. RAJAH SIR ANNAMALAI CHETTIAR  
MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM SAHIB BAHADUR  
NAOROJI M. DUMASIA, ESQ.  
SETH SUNDER LALL DAGA  
KUNWAR HAJEE ISMAIEL ALIKHAN  
HON'Y. CAPTAIN SARDAR BAHADUR  
DALPAT SINGH  
SAIYID HAIDAR IMAM, ESQ.  
MAJOR THAKUR SINGH  
SIR HENRY RICHARDSON  
*Deputy President*—AKHIL CH. DATTA  
*Secretary*—MIAN MUHAMMAD RAFI  
*Deputy Secretary*—M. N. KAUL, ESQ.  
*Assistant Secretary*—KHAN BAHADUR  
S. G. HASNAIN  
*Marshal*—CAPTAIN HAJI SARDAR NUR  
AHMAD KHAN

# The Council of State

Budget Session—New Delhi—18th. February to 2nd. April 1942

## C-IN-C.'S TRIBUTE TO INDIAN ARMY

The Council of State held the first meeting of the Budget Session at New Delhi on the 18th. February 1942. The *President* welcomed the Commander-in-Chief who took his seat to-day and added he had no doubt that he would follow in the footsteps of his two immediate predecessors. The following is the statement of His Excellency General Sir *Alan Hartley*, the Commander-in-Chief:

"Sir, as one who has served in the Indian Army for nearly forty years, and whose proud privilege it is to conclude that service as Commander-in-Chief, it is, as hon'ble members must appreciate, a source of great pride and satisfaction to have seen that the army acquit itself with outstanding distinction in this greatest war of all time. Unlike my two distinguished predecessors, I have not, so far, had the opportunity of seeing or commanding formations of British and Indian troops from this country in the actual fields of operation against the Axis. But, many of the units whose skill and determination were, in a large part, responsible for some of the most outstanding victories achieved by the British Commonwealth in the Middle East, previously served with me on our North-West Frontier. I know them, and I know the stuff of which they are made, and I never doubted that their performance would fail to equal that of any of their comrades in the field.

"Events have moved fast and far since my predecessor, General Wavell, in last November, gave an account, to this house, of the achievements of Indian troops in the various theatres of war. A few days after he spoke to you last November, General Auchinleck struck at the German and Italian armoured strength arrayed on the borders of Cyrenaica. It was the first offensive in the shape of an armoured and aerial blitz, which the Commonwealth has been in a position to launch since the war began. Scarcely three weeks later Japan, while talking peace, dealt those heavy and treacherous blows which spread the flames of war to the Far East. On both the fronts, which as you know we have always alluded to as the bastions of India's defence, and which, as long as they are securely held, prevent active warfare reaching the shores of India, Indian and British formations from this country were immediately involved.

But while to the West, our troops repeated the triumphs of Sidi Barrani, East Africa, Syria, Iraq and Iran, those in the East were exposed to the concentrated might of a great and long prepared military and naval Power.

#### INDIAN TROOPS' HEROISM IN MALAYA

"The self-sacrifice and the heroism of those from India who fought step by step as they withdrew, in the face of overwhelming odds, on the Malayan Peninsula, merit no less recognition than the great part played by the 4th Indian Division in North Africa.

The hon'ble members will not expect me to describe in detail the actions in which the 4th Indian Division so distinguished itself in the battle with General Rommel. Suffice it to say that the Division never failed to achieve the successive objectives for which it was made responsible. The reduction of Sidi Omar and Libyan Omar, the battle of Bir el Gubi, and the final full-dress action in the vicinity of Gazala represented the four main stages, from the Division's point of view, of the giant operation, which broke the hold which the Axis then had in Cyrenaica.

"It is fitting too, I conceive, that due recognition should be given on the floor of this House to the magnificent fighting spirit and achievements in this particular operation of the British Battalions and British Gunners with the 4th Indian Division. The Royal Sussex Regiment at Sidi Omar, the Camerons at El Gubi, and the stand of the Buffs at Gazala, were outstanding contributors to the success and to the high tradition of the 4th Indian Division. Nor must we forget the artillery. In many respects, the battle in Cyrenaica turned out to be a gunners' battle, and to them goes no small share of the credit for the destruction of a high proportion of the German and Italian armoured formations.

"As hon'ble members must have seen in the newspapers, the 4th Indian Division was actively engaged in maintaining contact with the enemy on the Egyptian border throughout the pause between June of last year and the middle of November. There were a series of small actions arising from patrols seeking to find out as much as possible about the enemy's dispositions. When our assault in November began, the 4th Indian Division first deprived the German raiding column of a tank-proof sanctuary provided by the fortified positions round Sidi Omar. Following further successes, at Libyan Omar, the division drove on as the leaders of the infantry advanced behind the British Armoured forces, and finally became involved in the pursuit of the defeated Axis armies from Gazala onwards. Taking the coastal route by Derna and Giovanni Berta, units of the division beat down in quick succession every delaying position the enemy tried to hold and lost little time in reaching Cirene, Barce and Benghazi.

#### SYRIAN OPERATIONS

"Formations from the Fourth Indian Division, particularly the Fifth Indian Infantry Brigade, which was involved in the Syrian operations have been almost continuously in the action since late in 1940. And never once have their exemplary discipline and fighting spirit flagged.

"Reference must also be made here to certain units of the Fifth Indian Division which accomplished a striking thrust, from Siwa, in the south of the Egyptian desert and captured the Italian garrison of the useful but lonely oasis of Jalo far in the interior of Cyrenaica. That little operation was carried out with a dash and determination which achieved a well deserved and conspicuously inexpensive success.

"By this time General Rommel had withdrawn south of Jedabya where a combination of terrible weather and communications which were stretched to many hundreds of miles prevented General Auchinleck from following him up in force. The hon. members will recall that, at the beginning of our Western Desert Offensive in November last, rain in Cyrenaica seriously handicapped the German Air arms giving support to their ground forces. Unprecedented storms and rain swept over Cyrenaica in January where this time it was our forces who had to suffer all the impediment of bogged communications, and unserviceable aerodromes. As a result, General Rommel was able to reform his battered units and with the help of reinforcements, which had got through at some cost across the Mediterranean, to launch a counter-offensive against the forward units of the Eighth Army. This counter-offensive began in early January. The Fourth Division for which there had been some prospect of well-earned rest and respite at Benghazi, naturally became again immediately involved and fighting took place.

"The Seventh Indian Infantry Brigade was south of Benghazi and was cut off

by columns of German tanks which cut the road north of the town. Efforts by the remainder of the Fourth Indian Division to break through to the rescue of the beleaguered party were unavailing and it appeared that the whole of the Seventh Brigade and also a part of the Fifth Brigade would be lost. For two days there was silence, and the worst was feared. Then the Seventh Brigade suddenly appeared back in our lines west of Tobruk. It is one of the most thrilling stories of the war. The brigade was led out of the trap, not to the north and east as the Germans expected, but to the south-west. Right through the German lines they went, and, then turning east, made their way back. On the way they frequently passed enemy columns; but by a combination of bluff and boldness managed to deceive the Germans and so got through safely. Full details are not yet available, but it is believed that most of this personnel of the Brigade have escaped, although they lost a certain amount of vehicles and equipment.

"In the meantime, the remainder of the Fourth Indian Division was carrying out a fighting retreat to the north of the hills. Closely followed by the enemy, who constantly attempted to encircle them or break through the rear guards, the Fifth and Eleventh Indian Infantry Brigades safely rejoined the main body of the Eighth Army near Gazala. This retreat was excellently carried out. I can now say that the military education of this great division is complete; for now they have had their first experience of what a retreat means.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE 4TH. INDIAN DIVISION

"I should like to tell the hon. Members what a highly placed British service officer on a visit from the Middle East to Delhi said to me the other day about the Fourth Indian Division. He said that it was the finest fighting formation at present in the Empire. It is pleasant to hear that from a completely unprejudiced observer. And in a message received from the Middle East a week ago, I was delighted to read that, in spite of their present setbacks, the morale of this famous Division is just as high as ever.

"I must now turn to the grim picture on our Eastern flank. Here our Indian soldiers have been engaged in a number of retreats and desperate defence, and I fear our losses have been heavy. The first serious reverse, in which Indian troops shared with British and Canadians a heavy sacrifice, was in Hong Kong. There the Fifth Battalion, the Fourteenth Punjab Regiment, the Hong Kong-Singapore Royal Artillery and medical personnel, were involved in the capitulation after a short, but determined, struggle. They had to hold great frontages with little force—four miles to a battalion. They had been faced by odds of about four to one without any air support at all. A contributory cause of the surrender was the destruction of the water-supply. The garrison had done its best. It is an honourable defeat. A British Army officer who managed to escape has spoken enthusiastically of the great fight put up by our Indian soldiers.

"To turn to another theatre of war. In North Malaya, Gurkha and British Battalions, including Indian States Forces Battalions, met the initial Japanese onslaught. Without any declaration of war, the Japanese launched large forces, amounting to four divisions, from Southern Siam and drove bald-headed for Northern Malaya. Admirably equipped for the purpose and with large numbers which enabled them to hold strong bodies on the coast in the rear of our positions, their direct assault could not possibly be stemmed for any length of time with the forces at our disposal. As hon. members are well aware, the enemy had, in addition, superiority at sea and in the air. The fall of Singapore is a great though not crushing defeat. I have few details of the actual events in which our men took part, and how it is unlikely that we shall know the full story until later.

#### AT SINGAPORE AND BURMA

"You will have seen in the papers to-day the list of units present in Singapore. I must not give any further details; as to do so would merely give the Japanese information with which to check their captures. It is not likely that any whole units have escaped but small parties may have been able to get away. I cannot, however, hold out much hope. The loss of these brave men, as well as of their valuable equipment, is, of course, most serious. There is just one thing I should like to mention. Fantastic stories have been put about by the enemy of desertions by Indian troops. All I can say is this. Far from deserting in the heartbreaking conditions in which they found themselves, large bodies which were from time to time cut off by Japanese landings in the rear, or by infiltration, refused to surrender and forced their way back by jungle tracks after immense exertions. And this

happened, I would have you note, time and time again, when it would have been so easy to surrender and have done with it all."

In Burma also, as you know, the Indian troops have been fighting against a strong attack, and have been slowly pushed back. The stoutness of their defence has given time for some reinforcements to reach that country. In the north, Chinese troops have come into Burma and taken over a section of the front in the protection of their life line, the Burma Road. The unity and common interest of India and China is shown by the visit of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. Our troops and his are now fighting alongside each other.

"In spite of our present situation, there is no cause to lose heart. Admittedly our losses are grievous and the situation is serious, but in other wars, as well as in this, we have pulled through from even greater situations."

"But I must warn you. We must be prepared for more bad news before the tide turns. We must be prepared for attacks on our shipping on the seas ; and we must be prepared for attacks on this land of India from the air and by bombardment from the sea, and we may even have to face the possibility of a landing. One thing I feel quite certain, and that is that the enemy will lose no opportunity for spreading panic and undermining the morale of the people."

"We must face these threats in a spirit of calmness. To brave men danger is an incentive to additional effort. I am able to give you that military preparations to meet the new situation are well in hand. But we *must* have equipment to replace our losses ; and I urge all men in the factories, in the mills and in the workshops to work as they have never worked before. I will repeat the Prime Minister's famous message : 'Give us the tools and we will finish the job.' We, in this case, means the soldiers, sailors and airmen of India. And I say that on the workmen of India lies the responsibility for providing the sinews of war to keep the horrors of conflict away from our fields and from our cities."

After the Commander-in-Chief's statement, the House adjourned till the 23rd.

#### OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

23rd. FEBRUARY :—Within thirty minutes this morning, the Council passed, without discussion or amendment, seven bills recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. Four of them were sponsored by the Commerce Secretary, Sir *Alan Lloyd*. They were Bills to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and the Indus Vessels Act and a Bill to continue the provision made under an Ordinance for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means. The Bills to amend the Indian Medical Council Act and to provide for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with objects not confined to one province were sponsored by Mr. *Tyson*, Secretary, Education Department. Lastly, Sir *Feroz Khan Noon* had a Bill to amend the Indian Boilers Act.

#### AID TO BURMA EVACUEES

Earlier in the morning, on a motion to elect four non-official members to serve on the Standing Emigration Committee, Pandit *Hriday Nath Kunzru* referred to Indians in Burma and Malaya. He said that owing to war conditions in Burma, Indians were compelled to return to India and about 40,000 had already reached this country, mostly by sea. The sea route, however, had become unsafe on account of the Japanese submarine menace, and he urged that the Government should make every endeavour to develop land routes to Burma without the least possible delay. The Pandit next referred to reception arrangements for the evacuees in India and suggested that timely information should be given to the reception committees at the ports to cope with the rush. He also suggested that the staff of the Protector of Immigrants should be strengthened and greater latitude should be given to him in the matter of incurring expenditure. Lastly, the Pandit urged that the Government should take steps to afford facilities to evacuees, most of whom might be starting life afresh.

Messrs. *P. N. Sapru*, *Padshah* and *Hossain Imam* participated in the discussion.

Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, replying to the discussion, said that so far 65,000 Indians had left Burma, but exact figures of the evacuees from Malaya were still unobtainable. Mr. Bozman said that there were two land routes to Burma from India, both of which were freely used without any restrictions. The Government were also making arrangements to provide shelter, food and medical aid all along the route. As for shipping information, Mr. Bozman said that the difficulty was that none knew when a ship

would arrive. They could only know when a ship left a port. Mr. Bozman also assured the Council that all steps were being taken to strengthen the organisation of the Protector of Immigrants, and the problem of finding employment for the evacuees had not escaped the notice of the Government. He added that the Government of Burma were taking all possible steps to protect the lives and property of the Indians still in Burma.

Referring to the allegations of racial discrimination, Mr. Bozman said that the Council and the public would be wise to defer passing judgment till conditions settled down. The information which came out to India in regard to these allegations was generally tainted information. In conclusion, Mr. Bozman assured the House that the Government would do all in their power to ease the lot of Indian evacuees and make them feel that they were returning to their homes.

#### DISCUSSION ON RAILWAY BUDGET

**24th. FEBRUARY :—**The Council held the general discussion on the Railway Budget to-day. Sir A. P. Patro, who opened the debate, regretted that the Budget gave no relief to the people of India, who had decidedly contributed to the huge surplus. He asked what the Railway Board had done to increase amenities and facilities for the travelling public and to help the ryot in the transport of his raw produce direct to the Central market eliminating middlemen. Sir A. P. Patro considered that it was not possible for the small cultivator to indent a whole wagon and the proposed levy of two annas in the rupee on smaller consignments of foodstuffs and grain was bound to act as a great hardship on him. The speaker complained that no initiative had been taken for effective co-ordination of transport facilities and the railway authorities had not given up their attitude of systematic apathy towards indigenous industries.

Sir *Shantidas Askuran* hoped that the Communications Member would take immediate steps to consult non-official and business interests with a view to solving the increasingly difficult transport problem. He hoped that in the light of non-official criticism of the proposal to increase freight rates and fares, which was expected to yield only one crore of rupees, the Communications Member would give up the proposal.

Mr. *Dalal* deplored the Government's obstinacy in refusing to encourage locomotive production in India. He hoped that in future the Central Railway Advisory Council would be consulted before any railway lines were lifted.

Mr. *Hussein Imam* suggested that instead of increasing freights on smaller consignments of foodstuffs and grains and fares of passengers, the railway authorities should effect economies by doing away with saloons, and free-passes. He expressed the opinion that His Majesty's Government should bear a good proportion of the cost of the dismantled railway lines which were made over to them for war purposes.

Mr. *Kalika* characterised the Government's refusal to encourage Indian industries as a short-sighted policy intended to placate vested interests. He complained of acute shortage of wagons in the countryside, aggravating the hardships of the poor cultivator.

Pandit *Hridaynath Kunzru* charged the Government with under-estimating their revenues and wanted to know why the net cost of the dismantled lines had been debited to the Depreciation Account when the money had to be recovered from the British Government. Referring to the curtailment of services, Pandit Kunzru said that it would not be a wise policy to further dismantle the railway lines when the war was threatening to come to the shores of India. In this connection, he characterised the railway policy as "halting and shortsighted", in not preparing to meet emergencies in peace time, particularly in the matter of construction of locomotives and machine tools. He said : "Had the Government thought less of vested interests and more of the future of the country itself, India would have been in a position to make a much larger contribution to war effort. The Government's decision to take over the B. N. W. and R. K. Railways was due to the efforts of the members of the expanded Council and he urged that the Government should take advantage of the present situation and take over the remaining three company-managed railways forthwith. As for the Depreciation Fund, Pandit Kunzru urged the appointment of a committee of the Central Legislature to enquire both into the size of the Fund and the Separation Convention.

Mr. P. N. *Sapru* referred to the recent railway accident on the E. I. Railway and wanted the fullest details and a message of sympathy to be sent to the victims of the accident. Referring to the Budget Mr. Sapru criticised the curtailment of



transport facilities at a time when other means of transport had already been contracted to the lowest limit. He felt that it was entirely unjustifiable to enhance rates and fares when the means of transport in general had shrunk and prices had gone up. He regarded this an indirect taxation which he characterised as the worst form of taxation. In this connection, Mr. Sapru referred to the use of saloons and of free passes to railwaymen and said that the railways were reducing the facilities for transport for the public, but not for their own men. Mr. Sapru also enquired if the policy of dismantling railways was being followed by the Dominions and the Colonies.

Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member, replying to the debate, referred to Sir A. P. Patro's observation that the phenomenal surplus was not due to the careful management but due to the war. He was the last to claim, said the Railway Member, that the efficiency of the railways should be measured by a deficit or a surplus, although some members of the House applied that test when the dark days of depression were with us. Management, nevertheless, played a great part in the earning of revenue: surplus did represent additional work done by an immense army of men.

Replying to criticisms made by Mr. R. H. Parker and others as regards the Depreciation Fund, the Railway Member declared that so far from the fund having too much in it, it had, on the whole, too little in it, and there was little ground for complacency until it stood at a higher figure than it did at present.

After explaining the changes proposed in the rates for food grains, he said that the increase proposal was intended not to raise half a crore, but to secure better use of wagons which, members would agree, was a laudable object.

In giving an increase in wages, railways were, in many cases, following private employers. It was true that an increase of purchasing power at a time when the supply of goods had not increased had its dangers, and it was well to be reminded of that fact. As regards the suggestion in favour of some form of deferred expenditure the railways were following it to some extent by extending the provident fund; but to give a benefit which was going to accrue after the war, meant that the man who had accustomed himself to a certain standard of living on his present wages had to tighten his belt. That was a hard thing to ask a man to do on a very low scale of pay. Speaking of the extensions given to officers, the Railway Member asked for the sympathy of the House in the acute paucity of experienced officers which railways were experiencing as a result of a large number of men going overseas. He explained that these officers, sent abroad, received their railway salary or the salary of their military rank, whichever was higher, and in most cases, the railway salary was found to be higher. In the ranks of General Managers, suitable officers did not flourish in large numbers, and the posts of General Managers were such that it was not desirable to have a rapid change of officers. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 26th.

#### TRANSFER OF DEFENCE TO AN INDIAN

26th. FEBRUARY :—Pt. H. N. Kunzru's resolution urging the transfer of the Defence portfolio to a non-official Indian, which was passed to-day by 11 votes to 5, official members remaining neutral, evoked a keen debate. The Pandit said that there was nothing new in his proposal, as the Federation Scheme envisaged that the Commander-in-Chief would cease to be a member of the Governor-General's Council. He maintained that it was entirely within the competence of the Secretary of State for India to effect the change asked for without an amendment of the Act. Pandit Kunzru felt that political and military considerations demanded that the Commander-in-Chief should be relieved of his political duties and left free to devote his whole time to pressing military duties. He averred that the present arrangement had not roused popular enthusiasm for war and maintained that the proposed change would go a long way to mobilise public support for war effort. He, therefore, appealed to Britain to act before the situation became still graver.

Sir Shantisdas Askuran supported the resolution from the conviction that the defence of India was the primary responsibility of Indians themselves and an Indian Defence Member would be in a better position to strengthen the people's morale and inspire them with confidence necessary to face the future with courage and fortitude.

Sir A. P. Patro thought that Indians should be increasingly associated with the defence of the country and therefore considered that no patriotic Indian would differ from the general principle underlying the proposal contained in the

resolution. He declared that patchwork arrangements would not satisfy Indian aspirations, and advocated a radical change in the structure of Indian administration. In his opinion, there was no justification whatsoever for the Government withholding responsibility for the defence of the country from Indians.

Sir *Mohamed Yakub* said that the situation was so serious that they could not pass any judgment on an important point like the one under discussion without thoroughly going into it. He maintained that the time was past for preparing the country as desired by the mover of the resolution and the gravity of the situation demanded all-out action. He pointed out that the defence policy was not framed in India and asked what would be the position of an Indian Defence Member if there was a clash of interests between Britain and India and between the Indian Defence Member and the Commander-in-Chief. These were complicated questions not capable of yielding easy solutions at the present juncture.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* maintained that all except die-hards should accept the proposal. He deplored the wide cleavage between the Government and the people in the country and urged that the question should be approached not purely from the military point of view but from the psychological point of view also. He asked what particular experience of war strategy Sir *James Grigg* had to merit his elevation to the post of Secretary of State for War. Given equal opportunities and proper environment, Indians could do much better than Britishers.

Sir *Ramunni Menon* felt that the present was an inopportune time to make the change advocated in the resolution. They should not make drastic changes in the constitution during war. He also doubted whether the appointment of an Indian as Defence Member would bring about the necessary war enthusiasm in the country.

*Sardar Bahadur Sōbha Singh* supported the resolution on the ground that there were capable Indians to take charge of the portfolio.

*Messrs Padshah and Mohammed Hussain*, members of the Muslim League Party, opposed the resolution. They were not opposed to Indianisation of the Governor-General's Executive Council. On the contrary, they supported it, but they felt that no useful purpose would be served by appointing another Indian on the Council, unless he had the backing of the peoples of India.

*Messrs. Dalal, Kalikar and Nikunja Behari Das* supported the resolution, *Messrs. Dalal and Kalikar* emphasising the urgent necessity of making Indians responsible for the defence of India.

*Pandit Kunzru*, in his reply to the debate, asserted that even now, an Indian Defence Member would strengthen India's position, and that nothing short of complete Indianisation of the Central Executive would satisfy the demands of the country. He referred to the British attitude towards the defence of the Pacific and the consequent protest of Australia which was responsible for a partial meeting of the Australian demand. An Indian Defence member could make similar demands on behalf of India, which would be met more expeditiously than at present. The resolution was carried by 11 votes against 5, the Government remaining neutral.

#### COMPANIES ACT AMENDING BILL

The Council allowed Mr. *Parker* to introduce a Bill to amend the Companies Act. The Bill, *inter alia*, seeks to delete Section 54 of the Companies Act to bring the Indian law into line with the British Act. It also provides that an 'arrangement' under Section 153 included a re-organisation of share capital by consolidation or sub-division of shares.

The Council then adjourned till the 28th. February when the General Budget was presented and thereafter adjourned till March 5.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

5th. MARCH :—Opening the general discussion on the Budget to-day, Sir *A. P. Patro* welcomed the Government's decision to meet 35 crores of the deficit by resorting to loans instead of imposing still further taxation on an already overtaxed people. He considered the lowering of incomes liable for assessment as practically a compulsory national savings scheme, and he looked at the repatriation of Sterling loans as a real blessing as the drain on India's resources would be minimized.

*Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru* earnestly pleaded for the early establishment of a National Government at the Centre and said that the country did not grudge the vast sums of money which were being spent on the defence of India. He, however, inquired to what extent this expenditure was being utilized to build up the national morale.

Mr. R. H. Parker regretted the lack of co-ordination of control of expenditure to ensure the maximum benefit in connexion with A.R.P. and urged that the Provincial Governments should be asked to bear in mind that their surpluses should be spent on immediate requirements of an essential nature and that it would be beneficial to reserve what could be set aside for expenditure at a late date.

Mr. P. N. Saprú emphasized that the expenditure should be directed towards the production and organization of national resources. "We want a total war effort," he said. He laid special emphasis on the urgent need for efficient organization for internal security and wanted the creation of a "Home Security" Department forthwith.

Sir Shantidas Askuran said that the people would most willingly bear even larger financial burdens if they were convinced that the expenditure was most economically incurred for building up efficient defence services for the country and that the fruits of this expenditure would be available in the form of active defence of this country when necessary. Stating that whatever confidence the people had in the security of life and property had been rudely shaken by the events of the last few months. Sir Shantidas observed that such confidence could be inspired only if trusted leaders of the people were put in power. He appealed to the Government to put into operation war risks insurance for buildings and machinery. For strengthening the country's gold reserves he suggested that India's sterling resources might be converted to gold and kept in the United States. He thought that the Government's frequent sale of silver at low rates was ruinous both to Government finance and also to the poor man whose silver stocks depreciated in value.

Replying to the debate, Sir Jeremy Ruisman, Finance Member, said he was glad that the general tone of comment on the Budget had been restrained and members recognized the difficulties of the situation and realized that it was a problem for both the public as well as the Government. The Finance Member said he did not want to enter into arguments on the political issues raised by Mr. Saprú, but he felt it rather difficult to accept the argument that whereas a National Government might call for heavier sacrifices the present Government was not wise in imposing tax on incomes less than Rs. 1,200 per year. He maintained that in times of crisis every section of the people must share the sacrifices. Sir Jeremy entirely agreed with the suggestion that relief should be found in greater production of food-stuffs and clothes, and assured the House that the question was receiving the active consideration of the Government and the Member for Lands and Health was formulating active steps to stimulate more production of foodstuffs with a view to attaining regional self-importance to this problem and everything possible would be done in the matter in co-operation with the provincial Governments who were fully alive to the necessity of increasing food supplies.

#### HOME GUARD FOR INDIAN DEFENCE

6th. MARCH :—The Council to-day rejected, without a division, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's resolution asking for immediate steps to be taken to form a Home Guard for the defence of India. Pandit Kunzru, moving the resolution, drew the attention of the Council to the war situation in the Pacific and in Burma, and referred to the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief, indicating how and where Japan could attack India. Pandit Kunzru said : "The situation is very serious indeed ; and yet there is no reason why we should sit with folded arms. Our danger is a test of our manhood." The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Alan Hartley, explained that the home guards in England were under the War Office and were a military organization. In pre-war days, both in England and India, they had a Territorial Army, which had been incorporated in the Regular Forces after the outbreak of the war. In India to-day they were extremely short of equipment and instructors, and however they might wish, they could not spare them for any other purpose for the present. He said that the expanding Army of India should be regarded as home guards for this country.

#### SUPPLY OF HINDI & URDU WORKS TO LIBRARIES

The House, however, adopted Mr. P. N. Saprú's resolution which sought the modification of the law so as to secure that "a copy of every work printed in the country in Hindi is supplied to the library of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and of every printed work in Urdu to the Anjuman Taraqqi-Urdu" in the same way as it was done in Great Britain.

#### INDIAN COMPANIES ACT AMEND. BILL

The Council also passed Mr. R. H. Parker's Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and then adjourned till March 10.

## OFFICIAL MOTIONS PASSED

**10th. MARCH:**—The Council held a brief sitting in the course of which it agreed to five official motions seeking to elect non-official members to the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Standing Committee to advise on the subjects other than "Roads" dealt with in the Department of Communications, the Standing Committee to advise on subjects with which the Department of Supply is concerned and the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce as well as three members to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads which will be constituted to advise the Governor-General-in-Council in the administration of the Central Road Fund during the financial year 1942-43.

## OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

The Council also agreed to take into consideration and pass four Bills namely, the *Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code*, the *Bill further to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act 1925*, the *Bill to provide for the extension of the time limited by or under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, for doing of acts thereunder*, and the *Bill to extend the date upto which certain duties characterised as protective in the First Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, shall have effect as passed by the Legislative Assembly*.

## WHEAT STORAGE IN NORTH INDIA

When the last Bill was taken into consideration, Mr. *Hussein Imam* asked the Government what measures they were taking to ease the situation created by the acute shortage of wheat. He expressed the opinion that the whole difficulty was due to the Government exporting wheat out of the country for military purposes without ensuring adequate supply of the commodity for consumption by the internal civil population and also on account of the holding of large stock of wheat in the Punjab, a number of holders not agreeing to release their stocks in view of the maximum price fixed by the Government. He urged the Government to take all measures to have these difficulties removed.

*Sir Alan Lloyd* assured the House that the Government was fully conscious of the extremely difficult position in the various wheat-eating centres in Northern India in the last few weeks and was doing its best to keep the position in hand till the new crops move in a few weeks time, and see that there was a fair distribution of available wheat to the civil population. The Government was also making enquiries as to the extent it would be necessary to have substitute food grains, say, barley, secured. The Government was devoting unremitting attention to this problem and would continue to give its earnest attention with a view to seeing that all possible measures were taken to put an end to the very unfortunate state of affairs. As regards export of wheat for Army purposes *Sir Alan* said he was not in a position to give figures of army purchases exported but he informed the House that the exports were mainly for consumption by Indian soldiers abroad, and it was reasonable that Indian forces overseas must look to India for their food supplies. Replying to Mr. *Hussein Imam's* point that there was large holding of wheat in the Punjab, *Sir Alan* stated that in the nature of things, no sure knowledge of visible wheat was feasible as only the supply entered the visible quantity. He declared that it was the determination of the Government to ensure fair distribution and movement of next year's crop and if it was as good as the Government hoped, by judicious management the Government hoped to ensure the above object. The Council then adjourned till March 18.

## SUBSIDIES TO CIVIL FLYING CLUBS

**18th. MARCH:**—The Council transacted non-official business to-day. *Lala Ramsaran Das* moved a resolution recommending to the Government not to discontinue the subsidies to civil flying clubs in the country except in provinces where a proclamation of emergency was in force. *Lala Ramsaran Das* contended that the flying clubs were performing useful work by providing initial training for candidates selected by the Government for the air force and by making India air-minded, and submitted that the stoppage of the present small subsidies to these Clubs was false economy. Mr. *S. N. Roy*, Communications Secretary, said that if the air force felt that more concentrated training was required at a central organisation under the immediate control of the Defence Department with a view to obtaining more co-ordinated and quicker results, the Flying Clubs must give way. The subsidy to the clubs depended on the number of training aircraft they operated; and, as most of the training aircraft which the Government had provided

these Clubs with had been withdrawn from them, the subsidy scheme had to be given up, at least during the war period. If, however, after satisfying air force requirements the Government considered it possible to enable some Clubs to discharge their present functions, the Government would be glad to continue to help them. *Lala Ramsaran Das* withdrew the resolution in view of the Government's assurance.

#### CIVIL DEFENCE

The Council next adopted Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* resolution recommending to the Government to constitute a Standing Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature for advising the Department of Civil Defence, after Dr. *E. Raghavendra Rao* had assured the House that the Government would welcome non-official co-operation in all civil defence measures, and that it proposed to constitute a Standing Committee to advise the Civil Defence Department.

#### INDIA & EASTERN GROUP COUNCIL

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* moved a resolution recommending to the Government that, immediate steps be taken to require the representation of the Government of India on the Eastern Group Supply Council to submit a detailed report of his activities on the Council with special reference to the establishment, expansion, or development of any new or existing industries in this country at an early date, and to place the same before the next session of the Central Legislature. Mr. Dalal asked what assurance this country had that, when there were alternative sources of supply within the Eastern Group countries, India would get a square deal; nor was India assured in any way that, when it was a question of new industries being established or existing ones being expanded, India's claim would not be ignored. Mr. *A. de C. Williams* replied that the Eastern Group Council could not be regarded as an appendage to the Government of India. The expenditure for the maintenance of the Council was borne by His Majesty's Government, who also paid half the cost of the general administration of the Council, the other half being borne by the member-countries. The cost of the expert-advising staff was entirely borne by the United Kingdom. The Government of India was, therefore, not in a position to direct the Council's activities. Mr. *A. de C. Williams* further pointed out how there had been an enormous increase in industrial production in the country since the Council started functioning. If Mr. Dalal was not satisfied with his reply he must approach the Supply Department and the Commerce Department of the Government of India. Mr. *Dalal* withdrew the resolution in view of the Government's sympathetic reply.

#### INDIANS IN ARTILLERY CORPS

*Pandit Kunzru* moved a resolution recommending to the Government that immediate steps be taken to provide that Indians were freely appointed as officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, the Indian Artillery and the Mechanised Cavalry. *Pandit Kunzru* said that the present proportion of Indian commissioned officers to British commissioned officers in the Indian Artillery, the Indian Corps of Engineers and the Mechanised Cavalry which was one to seven, two to seven and one to four, respectively, was highly unsatisfactory. He pleaded for a radical improvement in the position. *Pandit Kunzru* also referred to the absence of any information as to the exact proportion of Indian commissioned officers to British commissioned officers undergoing training in the Fighting Vehicles School at Ahmednagar. *Pandit Kunzru* dismissed the plea put forward on behalf of the Government that sufficient number of Indian cadets of the requisite standard was not forthcoming, as lacking conviction. He declared that if Indians were to consider this war as their own, all the galling restrictions on Indians in these services should be forthwith removed. *Lala Ramsaran Das* and Mr. *Sapru* supported the resolution. Mr. *Williams* reserved his reply for the next non-official day.

#### INDIAN EVACUEES FROM BURMA

The Council next discussed Mr. *Mohamed Hussein's* adjournment motion on the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma. Mr. Hussein invited the Government's attention to the reports he had received from reliable quarters of highhanded action on the part of Mr. *R. H. Hutchings* (Agent of the Government of India in Burma), who was alleged to have used force on some of the evacuees when they wanted to leave Rangoon by steamer. He asked Government why they had not made necessary preparations in time to evacuate as many Indians as possible from

Rangoon before the city was handed over to the military and it was exposed to looting and arson. Mr. G. S. Bozman said that he was pained to hear of the charge of highhandedness levelled at Mr. Hutchings by the mover of the motion. He demanded from Mr. Hussein a full statement of all evidence with regard to the incident so that he could go into them. After drawing the attention of the House to an account of his experiences at Akyab last Friday which he had related in the Assembly yesterday, Mr. Bozman said he was not at present in a position to say anything definitely as regards the report about the reservation of a land route for the European and Anglo-Indian communities, but he assured the House that the Government would do its utmost to remove all reservations, adding that wherever reservations were required for military purposes this would be done without distinction of race, caste or creed. Mr. Hussein withdrew the motion as he felt that its purpose had been secured. The Council then adjourned till March 20.

#### THE FINANCE BILL DEBATE

20th. to 24th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill as passed by the Assembly was placed on the table of the Council which met for the purpose on the 20th. The debate on the Bill commenced on Monday, the 23rd. March, when a general desire to cry a political truce during the negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps, was expressed. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, on behalf of the Progressive Party, announced that, although they had been opposing the Finance Bill in the past, as a gesture of goodwill to Sir Stafford Cripps they had decided to remain neutral on the Bill this session. Similar sentiments were expressed by several other members. Mr. V. V. Kakkar criticized the Army policy of the Government under which, he said, Britons, Australians and Anglo-Indians were given preference to Indians in the commissioned ranks. This policy, he said, was responsible for the paucity of suitable recruits for the emergency commission ranks of the Army. Pandit Kunzru protested against "the discriminatory treatment meted out to Indian evacuees from Burma, Malaya and Far Eastern countries." He urged that some members of the Standing Emigration Committee should be deputed to visit Assam, the Assam-Burma route and other port towns to see for themselves what arrangements had been made for the comfort of those evacuees. Pandit Kunzru reiterated his demand for revision of the Income-tax law as far as it related to undivided Hindu families. Referring to shortage of wheat and other grains, he wanted the Government to outline their policy of ensuring adequate supplies for internal consumption during the year. The Council adjourned till the next day, the 24th. March, when it passed, without amendment, the Finance Bill as also the *Bill to amend the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act* and the *Bill to amend the Indian Tools (Army) Act*.

During the second reading of the Finance Bill, questions relating to internal security and evacuees from Burma and other Far Eastern countries were prominently discussed. Non-official members belonging to the League and the progressive parties extended welcome to Sir Stafford Cripps and wished success to his mission. The Chair, associating with these sentiments, pulled up some members for indulging in communal recriminations. Mr. Das wanted an assurance from the Government that all necessary steps had been effectively taken to protect the lives and property of the people from internal disorders, if and when they broke out in the country. Mr. P. N. Saprú made an unequivocal declaration that, given freedom to India, they would fight to the last to destroy the Axis powers. He said that the main grievance against the Government had been that there had been little democracy in this country. He had a four-point criticism against the present rulers of India. This related to questions of man-power and statesmanship, production, both industrial and agricultural, strategy and psychology. Mr. Saprú urged the development of heavy and medium size cottage industries and wanted a whole-time officer for production. He also wanted a machinery to be set up at the Centre to co-ordinate the effort of labour, employers and the Government.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Conran Smith explained what action the Government were taking to protect the country against the apprehended outbreaks of internal disorders. He said that the Provincial Governments had been requested to increase the police force and 30,000 additional men had already been added to the force. The Government were also examining the question of supplying larger number of arms to the police. He did not agree with the proposal to distribute arms to the public or to the private organisations, because, in the view of the Government, such arms usually found their way to the hooligans against whom protection was sought. The Government were also opposed to private armies. Finally, the

Viceroy's National War Front had been created to build up national morale, which in itself was an effective weapon to check internal disorders.

*General Sir Alan Hartley*, explaining why it was necessary to send out Indian troops abroad, said that it was in the best interests of India that the enemy was kept out of the country. He repudiated the allegations that there was any racial discrimination in the recruitment or treatment of Indians in the Indian Army. He, however, pointed out that the quality of Indian recruits for the commissioned ranks had lately deteriorated.

*Pandit Kunzru* : What about the British and Anglo-Indians ?

*General Hartley* : Their quality has also deteriorated.

*Sir Alan* also announced that, as soon as the situation regarding equipment improved the Government would give their best consideration to the proposal to establish a Home Guard for India. It would be in the form of a Territorial Army.

As for the misbehaviour of soldiers, *General Hartley* assured the Council that no one regretted such incidents more than the Army Headquarters. They were taking all possible steps to prevent their recurrence and had recently organised a military police for the purpose.

*Mr. Hussain Imam* welcomed the realisation by the British rulers that immediate changes were necessary to secure effective co-operation in the effort. He felt that departmental difficulties to assess the large number of persons under the lowering of the income-tax limit were largely responsible for the Government's acceptance of an amendment in the Assembly. He severely criticised the purchasing policy followed by the Supply Department and said that it was largely responsible for the rise in prices. He also blamed the Government for its unpreparedness in Army matters and said that the responsibility for the present state of affairs lay with the Government and not with the non-officials. The speaker also dealt at some length with the question of evacuees and protested against the treatment meted out to Indian evacuees. Referring to the constitutional issue, he wanted those who urged surrender of power by the British to concede the right of self-determination to the Mussalmans.

*Sir Alan Lloyd* assured the Council that the Government were giving their best consideration to the question of wheat. As for the American Technical Mission, he gave a similar assurance that there were no sinister motives behind the Mission's visit. The Mission was coming to India to help India to get the maximum of production from her own sources and to see what help could be rendered by the U. S. A. to make India self-sufficient in the matter of armament production.

*Mr. Bozman* explained the position of evacuees from Ceylon and said that the Government of India had asked its Agent in Ceylon to make proper arrangements for evacuees. As for Burma, he said things were a little better now and camps had been organised for Indians. Convoys had been arranged for women and children. In India also, camps had been organised all along the route. Fifteen hundred Indians were coming daily now but this number is expected to be doubled shortly. Brigadier Wood was, at present, in Delhi and would discuss the situation with *Mr. Aney* shortly. One hundred and fifty policemen had been sent to Burma and special officers knowing Indian languages had been sent also.

*Lala Ramsaran Das* warmly welcomed *Sir Stafford Cripps* and said we should extend all the co-operation we could to him. He criticised the demand for Pakistan and the theory that a Hindu, when he became a Muslim, suddenly belonged to another nation.

*Mr. M. S. Aney*, Overseas Member, referred to the charges of racial discrimination in evacuation facilities brought prominently to the notice of the public and said he would be the last to deny that these incidents had taken place. Nothing had pained him more than that such things should take place at a time when the need for harmony and concord among different people was so great. Under present conditions, when the Governments of countries where incidents of a racial character had taken place no longer existed, it was difficult, he said, to do anything beyond recording a protest with the proper authority. This had been done and when an investigation into incidents such as those in Penang became possible he had no doubt, the investigation would be held. As regards similar complaints made against a Government of India official overseas, he asked for specific details and promised full consideration of them. Referring to the complaint that a certain land route had been reserved for Europeans, *Mr. Aney* said that a part of the Manipur route was under construction. The route itself was required for essential military traffic and the construction had to be carried out as speedily as possible. For this purpose, the route should be sparingly used. A diversion had now been found and something

like 1,500 people were being allowed to use it every day. He informed the House that an officer of the Indians Overseas Department had visited the ports to supervise the arrangements for the reception of evacuees. Either himself or the Secretary of the Department would undertake a tour shortly with such co-operation of non-official members as might be obtained.

Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary, replying to the financial points raised during the debate, reiterated the contention of the Finance Member in the Assembly that the procedure followed in the accounting of the lease-lend supplies had in no way affected the Government of India's main budgetary policy. Referring to the increases in money order commission and in the fee for insurance of postal articles, Mr. Jones explained that these charges were increased along with the other increases specified in the budget speech, although they were not specifically mentioned in the speech. The suspicion that this was a sudden decision made in view of the amendments made to the Finance Bill was entirely unfounded and unwarranted. Mr. Jones mentioned the arrangements by which Indians who had post office deposits in Malaya could draw on those deposits in India, of course, on production of pass books and establishment of identity. He said he had no doubt that similar arrangements would be made in respect of Burma, but the Government had not had the time to take up these questions and come to any definite arrangements. Speaking on the amendment raising the lower income-tax limit from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500, he said that the original proposal of taxing incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was made not with a desire to tax people but to provide an incentive to people to save not only in their own interests but in the interests of the community. He suggested that there was no sense of proportion in trying to make out that it was a hardship to require a person earning Rs. 1,000 a year to pay a tax of Rs. 7-13 a year, which he could escape by making a deposit of Rs. 10 a year and earn interest on that deposit. The Government, nevertheless, accepted the amendment purely in order to carry with them members of the Central Legislature and get their co-operation by compromise, in the hope that as people became accustomed to the principle and as the necessity became more apparent, it would be possible to extend the principles later. The Council at this stage adjourned.

#### CANTONMENT ACT AMEND. BILL

25th. MARCH :—The Council passed without any amendment to-day the Bill to amend the Cantonment Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. It also discussed non-official resolutions.

#### INDIANISATION OF MILITARY UNITS

The Council adopted a resolution, recommending the adoption of immediate steps to provide that "Indians are freely appointed as Officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, Indian Artillery and Mechanised Cavalry." *Pandit Hridaynath Kunru* sponsored the resolution, which was supported by Mr. *Hossain Imam* and *Rai Bahadur Srinarain Mahtha*. General Sir *Alan Hartley* and Sir *Gurunath Bewoor*, speaking on behalf of the Government, quoted figures to show the progress of Indianisation in these Units and assured the Council that the Government desired to recruit every Indian of suitable qualification. It was also explained that Indian Officers have specially been deputed to tour University Centres to draw recruits from young students.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF LAW OF CONTEMPT

The Council also adopted *Pandit Hridaynath Kunru's* resolution asking for immediate examination of the administration of law of contempt in India. The resolution was supported by Mr. *Sapru* and Mr. *Padshah*. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, Government of India, explained that the law of contempt was as old as law itself and no country had been able to successfully define "contempt". Three attempts—two of which were made by the Government of India—to define contempt had failed, because their futility was shown by eminent Indian lawyers, like the late *Pandit Motilal Nehru*. He declared that the Government were not in a position to undertake the task of reducing the law of contempt to rigid statutory provisions, defining "contempt" and specifying the circumstances and the manner in which the power to punish it might be exercised.

#### RIGHTS OF LANDOWNERS IN CANTONMENTS

Mr. P. N. *Sapru* next moved a resolution asking the Government to institute without delay an enquiry into the proprietary rights of land-owners in Cantonments and to take early steps to place Cantonment tenures on a statutory and satisfactory



basis. *Sri Gurunath Bewoor*, Defence Secretary, replying, said that it had already been established by decisions of courts that the Crown was the owner of lands in Cantonment areas and the occupancy rights of holders of lands in these areas were governed by rules and regulations framed from time to time. The Government, therefore, was not prepared to accept the resolution. *Sir Gurunath* added that Cantonment areas were intended for military purposes and the various safeguards were provided in connection with tenure and transference of lands in Cantonment area with a view to preserving the main purpose in view. The motion was rejected. The Council then adjourned till the 31st.

#### OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

31st. MARCH :—The Council to-day passed two official Bills as passed by the Legislative Assembly—the Bill to provide for weekly holidays to persons employed in shops, restaurants and theatres and the Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries.

#### INDIA'S OUTSTANDING WAR EFFORTS

The House rejected without division Mr. *Kalika's* resolution recommending immediate steps to convene a conference of industrial and labour leaders to expand and expedite the manufacture of war materials in India. *Sir Homi Mody*, Supply Member, expressed his inability to accept the suggestion made in the resolution. He declared that the magnitude of India's war effort during the last two years had been something outstanding and he was confident that their effort was in no way behind that of the other Dominions. He pointed to the results achieved in armaments production and said that in the matter of civil production the progress was even more striking. *Sir Homi* explained that these results had been achieved largely because of the co-operation of Indian industrialists with the Government. He mentioned the instance of cotton textiles and said that the industry had agreed to supply this year 700 million yarns, as against 7,000 to 8,000 two years ago. He did not think any useful purpose would be served by the mere establishment of a committee or by convening a conference. The House then adjourned till the 2nd. April.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES AMEND. BILL

2nd. APRIL :—The Council sat for 22 minutes this morning. Mr. *C. M. Trivedi*, Secretary, Communications Department, moved for consideration of the Motor Vehicles Act Amendment Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Bill was passed without any discussion.

The *President* said he had received a notice of motion for adjournment of the House, signed by Mr. *Sapru* and Mr. *Hussain Imam*, drawing attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the answer given this morning by General *Hartley* to Mr. *Kunzru's* question regarding persons belonging to the British Dominions and Colonies holding commissions in the British Army. The *President* disallowed the motion on the ground that adequate notice was not given. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

# The Central Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—11th. Feb. to 1st. April '42

## OFFICIAL BILLS INTRODUCED

The Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the 11th. February 1942 with Sir *Abdur Rahim*, the President, in the chair. Among Bills introduced in the House were, Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to further amend the Indus Vessels Act, the Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping and the Bill to continue the provision made under Ordinance 13 for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means, Sir *Sultan Ahmed's* Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, Mr. *Tyson's* Bill further to amend the Indian Medical Council Act and the Bill to provide for incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with objects not confined to one province. Mr. *H. C. Prior*, Labour Secretary, introduced a Bill, providing for weekly holidays to employees in shops, commercial establishments, restaurants and theatres.

### DETENTION OF SJ. SARAT BOSE

12th. FEBRUARY.—The House took up adjournment motions to-day. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, objected to Mr. *A. C. Dutta's* motion on the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and contended that the detention order was passed in the ordinary administration of law and was covered by previous rulings from the Chair disallowing discussion of such orders. The Chair held that this was not a case covered by the doctrine relating to ordinary administration of the law. The question raised by the motion was analogous to cases which had been dealt with by the House on adjournment motions and in which persons arrested under Regulation 3 of 1818 were concerned. Ordinary administration came in where persons were arrested and detained by a process of law by magistrates or authorities like that. What was complained of in this case was an act of the Government of India itself. No doubt, the Government of India were acting under a certain law. All acts of the Government of India were under the law and under the Government of India Act. The Government derived their power from that Act. But that was no answer to a motion like this. Mr. *Datta* expressed his gratitude to the Chair for the ruling but said that as he learned that the question was engaging the Government's attention, he did not want to move the motion.

### BAN ON HINDU MAHASABHA

Mr. *Datta's* next motion to discuss the ban on the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur was held over pending reply to the mover's application for the Governor-General's sanction.

### OTHER ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

*Sardar Sant Singh's* motion on the disturbances connected with Guru Teg Bahadur's anniversary in November last year was ruled out by the Chair in view of a resolution on the subject which had been balloted for discussion on February 19. The same member's motion on the Government's "failure" to obtain the Assembly's approval before India declared war on Japan was disallowed by the Governor-General.

### GRIEVANCES AGAINST INCOME TAX DEPT.

Grievances against the Income-tax Department were narrated and remedies demanded in the course of the debate on Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's* resolution asking for reforms in the administration of the Department, particularly the abolition of the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay and the placing of the appellate assistant commissioners and the appellate tribunal under the control of the Law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court instead of under the Finance Department as at present. Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* alleged that the Income-tax Department had been guilty of racial discrimination, as it had refused to accept accounts audited by Indian firms and had entrusted to the Central Department, Calcutta, 400 cases, all of which were of Indian firms. The Central

Department, he stated, had been functioning in violation of Sir James Griggs' undertaking. Mr. *Chapman Mortimer* opposed the resolution, while Mr. *A. C. Datta*, Prof. *Banerjee*, Mr. *Rajoria*, Mr. *Mastra*, Sir. *Cowasji Jehangir*, Mr. *Azhar Ali* and Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* spoke in support of it.

#### PLEA FOR AID TO COTTON GROWERS

Discussion on the resolution had not concluded when Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* adjournment motion was taken up.

After 80 minutes' debate, the House by 31 votes to 17, rejected the motion, which was to discuss "the failure of Government to make adequate arrangements for transportation of agricultural produce, particularly short staple cotton, by rail to the market centres in the country, which has resulted in the economic ruin of its growers". Mr. *Deshmukh* appreciated the efforts made by the Commerce and Supply Members in securing the larger use in India of short staple cotton but declared that much of that benefit had been nullified by lack of transport facilities. Sir *Andrew Clow*, Communications Member, contended that the difficulty that faced the cultivator of short staple cotton was not transport but that the market for it was not there. He claimed, however, that in spite of the strain imposed on the railways by wartime defence needs, they had not diminished the provision made for the carriage of agricultural produce. He gave figures in support of his statement. The House then adjourned till the 14th.

#### ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS RULED OUT

14th. FEBRUARY:—Twelve adjournment motions were either ruled out by the Chair or disallowed by the Governor-General in the Assembly to-day. Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* motion regarding the cost of the training of Australian officers for appointment in the Indian Army was held out of order by the Chair, who observed that the motion was based on a misconception. Sir *Gurumath Bewoor*, Additional Defence Secretary, reiterated the statement he had made in the earlier session of the Assembly that no expenditure had been incurred by India on the training of Australian officers. No Australian, he said, had been, or was being, trained at present in any of the Officers' Training institutions in India.

*Bhai Paramanand* attempted to raise the question of the Kazaks regarding reports that they had looted Indian traders. Mr. *O. K. Caroe*, Secretary for External Affairs, pointed out that suggestion made in the motion that the Kazaks made an inroad into Almora was incorrect. The Kazaks never entered British India. The motion was disallowed. *Sardar Sant Singh* had a motion to discuss "the misuse" of the Defence of India Act in the Punjab in arresting traders who were observing hartal. The Chair held that the arrests were made in the ordinary course of law and could not form the subject of an adjournment motion.

#### NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

In a brief sitting devoted to non-official business to-day, the House referred three Bills to select committees, agreed to the circulation of two and to the introduction of three new Bills. Among those measures referred to select committees was Mr. *Lalchand Navarai's* Bill seeking to end the present practice of allowing unqualified people to appear as pleaders in criminal cases with the Court's permission. Mr. *Navarai* held that this practice suited a time when qualified pleaders were few in number but was now derogatory to the dignity of the bar and unnecessary in view of the number of qualified men available. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, made it clear that the Government were opposed to the Bill as it stood but were prepared to allow its reference to a select committee in the hope that necessary amendments would be made.

Mr. *M. A. Kazmi's* Bill to amend the Moslem Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act was also referred to a select committee.

Speaking on Dr. *Banerjee's* Bill to confer supplemental powers on the Federal Court, Sir *Sultan Ahmed* said that the Government themselves intended to promote a Bill with reference to the provision sought to be made in the present Bill that "on a certificate to that effect being given by the Advocate-General for a province that provinces shall be deemed to be a necessary party to the suit". The other provisions of the Bill required modification, which he hoped would be made in the select committee. The Bill was sent to a select committee.

Mr. *Kazmi's* two other Bills, one to amend the Indian Penal Code and the other to amend the Criminal Procedure Code, were circulated for eliciting public opinion. The same member introduced three other Bills, one to amend the Shariat Application Act, the other to limit rates of interest and the third to amend the

Code of Criminal Procedure so as to abolish sessions trial with the aid of assessors. The House then adjourned till Monday, the 16th. February.

#### INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL ACT

**16th. FEBRUARY :—**The Hon. Mr. *N. R. Sarker* moved a Bill to-day further to amend the Indian Medical Council Act, 1933, inserting a new section providing for appointment of such number of visitors as the Indian Medical Council might deem requisite to attend at any or all of the examinations held by medical institutions in British India for the purpose of granting recognised medical qualifications. The Bill was passed.

#### PENAL CODE AMENDING BILL

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* next moved a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code omitting Section 216 B of the Indian Penal Code and inserting the following new section : "52 A, the word 'harbour' includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition, or means of conveyance, or the assisting a person by any means, whether of the same kind as those enumerated in this section or not, to evade apprehension." Mr. *K. C. Neogy* moved for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion. He contended that the Act of 1894 for good reasons had distinguished between two categories of offences, first covered by Sections 130, 136 and 157 and the second covered by Sections 212, 216 and 216 A and 216 B, as regards definition of the word "harbour." Whereas earlier sections talked of harbouring in cases dealing with deserters, prisoners of war and prisoners of State, the later sections dealt with harbouring felons or criminals. He favoured arming Government with certain extraordinary powers in extraordinary circumstances, but he would not permit a permanent extension of the scope of the later sections to guilt under earlier sections. Mr. *Lakshmikanta Maitra*, supporting Mr. Neogy's motion, expressed the opinion that the very fact that different High Courts had differed in the interpretation of the word "harbour" should set Government thinking and added that the matter was not so simple as to be dealt with lightly. Mr. *Maitra* added that the Defence of India Act was so comprehensive and elastic that it could effectively deal with the exigencies arising out of the war. After Messrs. *Lalchand Navalrai* and *Kazmi* had spoken in support of Mr. Neogy's motion for circulation, closure was asked. The Opposition demanded a division and the closure motion was carried by 33 votes to 19. The House then gave leave to Sir *Sultan Ahmed* to move the Bill by 39 votes to 16. Discussion of the Bill clause by clause was proceeding when the House adjourned till the next day, when discussion was held over at the instance of the Law Member, Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, to enable the Government to table an Amendment.

#### BOILERS ACT AMEND. BILL

**17th. FEBRUARY :—**The House passed to-day without discussion the Bill to amend the Indian Boilers Act. After some discussion, the Bill to provide for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with activities not confined to one province, was passed.

#### BILL TO HELP COFFEE INDUSTRY

The House then passed Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill providing for continuance of the provision made under Ordinance 13 of 1940 for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means. The measure will cease to be in force at the end of twelve months commencing on the first day of July subsequent to the termination of the present hostilities.

#### TRIBUTES TO CHIANG-KAI-SHEK

With acclamation the Assembly to-day adopted an official motion moved by the Leader of the House, Mr. *M. S. Aney*, recording high appreciation of the honour done to India by the visit of Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and expressing admiration of the outstanding services rendered by the Generalissimo to China and the world in combating a Power against whose aggression China and India are now happily allied. Mr. Aney described Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek as one of the saviours of civilization and democracy. The Generalissimo's movement, he said, was one of the most inspiring chapters of the human race and showed how a whole nation and not merely a mercenary army can fight for its liberty and what political leadership a nation can achieve. Mr. *Ghulamshik Nairang* associated the Moslem League Party with the sentiments of the Leader of the House. Mr. *A. C. Dutta*, speaking for the Congress Nationalists, was about

to introduce controversial topics but stopped short and concluded his observations by supporting the resolution. *Sir Henry Richardson* referred to the virtue of recognizing the true greatness in men and women of another race and declared that the visit of the brave Marshal and his equally brave wife "has served to inspire us with fresh courage and to make us resolve that however dark may be the days ahead we will persevere, whatever the cost, until victory is accomplished.

#### RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1942—43

18th. FEBRUARY:—Railway estimates presented by *Sir Andrew Clow* in the Assembly to-day forecast for 1941-42 a surplus of 26.20 crores against a surplus of 11.83 crores originally estimated, and for 1942-43 a surplus of 27.95 crores.

Revised estimate of surplus on railways for 1941-42 is 7.74 crores more than the actual surplus of last year. Total traffic receipts of State-owned lines are expected to reach 127 crores, about 15 crores more than last year and 18½ crores more than the original estimate. Total working expenses, including 12½ crores for depreciation, are a little over 73 crores, or about 7½ crores more than last year. Of the expected surplus of 26.20 crores, 19.12 crores will go to general revenues and 7.08 crores to the depreciation fund of railways in repayment of the loans taken from it in past years of deficit. The balance in the depreciation fund will stand at about 51½ crores and that in the railway reserve fund about 6½ crores.

Budget estimate for 1942-43 assumes traffic receipts of 125½ crores, 1½ crores less than in the current year. Total working expenses will amount to 70½ crores, about 2½ crores less than the current year. The surplus is expected to be 27.95 crores, of which 20.13 crores will be transferred to general revenues and 7.82 crores to the depreciation fund in repayment of the loans mentioned above. Balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be about 61½ crores.

The gross total works programme is slightly over 34½ crores, including 20 crores for the purchase of the Bengal and North Western and Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railways and two small branch lines. As a result of their purchase, and the purchase during this year of the Assam Bengal and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, the entire railway system of Northern India will, with the exception of unimportant light railways and some lines owned by Indian States, come under State management, the mileage under State management will increase from 17,000 miles to 24,000 miles and the number of railway employees in the service of the State will increase from 390,000 to over five lakhs. The rest of the provision is, as usual, for track renewals, bridges and other structural works, rolling stock and an increase in the stores balance.

At the outset, *Sir Andrew Clow* pointed out how on the one hand railways had to meet increasing demands on account of unprecedented increase in military traffic, production of the supplies at an ever-increasing speed and the contraction of alternative means of transport and how, on the other, they had, besides facing difficulties in renewing their assets, to give up rolling stock and rails to meet defence requirements, which were difficult to replace, and to spare experienced personnel in growing numbers for military or ancillary services. Besides supplying rails from stock and rails set free by relaying, over 500 miles of railway line would be dismantled this year. He added that with the rising intensity of the war effort, there was little prospect of the railways meeting more than a proportion of the demands made upon them.

In discussing the revenue position of the current year, he stated that the system adopted last year for the allocation of the surplus was found on further examination to be based in part on a mistaken impression, as no surplus accrued till the arrears of debt had been paid off. The system had, however, yielded a result which was equitable considering the present needs of general revenues, and it was, therefore, proposed to leave the original allocation undisturbed and to utilise the same method for dividing any surplus that might accrue next year. The sums so assigned to general revenues would, after meeting the 1 per cent. contribution for each year, go towards liquidating the arrears of contribution for past years, and the balance left for the railways would be devoted towards repaying the debt to the depreciation fund. Accordingly, 19.12 crores would go to the general revenues and 7.08 crores to the depreciation fund. In justifying the repayment to the depreciation fund *Sir Andrew Clow* stated that, after due consideration, Government had reached the conclusion that the balance in the fund would, even after repayment of the loan, not be excessive. In this connection he acknowledged the valuable work of the late *Sir Raghavendra Rao*, who had made railway depreciation fund his special study.

Before giving the actual estimates for next year. I propose to deal with certain charges which are contemplated in fares and freight. In the present situation there are strong argument for a substantial increase in passenger fares. The demand for passenger traffic has already reached a level which we have been unable to meet and so far from being able to increase our capacity here, we may have to make a substantial diminution almost at once. This is likely to be rendered necessary by the paramount importance of providing further capacity for goods and of meeting the military and supply demands. We have, with the co-operation of the press, issued an appeal to the public to avoid unnecessary travel, but the effect of this is likely to be small compared with the effect that would be produced by an enhancement of the fares. Such an enhancement, moreover, would recoup us for the traffic which is lost and it would also tend to counterbalance the increased costs which road transport is having to face. Finally, the bulk of the increased revenue would go under present arrangements to the tax-payers and thus permit them to be relieved in other directions.

We have weighed these arguments with the attention they deserve but have come to the conclusion that we should stay our hands in the matter of imposing a general increase. The need for this may become more apparent as time goes on, but we are anxious to avoid any undue increase of cost to the railway users. If railways followed the practice of many industrial and commercial firms they could at the present moment secure very large increases in revenue and at the same time ease their own difficulties considerably by imposing increases which would effectively curtail the demand. But we are satisfied that this would not be in the public interest, and I hope that in the future railways may again have to face financial stringency, the moderation that has been shown will not be forgotten. All that we propose to do for the present is to make certain enhancements on two railways, the East Indian and the North-Western. Passenger fares on these railways are substantially below the level prevailing on the other State-managed lines, and there is no sufficient ground for continuing to give passengers on those railways particularly cheap rates. A schedule of the enhancements is being distributed with the papers which will be placed in your hands but I may say that on the East Indian Railway, except for an increase of  $\frac{1}{4}$  pie per mile or 5 per cent in the Intermediate class, there will be no enhancement at all on a journey up to 50 miles and the enhancement in the fares for the two lower classes on the N. W. and E. I. for a journey of any distance will not exceed  $\frac{1}{4}$  pie per mile. Even after these enhancements the general scales will still remain somewhat below those prevailing on other important lines. These enhancements will not be brought into force until the 1st of May and the total estimated accession of revenue is in the neighbourhood of half a crore.

In respect of freights, we propose to make two changes, both of which are dictated largely by traffic considerations. In the first place, we propose to increase the rate for parcels. If this is not done, there will be an increasing tendency to send goods as parcels and thus to increase the strain on our passenger trains which are already having to be curtailed. The present rate for parcels is to annas per rupee above the pre-war rate, and it will be increased by another two annas. A similar enhancement will apply to excess luggage, but there will be no enhancement on articles which were exempted from the former increase, such as newspapers. The extra revenue from the change next year is estimated at half a crore.

In respect of food-grains we have made no change since the war began. We have followed this policy mainly in order to avoid as far as possible contributing to the extra cost of living; but it is clear now that even if we had imposed an increase its effect would have been insignificant compared to the enhancement of prices which others have secured. Wheat, for example, has been selling in important markets at 100 per cent over the pre-war price. In spite of this we do not propose to bring food-grains into line with other commodities, but intend merely to impose an extra charge of two annas in the rupee on consignments of less than a wagon-load. Full wagons would continue to be charged at the existing rates. This is being done in order to ensure a better use of wagon supplies at a time when they are badly wanted. The revenue effect is likely to be small. We also propose to withdraw the rebate on wheat exported west of Aden, as there are no grounds at present for encouraging the export of wheat. The payments this year are likely to be of the order of 3 lakhs. None of these changes will be operative till the 1st of May.

The estimated surplus of 27.95 crores which, as Sir Andrew Clow stated, was highly speculative and was more likely to prove too high an estimate than too low,

would be disposed of on the same system as before, and to enable this to be done, a resolution extending the present moratorium for one year would be placed before the House shortly. The share of general revenues would be 20.13 crores and this would not only wipe out the arrears of contribution but involve an additional payment of over a crore. He went on to say that if the present conditions continued after 1942-43, a new situation would be created. For the tax-payer would still have a claim in equity to substantial relief from railway revenues, but there would be no debt against which any payment outside the convention would be set. Government would, therefore, place before the House, in the light of the position reached by the autumn, their proposals either for a revision of the existing convention or for further interim arrangements to meet the war situation only.

Referring to the extension of State management of railways, Sir Andrew Clow stressed the necessity for a large devolution of responsibility, expressed confidence in those holding responsible posts on railways, and acknowledged "specially the inspiring lead given by Sir Leonard Wilson and his officers here in a more exacting time than the railways have ever had to face."

In conclusion, he acknowledged the forbearance shown by most sections of the public who have suffered serious inconvenience and in some cases real hardship, and appealed for the fullest measure of co-operation in any trials that might lie ahead.

#### INCOME-TAX ADMINISTRATION

19th. FEBRUARY :—The day's proceedings began with the adjourned debate on Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's* resolution expressing discontent against the Income-tax Administration. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* gave a clear exposition of the Government's administration and read out the recent circulars issued to income-tax officials. In rejecting the resolution by 41 votes to 19, the House agreed with the Finance Member that the serious charges had been disproved and that only the total abolition of the Income-tax Department would satisfy some of its critics.

#### SIKH CELEBRATION AND POLICE ACTION

*Sardar Sant Singh* moved a resolution demanding a public inquiry into the police action against the annual Sikh celebration in Delhi on the birth-day of Gurm Tegbahadur. The Sardar indulged in vehement denunciation of the "diehard" administration of Delhi. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, giving "unvarnished fact", maintained that riots had been narrowly averted every year. The local authority had used minimum force and threw tear-smoke shells from a long range. Sardar Sant Singh did not challenge a division.

#### RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Mr. A. C. Dutta moved a resolution recommending to the Governor General-in-Council to take steps for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenus. Mr. Dutta characterised the indefinite detention of prisoners as most improper especially at the present moment when Government wanted to create mass enthusiasm in war efforts. Mr. N. M. Joshi, supporting the motion, said that there could not be one set of justice for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other satyagrahi prisoners who had been released and another set of justice for others who were detained. There was no justification for such discrimination. As a result of release of satyagrahi prisoners, Congress had reconsidered its position and withdrawn satyagraha. Some beneficial results were bound to follow the release of these political prisoners, most of whom had changed their views with regard to war and were burning with a desire to help in the successful prosecution of war. *Maulana Zafaralkhan* urged Government to alleviate the sympathies of any section of the country at the present moment when they must be all out to enlist the goodwill of the whole country in the great task of facing a common enemy. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* considered that the continued detention of these prisoners had caused immense discontent in the country. He was confident that the release of these prisoners would result as beneficially as the release of satyagraha prisoners had resulted with Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar figuring as a great crusader and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai following him though somewhat cautiously. The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, intervening on behalf of the Government, pointed to the wording of the resolution, which demanded the release of all political prisoners, irrespective of the fact that they were guilty or not. He asked the House whether political prisoners, who had committed murders, or religious fanatics who in their frenzy broke law, were also to be set free. The Home

Member explained that the Government had given the widest possible construction to their decision and had released satyagraha prisoners guilty of "symbolic civil disobedience." The Government, since the House last discussed a similar resolution, had released 6,475 prisoners in addition to 589 security prisoners. There were now four hundred and odd prisoners who were still in custody, their offence being not symbolic but definite, impeding the war effort. As foreshadowed by him in the last session, machinery was being set up to examine cases of detenus and others. He asserted that the Government had no desire to keep anybody in jail, who desired to help in war effort. It was for the detenus and other prisoners to indicate that they had changed their attitude and were anxious to help the war effort and the tribunals, which were being set up, would recommend their release. But any attempt to hinder war effort would not be tolerated by the Government. Sir Reginald made an earnest appeal to the House to consider whether the present was opportune moment to release these prisoners, whose activities were detrimental to national safety. While on the one hand demands were being made to strengthen the Defences of India against foreign aggression and internal disorders, the sponsors of the resolution urged the release of persons whose attitude had been prejudicial to national safety. The Assembly then adjourned till the 23rd. before the resolution could be disposed of.

#### DEBATE ON THE RAILWAY BUDGET

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly held the general debate on the railway budget to-day. Mr. A. C. Datta, Deputy President, opening the debate, acknowledged that the surplus shown was phenomenal but declared it was not real. It could be real only if it was independent of war. As it was mainly due to war traffic, most of the surplus was in reality a matter of book adjustment between one department and another, and the contribution to the general revenues, a matter of putting money from one pocket into another. He strongly criticised the increase of fares, which he declared was unjustified in view of surplus.

Sir Henry Gidney, Leader of the Independent Party, looked upon the surplus not so much as an indication of profit as evidence of the extent to which the railways had responded to the military needs of the country. He declared it was unfortunate that an increase should be made in fares now when facilities should exist for evacuation of women and children in order that the men might help better in resisting aggression.

Sir Ziauddin spoke of his personal experience and said he could not get wagons required for the use of the Aligarh University recently. He described the railway's contribution to the general revenues as payment of a loan and not a gift, because the surplus itself represented so much money taken from the general taxpayer.

Mr. K. C. Neogy congratulated the Railway member on the prevalence of the war (laughter) and described as a merry-go-round the process by which surpluses were made from the pocket of the general taxpayer and were then passed on to him in the form of contribution to the general revenues. If it was a prosperity budget, why, he asked, were the already high rates of fares being increased? The Railway member, he declared, had apparently agreed to become the Tax Collector for the Finance Member.

Professor P. N. Banerji said that the railways were enjoying prosperity in the midst of the adversity caused by high cost of living, etc. Speaking on how to utilise the surplus, he said in normal circumstances he would have urged its use for a reduction in fares and freights but the situation was abnormal and, therefore, accepted the railway member's view that the surplus should go to the general revenues. He hoped, however, that the Finance Member would not come forward with further taxation. Railway rates and fares were themselves a form of taxation.

Sir Andrew Clow, replying to the debate, expressed the hope that those who attributed the surplus to the fortuitous circumstances and the artificial stimulus of war would when lean times came attribute the losses also to prevailing conditions and not blame the administration. Replying to criticisms of high freights and fares the Railway Member said if the choice was between having fares high in times of prosperity and having them high in times of adversity, he would point out that if freights and fares in good times were not at a level which would leave a balance, he had no doubt that freights and fares would have to be put up when times were bad. As regards discourtesy of the type complained by Mr. Deshmukh, the Railway Member pointed out it was not confined to this country. There seemed to be something about railway travel which attracted selfishness. The Railway



Member said that papers in connection with the matter raised by Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi about corruption during the time of the exodus from Calcutta had been given to the police and an enquiry was in progress. The House then adjourned.

#### OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

**24th FEBRUARY :—**In a brief sitting of about an hour the Assembly this morning passed two Bills of the Commerce Member and a motion of the Finance Member for the election of members of the Standing Finance Committee for 1942-43. Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bills were, one further to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act and the other to provide for the extension of the time limited by, or under, the Indian Patents and Designs Act 1911.

Before the *Finance Member's* motion was accepted a debate on the functions of the Standing Finance Committee was initiated by Dr. *P. N. Bannery*, who pleaded for an extension of the functions so as to give the Committee power to deal not only with expenditure as at present but with revenue as well. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, opposing the motion, pointed out that even in the most advanced democratic constitutions, it was not possible to associate the legislature beyond a certain stage with the formulation of certain features of financial policy. He also stressed the point that in war times particularly, it was undesirable to complicate, expand or elaborate the stages which had to be gone through before practical action could be taken. The Assembly then adjourned.

#### VOTING ON RAILWAY DEMANDS

**25th. FEBRUARY :—**Railway rates and fares came to-day under intensive scrutiny in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* to reduce the demand under Railway Board by Rs. 100. The motion was eventually pressed to a division and lost by 36 votes to 28. Mr. *Mehta* argued that although freights and fares might not appear to be high in terms of annas and pies, they were certainly high looked at from the point of view of what proportion of the average daily income in India is paid by the traveller for each mile travelled. Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, Mr. *Navaratn*, Mr. *Abdul Ghani*, Mr. *Umar Ali Shah* supported Mr. *Mehta*. Mr. *Neogy* commended the example of the Nizam's State Railways, which he said were faced with reduced earnings during the year ending October 1939 and met the situation by reducing their rates. Mr. *J. H. F. Raper*, Member, Railway Board, rebutting Mr. *Mehta's* charge of high rates compared them with those in China, where he suggested conditions were somewhat similar. The cost per passenger mile in China was 2.49 cents compared to 0.451 in India, although the average passenger travelled in China was 57 miles as against 35 miles in India. Mentioning some of the factors which entered into the present level of rates in India, Mr. *Raper* referred to the hundreds of thousands of passengers detected travelling without tickets in India. He also referred to the fact that much of our equipment was obtained from foreign countries with higher wage levels which were reflected in the cost of the goods. Mr. *Raper*, replying to the reference to the Nizam's State Railways, pointed out that the rates there were generally higher than on some other railways and some reduction was therefore necessary. He gave figures to show that between 1936-37 and 1940-41 there had been a reduction on Indian Railways in rates on coal, grains and oilseeds and some increase in other commodities, but on goods as a whole there had been a reduction from 6.17 pies per ton to 6.1 per ton. Third class passenger fares since 1935-36, however, had increased from 3 pies to 3.5 pies per mile but that could not amount to Rs. 10 crores as Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* suggested. The House also rejected without a division Mr. *Neogy's* cut motion to discuss shortage of wagons for carriage of coal for public consumption and then adjourned.

**26th. FEBRUARY :—**A revision of the convention separating Railway finance from general finance was asked for in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Sir *Frederick James* to-day. Sir *Frederick* contended that the convention had in some respects broken down and he pleaded for an investigation into the proper basis for a fresh convention to take its place. Such an investigation, he said, should not be left till after the war. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, Mr. *Hussain Bhai Lalji*, Mr. *K. C. Neogy* and Mr. *Nauman* supported the motion. Sir *Andrew Clow* pointed out that they could not at this moment reach any conclusion that the convention must be revised. An interim arrangement would have to be made for the period of the war. Somewhat later in the year the question of the revision of the convention might be considered and he would then examine most sympathetically.

tically the suggestions made in the course of the debate. The mover withdrew his motion.

Improvement of alternative forms of transport was urged on a cut motion moved by Mr. *Ramsay Scott*. Mr. Scott wanted to know if more plants could be put down for the production of power alcohol from molasses, whether more distilleries could be built for producing rectified spirit and whether orders had been given to forest officers to get on with the production of charcoal for gas driven buses. He wanted to know more about the functions and powers of the central transport organisation. Sir *Andrew Clow* pointed out that he had given some study to guideways. Sir *Guthrie Russel*, said Sir Andrew, while anxious to see the experiment made in Kashmir did not hold the same view of guideways as Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* did. Sir Andrew made it clear that to attempt to get steel for the purpose of building guideways would be a waste now. Nor could guideways act as a substitute for the shortage of railway transport. The time had come, however, when the control of transport priorities should be systematised and he said that in the initial stage this work would be in the charge of the Communications Secretary who would be relieved of the bulk of his present work by the immediate appointment of an additional secretary. The Communications Secretary would work in the closest co-operation with the provincial boards. The general organisation would be developed with all possible expedition. The motion was withdrawn.

Cheap return tickets for Haj pilgrims was demanded by *Khan Bahadur Piracha* by a cut motion which was supported by *Maulvi Abdul Ghani* and *Syed Murtaza Sahab*. Sir *Andrew Clow* undertook to examine the demand sympathetically as soon as the war pressure was over. The motion was withdrawn.

Overcrowding in trains, particularly in Inter and Third Class compartments, was complained in the course of speeches on Mr. *Nauman's* cut motion, which was next taken up. Mr. *Nauman* referred to the conditions caused by the exodus from Calcutta and said he had heard a report that some deaths occurred on the platform as a result of overcrowding. Mr. *J. H. F. Raper*, Transportation Member, Railway Board, assured the House that the question of overcrowding was fully appreciated by the Railway Board and the position was giving the Railway Board as well as General Managers of railways a great deal of anxiety. They however had not been able to find a remedy and he was afraid that the position was likely to get worse. But they would do all they could to help the situation.

*Maulvi Abdul Ghani* by a cut motion drew attention to the number of accidents on railways which he declared were increasing year by year and could not therefore be explained by the inexperience of the men who were replacing the older personnel sent overseas. Sir *Andrew Clow* referred to the increasing strain on the staff and pointed out that regrettable as the accidents were, they could not be altogether excluded from rapid forms of transport. The cut motion was rejected without a division.

Ecclesiastical expenditure charged to railway revenues was denounced by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* who moved another cut motion. The seriousness of the issue would be realised when one considered what would be the position if all religions in the country laid a claim on railway revenues. Sir *Andrew Clow* pleaded ignorance of the expenditure but said it had increased during the last two or three years. There were arrangements by which ecclesiastical expenditure was reduced every five years. The expenditure, he added, was a survival of earlier days and had been settled by statute. The motion was rejected without a division.

The other demands were passed and the House adjourned till the next day when after questions the Assembly held the first secret session in its history.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43

28th. FEBRUARY :— Introducing the Budget for 1942-43 to-day, the Finance Member Sir *Jeremy Raisman* disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 17 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit, on the present basis of taxation, of Rs. 47 crores next year.

#### DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The revised estimate of Defence expenditure of 1941-42 is placed at Rs. 102 crores. This expenditure for 1942-43 is estimated at Rs. 133 crores. The Finance Member stated that this was only a fraction of the total sum being spent in India on the war. He announced that the amount of expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies that the Government of India expected to recover from His Majesty's

Government, under the operation of the Financial Settlement, would exceed Rs. 400 crores in 1942-43.

#### SHARE OF INCOME TAX

The share of the provinces in the Income-tax will be Rs. 7.39 lakhs this year and Rs. 8.37 lakhs next. The Finance Member observed in this connection that "this is considerably more than the total sum which at the time of the Niemeyer Award the provinces were expected to receive at the end of the ten-year devolution period or than ever appeared to be possible before the outbreak of the war".

Finally, explaining the advantages of the Sterling debt repatriation scheme, the Finance Member stated that "the real gain to the country lies in the liquidation of external obligations which might prove an embarrassment in future and their replacement by internal debt".

#### NEW TAXATION PROPOSALS

The Finance Member announced the following new taxation proposals :—

Incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 to be taxed at six pies in the rupee over the Rs. 750 of total income.

The surcharge of Income-tax and Super-tax to be increased from 33½ per cent. to roughly 50 per cent. An all-round customs surcharge of 20 per cent. to be levied on existing import tariff except raw cotton, petrol and salt.

Petrol tax to be increased by 25 per cent. Posts and telegraphs rates to be increased.

Letter postage rate will be increased from 1½ to 1½ annas. The minimum rate for telegram is raised from 10 annas to 12 annas.

The Finance Member announced certain concessions to Income-tax and Excess Profits Tax assessments to encourage saving and prevent inflation now and provide a reserve for re-equipment after the war.

Sir *Jeremy* estimated the total additional revenue from fresh taxation at Rs. 12 crores leaving a deficit of Rs. 35 crores, to be covered by the borrowing programme.

Following the Budget speech, the Finance Member introduced the Finance Bill embodying the new taxation proposals.

#### BUDGET AT A GLANCE

				In Lakhs of Rupees		—Deficit + Surplus
				Income	Expenditure	
1940-41	Revised Estimate	...	...	103.71	112.13	— 8.42
1940-41	Actuals	...	...	107.65	114.18	— 6.53
1941-42	Budget Estimate	...	...	113.00	126.85	—13.85
1941-42	Revised Estimate	...	...	129.62	146.89	—17.27
1942-43	Budget Estimate	...	...	152.00	187.07	—35.07

#### INDIA'S DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

In 1940-41, the Defence Expenditure was estimated at Rs. 72.02 lakhs but it actually exceeded by a further Rs. 205 lakhs.

The following are the figures for 1941-42 and 1942-43.

	1941-42 Estimate	1941-42 Revised	1942-43 Budget
Basic Normal Budget	36.77	36.77	36.77
Effect of Rice in Prices	3.55	4.24	6.52
India's War Measures	35.40	53.03	81.30
Non-Effective Charges	8.41	8.41	8.41

(Total in Lakh of rupees)

84.13    102.45    133.00

Announcing the new taxation proposals Sir *Jeremy Raisman* said that he proposed to make incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 liable to tax at six pies in the rupee over the first Rs. 750 of total income. This liability will, however, be completely discharged if the assessee deposits one and a quarter times the amount of tax liable in a Defence Saving Bank Account from which sums cannot be withdrawn till one year after the end of the war and on which 2½ per cent interest will be paid.

#### INCOME TAX SURCHARGE

The present 33½ per cent Central Surcharge on Income Tax is to be raised to a scale which runs from six pies in the rupee on incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs.

5,000, to nine pies in the rupee on the next Rs. 5,000, one anna two pies on the next Rs. 5,000 and one anna three pies on the balance over Rs. 15,000. The last is equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge and at the same time Corporation tax is raised to one and a half annas in the rupee. For incomes not exceeding Rs. 6,000 an amount of the tax equal to half per cent of the assessee's income will be funded for repayment to him after the end of the war.

#### EXCESS PROFITS TAX

The rate of Excess Profits Tax is to be retained at 66½ per cent. But as an incentive to economy in business administration Government will contribute an amount up to one-tenth of the Excess Profits Tax paid to a reserve for the re-equipment of industry after the war, provided the assessee deposits double this amount. The assessee's contribution to the reserve will be repayable within twelve months of the end of the war and till then will earn two per cent simple interest.

The main proposal of indirect taxation is the levy of an emergency surcharge of one-fifth on all customs import duties. The only exceptions will be petrol, the tax on which is being increased separately from twelve annas to fifteen annas a gallon, raw cotton on which the duty has just been doubled and certain imports from Burma which are excluded by the operation of the Trade Agreement. The duty on imported salt will continue at the same rate as at present and the excise duty on kerosene will be raised to the enhanced import duty.

#### POSTAL RATES INCREASED

The final proposal is an increase in posts and telegraphs rates to yield one crore. The ordinary letter rate is to be increased from one and quarter annas to one and half annas, the post-card remaining unchanged; the minimum rate for ordinary telegrams is to go up from ten annas to twelve annas and for express telegrams from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 1/8 and the surcharge on trunk calls fees is to be raised from ten to twenty per cent.

The total additional revenue from fresh taxation is estimated at Rs. 12 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 35 crores to be covered by the borrowing programme.

The Finance Member said that though in normal times this would be a formidable addition to the public debt, viewed against the background of India's war effort, the intensive development of her resources and the conversion of her external to internal debt, the general picture gave grounds for great comfort and encouragement in the future.

The Finance Member said : I now address myself to my final task, which is to lay before the House the proposals of the Government for the treatment of the deficit of Rs. 47.07 lakhs, which, on the estimates we have made, is anticipated in the forthcoming financial year.

#### SCHEMES OF SAVINGS

I will deal in the first place with the provisions relating to incomes of from Rs. 1,000 Rs. 2,000. These are in the first instance made liable to tax at six pies in the Rupee on the excess over the first Rs. 750 of total income. This liability can, however, be completely discharged and no tax will be leviable if the assessee exercises the option of depositing a prescribed sum in a Savings Bank account. The prescribed amount is Re. 1 for every Rs. 25 by which his total income exceeds Rs. 750 and is therefore approximately one and a quarter times the amount of tax to which he would otherwise be liable. Thus on an income of Rs. 1,250, the tax would be Rs. 15/10 and the optional savings bank deposit would be Rs. 20; the corresponding figure for an income of Rs. 1,750 are tax Rs. 31/4, optional savings bank deposit Rs. 40. It is intended that these amounts should be deposited on the Post Office Defence Savings Bank from which sums cannot ordinarily be withdrawn till one year after the end of the war and on which interest is payable at the rate of two and a half per cent per annum. It will be seen that this is in its essence a scheme of saving rather than of taxation, and it appears to us the most suitable way in which the problem which I outlined above can be tackled in the case of those persons whose incomes fall below the minimum, which has hitherto been liable to income-tax.

#### SURCHARGE ON INCOMES

The next feature of our proposals relate to the central surcharge on incomes exceeding Rs. 2,000. We have hitherto proceeded by the application of a flat percentage surcharge on the basic rate of incometax and supertax throughout the whole range of income. The limitations of the procedure will be apparent when it

is remembered that the basic tax progresses from three-quarters of an anna in the rupee at one end to nine and a half annas in the rupee at the other. The scope for feasible enhancement of the latter rate of tax in a time of national emergency is clearly much more restricted in terms of a flat percentage than the increases which are feasible in the lower reaches of the scale. The basic scales of tax in India have since 1939 been highly progressive and the rate of progression has been further steepened by the application of the percentage surcharge. The income tax surcharge which has been proposed in the Finance Bill runs from six pies in the rupee in the slab of taxable income between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 5,000 to nine pies in the rupee on the net Rs. 5,000, one anna and two pies in the rupee on the next Rs. 5,000 and one anna three pies in the rupee on the balance of total income. The last named surcharge is of course, equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge. Similarly the surcharge on the rates of supertax are equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge and at the same time Corporation Tax is raised to one and a half annas in the rupee. While for the reasons I have explained the rate of surcharge on the first slab of taxable income are somewhat higher than fifty per cent there is a provision which mitigates Rs 6000. By this provision a portion of the tax equal to a half per cent of the assessee's total income will be funded for his benefit and repaid to him after the end of the war. In order that the House may more easily understand the incidence of the taxes that will now be levied on incomes throughout the scale, I have included in the explanatory memorandum on the budget a table showing the percentage of his total income which the assessee will be required to contribute. It will be seen that that incidence proceeds in a fairly even progression from less than two per cent at one end of the scale to eighty-five per cent at the other end of the scale on an income of thirty lakhs a year.

#### EXCESS PROFIT TAX

As regards the excess profits tax, it is proposed to retain the existing rate of 66½ per cent to be levied on the profits of a further period of one year. Here also, however, we have introduced a new feature. We have been impressed with the growing evidence of the extent to which this tax militates at certain stages against the incentive to the most economical and efficient administration of the business affected. We also feel that there is great force in the argument for the supreme importance of building up a reserve for the rehabilitation and re-equipment of national industries after the war. Finally, there is here also a strong case for immobilising during the period of the war as much as possible of the excess profits earned and preventing postponable private expenditure from exerting an undesirable influence on the price level. To assist in securing these objects we are prepared to contribute an amount up to but not exceeding one-tenth of the net excess profits tax ultimately paid at the rate of 66½ per cent provided that the assessee deposits a sum equal to double this amount. The contribution thus placed in reserve by the assessee will be repayable within twelve months of the end of the war, and will in the meantime earn simple interest at the rate of two per cent per annum. The portion contributed by the Government will also be paid out after the war at such time and subject to such condition as may hereafter be determined. Advice on the formulation of these conditions will be sought from the Post-war Reconstruction Committee. The Government contribution will, together with the interest on the assessee's deposit, be a taxable receipt of the year in which it is repaid.

This completes our proposals for direct taxation. The net addition to revenue, excluding repayable deposits and refundable elements which are to be treated as borrowings is estimated at Rs. 530 lakhs.

#### INDIRECT TAXATION

I turn now to the sphere of indirect taxation. Here our main proposal is to levy during the forthcoming financial year an emergency surcharge over the whole field of Customs import duties equal to one-fifth of those duties. The only exceptions will be the duty on raw cotton, which has just been enhanced for a special purpose and the duty on motor spirit. The excise on which will be increased by three annas a gallon with a resultant automatic increase of a like amount in the import duty. There are also a few unimportant imports from Burma on which, by the operation of the Trade Agreement concluded with that country last year, no increase is permissible.

We propose finally to make certain increases in our posts and telegraphs rate, which are estimated to yield an addition of approximately Rs. one crore. The main charges are an increase in the ordinary letter rate from one and a quarter annas to

one and half annas, the Post-card rate remaining unchanged; and an increase in the minimum rate for an ordinary telegram, which is ten annas including the surcharge to twelve annas. The minimum rate for express telegrams will be similarly increased from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 1-8. There will also be increases in telephone rentals and the surcharge on trunk call fees will be raised from ten per cent to twenty per cent.

The total additional revenue from all these proposals is estimated at Rs. 12 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 35.07 lakhs to be covered by our borrowing programme.

Against an expected deficit of Rs. 8.42 lakhs, the year 1940-41 ended with a deficit of only Rs. 6.53 lakhs. Though expenditure, mainly on account of Defence, increased by Rs. 2.05 lakhs, revenue improved by Rs. 3.94 lakhs.

#### REVISED ESTIMATES, 1941-42—REVENUE

Revised estimates for the current year show a net improvement of Rs. 16.62 lakhs in revenue and an increase of Rs. 20.04 lakhs in expenditure, the latter mainly on account of the Defence Services, the cost of which has risen from Rs. 84 crores to Rs. 102 crores. The deficit on the current year is thus expected to increase from roughly Rs. 14 crores to Rs. 17 crores.

Although since the entry of Japan into the war and the consequent dislocation of shipping in the Pacific Customs receipts have dropped sharply, the total Customs revenue for the year is expected to reach the budget figure with about a crore to spare. Central Excise Duties have also come up to expectations, increased collections of sugar excise duty more than making up for the loss on petrol; the revised estimate is therefore Rs. 20 lakhs above the budget figure.

Collections of Income-tax and Corporation tax have continued to increase and show a further rise of Rs. 3 crores as compared with the budget. But the actual receipts of Excess Profits Tax are put at no more than Rs. 8 crores out of an anticipated Rs. 11 crores. The divisible pool of Income-tax, however, has gone up from Rs. 18.35 lakhs to Rs. 22.17 lakhs. In consequence, the Provinces are expected to receive an additional Rs. 2 crores which, with the arrears of Rs. 81 lakhs due from last year, will bring the amount to be distributed to the Provinces this year up to the record figure of Rs. 7.39 lakhs.

The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank paid over to Government have amounted to Rs. 2.47 lakhs as compared with Rs. 1.36 lakhs estimated. The working of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which shows increases under both gross revenue and expenditure is expected to show a surplus of Rs. 1.79 lakhs more than the estimate. The net contribution to be paid by the Railways of Rs. 19.12 lakhs is Rs. 9 crores more than was provided in the budget estimates.

#### EXPENDITURE—DEFENCE SERVICES

The details of the revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1941-42 amounts to Rs. 102.45 lakhs

The expansion of the Defence schemes previously undertaken and the putting into force of new measures to improve India's coastal, air and land defences, involve a large increase in India's share of the war bill. India's total war commitments, therefore, estimated last year at Rs. 52 crores initial outlay and Rs. 19 crores annually recurring, have now risen to Rs. 100 crores initial and Rs. 40 crores recurring. During the current year, the Indian portion of the initial and recurring costs will amount to roughly Rs. 54 crores, which is Rs. 18½ crores in excess of the amount provided for Indian war measures in the budget.

The increase of Rs. 17.63 lakhs in the cost of India's war measures is made up of the increase of Rs. 18½ crores just mentioned less Rs. 85 lakhs on account of India's share of contributions for defence purposes received from the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. The gross expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies expected to be brought to account in India's books for the year 1941-42 amount in all to Rs. 300 crores. Out of this amount, after India's share as shown above has been deducted, the balance of Rs. 200 crores is borne by His Majesty's Government. This latter figure does not include the value of equipment supplied and other services rendered by His Majesty's Government without charge.

Considerable expansion has taken place during the current year in the several defence schemes. India's armies are now more than twice as large as they were at the corresponding stage of the war of 1914-18. There are in all over a million men under arms—twice as many as at this time last year. All the Indian cavalry regiments have been mechanised and additional units of the new types are steadily

being raised. Heavy and light armoured formations have been raised and others are forming. In order to provide concentrated training, the various schools and other training institutions of the Defence Services have been greatly increased.

By resourceful improvisation and use of equipment, it has been possible to push on fast with the schemes of expansion. The establishment of new factories and the expansion of existing factories in India for the production of ammunition, lethal weapons, explosives and other articles required for war purposes, as a result of the Roger Mission schemes, will ease the position in this respect as the new and expanded factories come into production.

The programme of expansion for the Royal Indian Navy is now materialising rapidly. Two new sloops of the latest type are fully commissioned and have already seen service. Others are under construction in the United Kingdom. A large programme of building in connection with local Naval Defence requirements has been undertaken in India and some vessels have already been completed and commissioned.

The development of the Air Forces had proceeded as far as the provision of equipment and skilled technical personnel permitted and much progress has been made during the year. Modern aircraft are now arriving in India and a substantial quantity of modern training equipment has been received. The scheme for the assemblage and manufacture of aeroplanes in India has made good progress. It is confidently hoped that the factory will complete its programme of fighter and bomber construction before the end of the present calendar year.

#### CIVIL EXPENDITURE, 1941-42—SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

Civil expenditure in the current year has increased by Rs. 1.72 lakhs, which is mainly due to the expansion of schemes and activities connected with the war. The Department of Supply has made steady progress. Something like 700 million yards of cotton textiles will be purchased during the year 1942-43. The clothing factories, multiplied ten-fold since the outbreak of war, are turning out more than 8 million garments a month. Production in other directions, some of them introduced in India for the first time, has also been rapidly stepped up. The Directorate-General of Munitions Production has launched satisfactorily a large number of new projects. Resulting from the suggestions of the Roger Mission, His Majesty's Government have approved 20 new projects involving a capital outlay of about Rs. 12 crores; these are now in various stages of execution. The whole of the capital outlay on the erection and establishment of these factories is being borne by His Majesty's Government. The load on trade and Railway workshops has been substantially increased. From the beginning of the war to the end of December 1941 the orders placed through the Department are valued at approximately Rs. 2.80 crores, not including the value of the manufactured goods produced in the Ordnance factories. The additional expenditure on account of these expanded activities is expected to amount to Rs. 64 lakhs in the current year.

India has now been admitted to the benefits of Lease-Lend facilities, given by America, on the same terms as the United Kingdom itself and other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The indents placed for supplies on Lease-Lend terms up to the end of January 1942 amounted in value to roughly Rs. 47 crores.

The precise nature of the obligation that these Lease-Lend facilities will impose on the Governments making use of them has not yet been intimated. It is, therefore, considered prudent to budget and account for these stores in the same way as though they had been obtained by cash purchase until the manner in which the Lease-Lend liability will ultimately be liquidated becomes known. The great bulk of the amounts involved relate to stores supplied for the Defence Services in India; but the exact division of these amounts between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India cannot at this stage be determined.

There has also been an inevitable expansion in other spheres of Government administrations to deal with special war time problems. The amount to be paid this year in connection with the A. R. P. mainly in grants to the Provinces, is estimated at Rs. 1.07 lakhs.

The net increase in the Civil estimates would have reached a larger figure but for a welcome reduction of Rs. 3.09 lakhs in the interest charges.

#### FINANCIAL YEAR, 1942-43—REVENUE

The total revenue estimates for the next financial year amount to Rs. 140.00 lakhs as compared with Rs. 129.62 lakhs in the revised estimates of the current

year. The yield from Customs duties is taken at Rs. 30 crores as against Rs. 36 crores revised. This reduced estimate is due to the considerable drop in imports expected as a result of the extension of war to the Pacific. The estimate also includes the revenue of Rs. 2 crores which is expected to result from the doubling of the import duty on raw cotton.

The yield from Corporation Tax, Income-tax, together with the Central surcharge is expected to increase by over Rs. 3 crores and the collections of the Excess Profits tax have been put at Rs. 20 crores as compared with Rs. 8 crores in the current year. On this basis the divisible pool of income-tax will increase to Rs. 25.75 lakhs. On the assumption that the sum to be retained by the Centre from the provincial moiety will be maintained at Rs. 4½ crores, the share of the Provinces next year is expected to reach the figure of Rs. 8.37 lakhs.

#### DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The Defence budget for 1942-43 amounts to Rs. 133.00 lakhs. Of the total amounts shown, roughly Rs. 47 crores represent initial expenditure and Rs. 86 crores annual recurring expenditure. An allowance has been made for an aggregate credit of Rs. 1½ crores for the year from the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund.

India's Defence expenditure is only a fraction—about one-fourth—of the gross Defence expenditure likely to be brought to account in India's books during 1942-43. In other words, the amount of expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies that the Government of India expect to recover from His Majesty's Government during that year, under the operation of the Financial Settlement, exceeds the enormous total of Rs. 400 crores.

#### CIVIL ESTIMATES

Civil expenditure estimates show increases amounting to Rs. 9.63 lakhs as compared with the current year's revised estimates. Chief provisions, which mainly relate to essential measures connected with the war, are as follows :—

(1) Rs. 4 crores under expenditure on Civil Defence. This estimate which is mainly for A. R. P. measures is, in the very nature of things, purely tentative as its extent will depend on future war developments.

(2) The Technical training Scheme for the Defence Services and Ordnance and Munitions factories has been expanded to provide for training 48,000 men (as against 15,000 originally contemplated) by the end of 1942-43. This is to cost Rs. 2 crores. A further expansion costing about Rs. 20 lakhs is also being undertaken to meet the needs of civil industry. Of these amounts Rs. 1.32 lakhs are expected to be spent next year.

(3) There is a special provision of Rs. 26 lakhs for expediting the Civil Aviation programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 35 lakhs.

(4) Rs. 17 lakhs are required to complete the programme of the Karachi, Peshawar and Delhi Broadcasting Houses and the construction of the new high power transmitter for foreign broadcasts.

(5) The continued expansion of the Supply Department's activities is expected to require a further Rs. 48 lakhs over and above the amount provided this year.

(6) There is an increase of Rs. 1.75-lakhs under interest charges.

(7) The amount to be transferred to the War Risks Insurance Fund is Rs. 3.24 lakhs and to the Cotton Growers Fund Rs. 2.00 lakhs.

#### THE FINANCIAL POSITION

The financial position for the coming year can be summarised as follows :—

	Lakhs of Rs.
Civil Estimates	54.07
Defence Expenditure	133.00
Total expenditure estimate	187.07
Total revenue at the existing level of taxation	140.00
Prospective deficit	47.07

#### WAYS AND MEANS

Turning to the ways and means position, the Finance Member stated that the Defence Loans since they were first issued in June, 1940, had produced a total of Rs. 110.30 lakhs up to the end of January, 1942. During the current year the outstanding balance of the 3 per cent. Bonds amounting to Rs. 10½ crores had been repaid. Apart from the undated Sterling loans, the only loan which Government



have the option of repaying next year is the 5 per cent. Loan, 1942-47, but of this the balance still outstanding is only Rs. 65 lakhs.

With the increased war demand for supplies from India Sterling has continued to accumulate in the Reserve Bank at a rate greatly in excess of the previous year's figures. Purchases by the Bank during the first ten months of the current year amounted to approximately £57 million. The net refunds by the Secretary of State for recoverable war expenditure and for purchases in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government and Allied Governments are expected to aggregate £53 million for the current year, after providing for the repayment of 2½ per cent and 3 per cent undated Sterling loans next month. For next year these are estimated at £164 million after allowing for the repayment of the remaining undated Sterling loans and for the payment of £13 million for the purchase of the Bengal and North Western Railway and the Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railway.

Under the compulsory Sterling debt repatriation scheme the total terminable Stock acquired last year amounted to Rs. 97 crores. The sum paid out to those holders who were entitled to payment in Sterling was £66.3 million, while of Rs. 14.56 crores dealt with under the Indian Vesting Order, Rs. 13.30 crores were acquired in exchange for counterparts, the small remainder being paid for in cash. Including the market purchases which preceded this first compulsory acquisition, the total Sterling debt has been reduced by £101 million and the annual interest payments in Sterling by over £4 million.

The second compulsory scheme of repatriation, which has now been inaugurated in respect of the non-terminable Sterling loans, will require about £70 million for the 2½ per cent and 3 per cent Stocks. Another £70 million will be required next year for payments in connection with the 3½ per cent Stock. The Reserve Bank will be able to make these amounts available to Government without any strain on its Sterling resources on account of its continued large-scale acquisition of Sterling.

As regards the first measure of repatriation, rupee finance was required for terminable Stock of the nominal value of Rs. 84 crores, besides direct payment to some holders in the form of counterparts. Of this amount about half was provided by the Reserve Bank by the purchase of counterparts and the remainder, which could not be paid directly out of Government's balance, was financed from *ad hoc* Treasury Bills or ways and means advances from the Bank. In the beginning of the slack season, Government took over from the Bank about Rs. 25 crores of counterparts against *ad hoc* Treasury Bills.

Of the counterparts held by the Reserve Bank or taken over by Government, some Rs. 47 crores of Stocks—which was considered in excess of the absorption capacity of the market—was later cancelled and a small portion converted into existing loans for which there was a fairly sustained demand from the market. The combined result of these operations was an increase of Rs. 92 crores in the rupee debt and of Rs. 3 crores in the rupee interest charges against a reduction in Sterling debt by Rs. 135 crores and Sterling interest by Rs. 5½ crores.

As opportunity occurred during the year, the *ad hoc* Treasury Bills taken up by the Reserve Bank were gradually cancelled against the transfer of Sterling from the Banking to the Issue Department. Meanwhile counterparts on Government account were sold to the public as they required them.

By the end of December last, out of some Rs. 139 crores of rupee counterparts created since repatriation was first undertaken, Rs. 51 crores were in the hands of the public, a little over Rs. 31 crores were held by the Reserve Bank and Rs. 9½ crores were held on Government account. As Treasury Bill outstandings actually decreased by Rs. 14 crores from March 1, 1941, to January 31, 1942, it may be concluded that the cash payments on account of the counterparts which were cancelled have ultimately been financed almost entirely from Defence Loan proceeds.

In the light of the above successful operation of the rupee finance plan, no unusual difficulty is expected to be encountered in making satisfactory arrangements for the financing of the second instalment of repatriation due to be carried out in two stages—one in March 1942 and the other in January 1943.

The Finance Member took ninety minutes and was cheered at the conclusion of the speech. His new taxation proposals were received in attentive silence broken by derisive laughter from opposition benches as he explained the concessions to income tax and E.P.T. assesses who contributed to the national savings movement. When the motion for introduction of the Finance Bill was put, Congress nationalist benches opposed it with a loud cry of "No." The Bill was nevertheless allowed to be introduced, and the House adjourned till Wednesday the 4th. March.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**4th. MARCH :—**The Assembly held the general discussion on the budget to-day. Mr. A. C. Dutta opening the debate said that the estimates were vague and one could not form a correct judgment from them. Mr. Dutta proceeding enquired why the building programme had been launched at Simla during war time. He felt that no attempt had been made for retrenchment and economy and the country was not getting its money's worth. He also disputed the claim of the Finance Member regarding industrial development of the country during the war. In this connection he referred to aircraft, automobile and shipbuilding industries and asserted that the Government had done everything to thwart their development and little to encourage it.

Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, felt that the incidence of income-tax to some extent fell inequitably on a man with a family in India as compared to Great Britain. He urged that if there was any increase in income-tax in future, the authorities should bear in mind the allowances made in England in fixing the rates. Sir Henry next referred to the optional savings bank deposit system, and suggested that it would assist employees if their optional savings could be deposited monthly just the same as their tax would be deducted each month. He also wanted these deposit to be protected against being mortgaged or otherwise disposed of in advance of receipt. He suggested that his recommendation should also apply to the funding proposals for the benefit of assesses whose annual income did not exceed Rs. 6,000/-.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed congratulated the Finance Member on keeping the finances of the country in stable conditions but he suggested three measures which should be adopted in order to avoid panic and internal disturbance. The first measure was that the banks should always remain open and supply small coins and notes freely for civil requirements. Panic was bound to be caused if the banks remained closed even for one day, he declared. The second measure was that arrangements should be made for storage of foodstuffs and fodder in every district and subdivision. The third step was that the provinces should double the police force and not rely entirely upon civil guards.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said : "I am entirely in favour of spending whatever is necessary to win the war but Indians should have directional interest in the expenditure, and Indians should not be discriminated against. We might commit more blunders than you have done but that is no reason why 163 crores out of the total income of 187 crores should be sent by you without my consent." Strongly denouncing the proposal to tax small incomes like those of Rs. 1,000 a year and also articles like kerosine, Mr. Mehta declared : "The Finance Member is living in a dream world in which he has persuaded himself that purchasing power is running waste in India. I dissociate myself entirely from the scheme of taxing the worker getting rupees onehundred a month. The railway worker has by way of dearness allowance got only some fifteen per cent increase in wages while the cost of living has in some places risen as high as 151 per cent. By taking these small incomes you are taxing the food of these people. I ask the Finance Member to tax the food of the richer people instead. Every year some thousands of dinners costing Rs. 10, 15 or 20 per head are eaten in hotels by rich men who do not require these dinners. Let him tax the dinners of these fashionable wasters. If instead of that you tax the food of the poor worker, you will drive him to borrow the money to pay the tax."

Maulana Zafarali did not agree with the Finance Member that the purchasing power of the masses had gone up and asked the Finance Member whether his own purchasing power had gone up. Maulana Zafarali, proceeding, said that the prices had gone up but the earning capacity of the masses had not kept pace with the rise in prices. The Government, for instance, could buy wheat at controlled prices, but not the poor consumer. And yet in spite of India's appalling poverty, he could say that thousands of crores of rupees would be forthcoming if they were convinced that India was for Indians. He wanted the Finance Member to give up additional taxes, which would raise only twelve crores, but borrow the entire amount, say, from the United States.

Dr. P. N. Bannerji said he would not grudge any amount of money, if it were spent on the defence of the country (official cheers.) He equally agreed with the principle of balancing the war budget partly by taxation and partly by borrowing. Referring to taxation proposals, Dr. Bannerji said that additional tax on kerosine oil would be a hard blow to the poor man ; similarly the lowering of the incidence of income tax would affect a large number of people with fixed income.

Replying first to the points about economy and retrenchment, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member pointed out the extent to which the civil side of the Government equally with the many defence services was at the present time part of the war machinery. It had been urged that even if the number of administrative posts could not be reduced, their pay could be reduced. Replying to this suggestion, the Finance Member pointed out that it amounted to this—that in addition to the taxation which he along with the non-official non-salaried person bore, the salaried official should also suffer a further reduction in his income. From the point of equity, the Finance Member was prepared to say from his observation of the effects of war on the economic position in India that of all individuals occupying a particular income class, say between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 7,000 a year, the ones who were most likely at the present time to have suffered from the impact of war would be the salaried people. They were the individuals whose income had remained more stationery and less in excess of the pre-war figure than other occupants of that class of income. He was prepared to say that 95 per cent of businessmen whose income at this moment was between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 7,000 were enjoying an income of Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 before the war. At the present time the incomes of non-salaried persons were subject to wide fluctuations but the vast majority of those incomes were subject to very powerful upward fluctuations. Referring to the charge that he had been obsessed by a sort of complex about the question of purchasing power and price level, the Finance Member said he did not intend to be a “metaphysical economist” but the question could be stated in simple terms. Certain types of goods were more and more difficult to get, their supply was getting less and less. That in itself would tend to cause a rise in prices, because the volume of demand would remain and the supply would be less and would remain inadequate. That was why the index figures of the cost of living had risen. As regard the question as to what extent the defence industries which were being built up would survive in the postwar period, although he could not attempt to indicate a solution of the problems which would arise after the war, the Finance Member thought it was clear that if India was in a position now to produce certain types of goods then she should be in a better position after the war to switch over to production of goods to meet civilian demand than she would be if she had not undergone industrial expansion during the war.

#### PROTECTIVE DUTIES ON INDUSTRIES

5th. MARCH :—The Assembly to day agreed to refer to a select committee *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries, and passed his Bill to extend the date up to which certain duties characterized as protective shall have effect. The House passed a number of demands for supplementary grants in respect of railways and adjourned.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

6th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced to-day. *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, offered to Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* to help him to a clear appreciation of the repatriation transactions by placing before him, subject to the ordinary confidential rules of Government, all the material he would like to have to arrive at an objective and dispassionate judgment. The offer was made in reply to criticisms made by Mr. Mehta in moving his cut motion. In view of the offer Mr. Mehta eventually withdrew his motion.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

“Insufficient utilisation of the country's resources” was criticised by *Pandit Nikant Das* who moved the next cut motion. He commented on the lack of co-ordination between one department and another of Government. He suggested the establishment of a planning department of Government which could stand between the supply and defence departments and also between the producers and consumers. *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, replying, explained that two important organisations, one in South India and the other in Bengal, were trying rapidly to establish the aluminium industry, and he hoped that very soon, within a few months, aluminium would be produced in the country. He had already given the assurance that the aluminium industry would be protected against unfair competition from abroad after the war. As regards caustic soda, besides Imperial Chemicals, who were now in production, Tatas were also expected to be in production this year. Sulphuric acid, the extraction of pure sulphur, the production of acetic acid and potassium chloride and coal ties were also receiving attention and some of them would soon be produced. Several concerns had come forward with schemes for the

production of power alcohol and Government would give every possible help to them. He claimed that what had been done was substantial as an indication of Government's goodwill and earnestness. The motion was withdrawn.

#### DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* by the next cut motion asked for a clear enunciation of labour department's policy during the war, particularly on his demand that the basic minimum substratum of living standard of the working classes should not suffer. For this purpose he demanded that the working classes should get a dearness allowance corresponding to every rise in the cost of living, so that the standard of living might be kept up, even at its present low level. He taxed the Finance Member with utter lack of sympathy. Sir *Feroz Khan Noon*, Labour Member, said he had missed no opportunity of keeping in touch with two labour leaders in the India House, Mr. Mehta and Mr. Joshi, and others, consulting them on all matters connected with labour and his department was already taking up and constantly reviewing the progress of suggestions made by these labour leaders. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* withdrew the motion "in view of the general assurances given."

#### RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The question of release of political prisoners was again raised through a cut motion. Mr. *Kazmi*, mover of the motion, characterised the Government's policy in this matter as harsh and vindictive and lacking in vision, imagination and grace. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying, said that he had already explained the policy of Government on this question. He informed the House that on January 15, 1189 persons were undergoing sentences for offences under Defence of India Rules and 171 persons were under detention under Rules 26 and 129. It was not, therefore, proper to contend that repression existed in the country when only two thousand and odd persons in a population of 400 million remained as prisoners. He believed that the word repression had been used somewhat loosely. He asserted that Government had not the slightest desire to exercise repression and maintained that Government kept in prison only those persons whom they considered it necessary to do so. Continuing, the Home Member said he had done his best to remove as far as possible difficulties but it must be admitted that Government had high responsibility to see that no great danger was let loose in addition to the external danger. He was particularly pleased to inform the House that provincial Governments had released certain prisoners without waiting for the decision of reviewing tribunals. The motion was rejected without a division.

#### GOVT. SERVANTS' PENSIONS

Mr. *Joshi* pleaded for greater facilities being given to inferior servants of the Government of India in the matter of pensions. He particularly drew the attention of the Government to the inferior servants in the postal and telegraph services. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* assured Mr. Joshi of his sympathies to the inferior servants of the Government but pointed out that he must pay due regard to the position of the taxpayer especially when they were faced with larger deficits than occurred at any time in the history of India. Mr. Joshi withdrew the cut motion in view of the Finance Member's sympathetic reply. The House then adjourned.

#### TRIBUTES TO RANGOON POSTAL WORKERS

7th. MARCH :—Compensatory and house rent allowances for all postmen and lower grade staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department were demanded by *Rao Saheb Sivaraj* on a cut motion to-day. The *Rao Saheb* referred to the "magnificent work" of the Indian postmen in Rangoon during the air raids and the postmen in India would, he was confident, give an equally good account of themselves in similar conditions. Sir *Annew Clow* acknowledged the tribute to the efficiency of the department. Public satisfaction, he suggested, was due largely to the cheapness of the service and if all the suggestions for larger allowances were adopted that advantage would very rapidly disappear. The motion was negatived. *Rao Saheb Sivaraj*, moving the next cut motion, asked for definite representation for the depressed classes in the Government of India services. He said that the depressed classes should be treated as separate class for these purposes and should be allotted as much a percentage in the services as was given to the Moslems, because numerically the depressed classes were more or less equal to the Muslims. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, expressed sympathy with the object underlying the motion. The Government, he said, had never abandoned the principle that everyone recruited to the public services must have the minimum qualifications. He held that no

useful purpose would be served by making reservation for the depressed classes unless an adequate number of qualified men were forthcoming from that community. Mr. *Sivraj* withdrew the motion.

#### INADEQUACY OF POSTAL STAFF

Sir *Henry Gidney*, through another cut motion, raised the question of the inadequacy of staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department to deal with the emergency work created by the war. Sir *Andrew Clow* admitted that there was some truth in the complaints made regarding the inadequacy of staff. He, however, reminded the House that only a few years ago they wanted the Government to economise and cut down all unnecessary staff. Government had recruited 2,000 men to the permanent staff and another 1,000 to the temporary staff to cope with the additional volume of work. The motion was withdrawn.

#### INADEQUACY OF MUSLIMS IN GOVT. DEPTS.

*Maulvi Abdul Gham* next raised discussion on the inadequacy of the number of Mussalmans in the Posts and Telegraphs Department and complained that proper effect was not being given to the resolution of 1934. Sir *Andrew Clow* claimed that the Posts and Telegraphs was one of the departments which took scrupulous care to secure adequate representation of the minorities and particularly of the Mussalmans. The motion was rejected without a division.

Sir *Raza Ali* referred to the "hardships and discrimination to which Moslem officials are subjected by the administrative head of the Department of Archaeology." *Pandit Lakshmi Kant Maitra* defended the department by quoting figures to show that the Mussalmans were given a larger proportion of posts than they were entitled to. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 10th.

10th MARCH :—Hon'ble Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, Member for Education, Health and Lands, replied on Sir *Raza Ali's* motion to-day. Mr. *Sarker* emphasised that the complaint was not about paucity of Muslims in the department. Indeed there could be no such complaint, for in all cadres there was adequate Muslim representation varying between 32 and 33 and one-third per cent. As regards individual cases cited by Sir *Raza Ali*, Mr. *Sarker* conceded that in 2 instances the Director-General had committed an error of judgment but declared that the Director-General's decisions were not influenced by any other consideration than the merits. Such errors did not proceed from communal bias. Mr. *Sarker* remarked that the mover and his supporters had served public interest in bringing these cases to the Government's notice but he hoped that they would now consider the chapter closed. Sir *Raza Ali* withdrew the cut motions.

The question of inadequate representation of Mussalmans in the Imperial Institute of veterinary research, specially in the Gazetted ranks, was raised by *Haji Abdul Sattar Sait*. Mr. *Azhar Ali* and *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* supported him. Mr. *N. R. Sarker* explained that the resolution of 1934, relating to communal representation in the public services, did not apply to Veterinary Research Institute. Notwithstanding this, he showed by quoting figures that the Mussalmans had done very well in that department. He promised to look into particular complaints brought up during the discussion. The cut motion was withdrawn.

#### CORRUPTION IN THE SUPPLY DEPT.

Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* discussed the system of purchases and inspection in the Supply Department. He believed that the present war would continue at least for 3 more years and in the future India would have to depend more and more on herself. Sir *Ziauddin* firstly dealt with the question of corruption in the Supply Department and after quoting some cases, alleged that merit or recommendations did not count in that department, it was only money. He next made an earnest plea for the great utilisation of cottage industries. Mr. *E. M. Jenkins*, Secretary, Supply Department, replying to the debate, said that Government did not neglect cottage industries and were able to purchase over two million blankets, coats, hats and cutlery from that source. The department had also called a conference of provincial directors of industries to meet here on March 23 when plans for the fuller utilisation of cottage industries products would be discussed. Mr. *Jenkins* said that they had ceased to recruit army men into the Supply Department, but in order to safeguard the rights of certain individuals, they had to retain some army men in the Department. As for corruption, Mr. *Jenkins* said that it had been the gravest concern of all of them. He said that there was nothing new in what he had been told in the course of the debate. He admitted that corruption did exist in the department, but it was not possible to root it out completely during

the war conditions, particularly when the public did not co-operate with them. He wanted wholesome public opinion to assist in rooting out corruption. The motion was talked out.

#### DEPARTMENT OF PRODUCTION

The advisability of creating a Department of Production separate from Supply was urged by *Sir Frederick James*, who moved the next cut motion. The quantity and quality of equipment, he declared, was as determining a factor in war as the number of soldiers or the skill of generals. *Mr. Jenkins* replying made it clear that the Supply Department was handling production now and difficulties were inherent in the supply situation and not in the organisation of the department, which he believed was more or less on the right lines. The cut motion was withdrawn.

#### GOVT. POLICY RE. CIVIL DEFENCE

*Mr. C. P. Lawson* raised discussion on the Government's policy regarding civil defence. He said that the civil defence was a problem for all irrespective of politics. He enquired whether the functions of the Central Government were advisory or supervisory, adding that the Central Government had responsibility at any rate to protect its own property, such as railways. *Mr. Symon*, Joint Secretary, Civil Defence, after explaining what the Government had been doing to organise the department within such a short time stated that the Government of India did not see in any of the recent political speeches by Indian leaders any indication for setting up a parallel organisation to the Civil Defence Department. *Messrs. Dam and Mohammad Ahmed Kazmi* also supported the cut motion. As *Mr. Kazmi* could not conclude his observation by 5 o'clock the Chair applied the guillotine, after which all demands for grants were passed. The Assembly then adjourned till the next-day, when the Finance Bill came up for consideration.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

**11th. MARCH :—**As the motion for the second reading of the Finance Bill to-day offered scope for unbridled oratory, *Sir Jeremy Ratsman* asked non-official members to assist in the quick dispatch of business because Government members "have a most urgent task to perform in these days."

*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai* took one hour to expatiate on the need for Government making adequate arrangements for security. The cost of these measures should not, he suggested, be realized by extra taxation but should be met "by adjusting accounts in some way."

*Sir V. Chandravarkar* would not let the impression get about that India was not behind the Government, but he felt that in the present atmosphere when Government stood completely divorced from public opinion, no Englishman in India should exhibit racial arrogance. He confessed that the support of men like himself and *Sir Cowasji* did not carry weight and suggested that the recent speeches of *Pandit Nehru*, *Mr. Gandhi*, *Pandit Pant* and *Mr. Rajagopalachariar* had done more than anything else to steady public opinion, and that the vital need of the hour was a government in the hands of popular leaders.

*Maulana Zafar Ali* thought that Indian members did not count in the counsels of Government, that if real political power was granted Hindus and Moslems would come to terms, and that India alone so appeased could win the war.

**12th. MARCH :—***Sirdar Sant Singh* speaking on the Finance Bill was cheered when he extended a welcome to *Sir Stafford Cripps* and commented appreciatively on the announcement that His Majesty's Government had reached definite conclusions. "One thing is certain", he went on, "and that is that there is going to be a further delay in really transferring power from the bureaucracy, if the decision contemplates any such transfer at all. But I may say that there is still time for adequate steps for that transfer of power." He however, recalled the experience of *Mr. Montagu's* visit and said that Indians had to be careful about the results of *Sir Stafford Cripps'* visit. The *Sardar* was glad that the necessity of increasing the morale of the civil population of India had been brought home to the British Government. He said, "we are not concerned with the motives of the British Government in their action with regard to India at this late hour. The peril to Indians is greater than the peril to a handful of Englishmen in India. The bureaucracy has been guilty of so many misdeeds resulting in India's present plight. It is high time the bureaucracy vacated the treasury benches and handed over the administration of the country to the representatives of the people."

Mr. *Husseinbhai Lalji* asked the Finance Member what he proposed to do with the huge sterling balances lying idle in England. He expressed the opinion that all requirements of war must be financed by long term loans.

Sir *Yamin Khan* complained that Government was not exercising proper vigilance on defence expenditure and urged Government to put down with iron hand all corruption. He averred that it would be dishonest on the part of non-official members if they permitted their countrymen to be subjected to further taxation without ensuring that the huge defence expenditures were given the closest examination. Objecting to the extra taxation on silver, Sir *Yamin* drew the attention of the Finance Member to the phenomenal increase in the price of gold and silver in the course of the last three months and asked Government to take immediate action to stop this wild fluctuation in prices and hoarding of these metals. Finally, Sir *Yamin* said that the imposition of incometax on lower income was likely to cause greater hardships on the poorer sections of the population who were already groaning under increased cost of life.

Mr. *P. Griffiths* made a fervent appeal for unity and urged that Sir *Stafford Cripps* should be given a chance to succeed in his mission. The failure of *Stafford Cripps* in India would mean a disaster for all. Mr. *Griffiths* next referred to the Viceroy's appeal for a national war front and said that there was nothing sinister in that appeal. It only meant the creation and mobilisation of public opinion for an intensive war effort and to build up the morale of the people. It was intended to instil determination to face danger and reinforce our hearts.

Sir *Henry Richardson* said that unless the proposed rebate under E. P. T. was properly explained it looked like a gamble. He was grateful to Government for giving effect to two of his earlier suggestions in the form of amendments to the Finance Bill.

*Rao Sahab Sivraj* thought that the present Government of India was "ancient and worn-out" but he believed it might be reconstructed so as to make it capable of moving with the times and fight the enemy.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that the Finance Member's admonition to members of the House to make their speeches on the Bill short because Government members were busy with war work was not a happy one. That admonition, he thought, was not in consonance with the spirit displayed by Mr. *Churchill* who had claimed that the British nation was bound to win because they were a free nation with free institutions and had never stifled parliamentary criticism. He had not concluded when the House rose.

13th. MARCH:—An appeal to all parties in the country and in the Central Assembly to hush all controversy and concentrate on the war effort, was made by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* in his speech on the Finance Bill to-day. In his view, there were four or five people in this country who could be trusted to give their best and bring the masses together. They were the Maharaja of Bikaner or the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Sir *Sikandar Hayat Khan* and Mr. M. N. Roy. Mr. *Fazlul Huq's* name also could be added to the list.

Sir *Frederick James* reciprocated on behalf of the European section Mr. *Jamnadas's* appeal for a truce and declared: "We are living in a revolutionary period. India is fast changing. Use the present occasion to root out any remaining evidence of racial or social exclusiveness. Any section believing in complete isolation is living in a fool's paradise." Sir *Frederick* implored his community "to throw in our lot with the people of the country. In common service we can lay the lasting foundation for harmonious relationship between the two countries."

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi* referred to the huge defence expenditure and asked Government what it had done for the defence of India. He said: "You have left us in the lurch. Goodness alone knows how we are going to defend the country." He asked if India was admitted to the benefit of Lease and Lend facilities, why Rs. 34 crores had been budgetted for cash payments to the United States of America on account of India's purchases from them.

Mr. *M. Nauman* considered that the incidence of taxation was bound to aggravate the hardships of the middle classes. He agreed that extra money had to be found to finance the war, but submitted that it should come from those who could afford to give it. Mr. *K. C. Neogy* was speaking and had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned till the 16th.

16th. MARCH:—A suggestion that non-official Indians should be associated with the proposed American Technical Mission to India, was made by Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, speaking to-day on the first reading of the Finance Bill. Such association of non-official advisers, said Mr. *Neogy*, was necessary in order to lay at rest

suspicious that the visit of the Mission might lead to the creation of vested interests in the industrial field. Indian public opinion was not going to tolerate these vested interests, he declared. Mr. Neogy also wanted that non-official Indian advisers should be taken fully into confidence both by the Government and by the U. S. Mission in all its activities. He insisted on an assurance on these lines because the complaint had been made that non-official advisers associated with the Eastern Group Conference were not taken into full confidence on all important questions and that their services were not fully utilized.

Mr. A. C. Dutta thought that the House of Commons announcement of the proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps was bringing to India to discuss, was of special importance because it invited our efforts with particular reference to the defence of India and not with reference to the war in all theatres. This he regarded as a revolutionary change in the attitude towards India and Indians. There were also other remarkable features of the announcement, he said. The initiative had been taken by Government and the formula that the people should make agreed proposals for a settlement had been given up. The announcement also contained the recognition that it was impossible to defend India without the co-operation of Indians. In the announcement, again, was the clear admission that India was one entire nation and that all ideas and proposals for partition had been knocked on the head once for all. These, said Mr. Dutta, were welcome features of the announcement, although he had no idea of the exact nature of the proposals which Sir Stafford was bringing.

Mr. N. V. H. Symons, Additional Secretary, Civil Defence Department, attempted to dispel the impression that the Department was manned by bureaucrats unwilling to trust the people. Explaining the functions of the Civil Defence Department, Mr. Symons said these were much the same as those of the medical profession, partly prophylactic and partly curative, to ensure that falling bombs did as little damage as possible and that the damage done was repaired as quickly as possible. If force was to be used either to deal with an internal disturbance or an attack from the air, that was the function of the civic guards or the Defence Department. The objective of his department, he went on, was to have a warden for every 150 people or 25 houses, which the warden was to visit regularly. So far, however, only about 50 per cent of the defence staff required had been obtained. The number of wardens required had not yet been obtained. Mr. Symons, dealing with the question of evacuation, said that the policy which the Government of India had asked provincial Governments to follow, was that first and foremost all those who had essential work to do in cities should at all costs stay and never leave, while as regards non-essential people, nothing should be done to prevent them from leaving if they wished to. The railways had made elaborate plans to move such people.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor alluded to non-official criticisms of the behaviour of certain military men in Poona and Bombay, and said that no one regretted more than the Government such occurrences. He informed the House that every incident involving injury or alarm to the public was promptly reported to General Headquarters and necessary measures were taken to avoid repetition of these incidents. Sir Gurunath also stated that the Government had decided to establish a special military corps of military police in principal military stations to investigate all such cases and mete out severe punishment to all military men found guilty of gross misbehaviour to members of the public. The Government had also taken other measures, such as tightening of control on selling of liquor to military men and putting restrictions on entry of troops in certain areas with a view to preventing the possibility of unhappy incidents occurring. He also mentioned that the Government had provided a considerable sum of money for compensating the aggrieved parties. Sir Gurunath was still speaking when the House adjourned.

17th. MARCH :—Mr. G. S. Bozman, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, dealt with criticisms of the arrangements for evacuation of Indians from Burma and Malaya. Referring to Malaya first he estimated the total number of people who had come away at approximately 5,000. It had been stated, Mr. Bozman went on, that in the evacuation from Penang there had been racial discrimination. So far as could be ascertained, practically all Europeans in Penang came away and he had not heard of any Indian who had been able to leave. He reminded the House that the Governor of the Straits Settlements had made a public statement in which he had said that the evacuation of Penang took place without his knowledge or orders, and that should further withdrawals of people take place he had issued



instructions that no distinction of race, creed or colour should be permitted. The House would understand, Mr. Bozman said, that the Government of India had no means now of ascertaining what the true facts were. There was no communication with the Malayan Government, direct or through any channels. A number of people who had come away from Malaya had told stories which were remarkably consistent. There was sufficient evidence to warrant a thorough and impartial inquiry into the actual facts when circumstances permitted such an inquiry being undertaken. This view had been forwarded to the proper authorities. As regards Burma, every ship on which we could lay hands had been employed for evacuation from that country and the total number of people evacuated was between 45,000 and 50,000. That, he suggested, was not an unsatisfactory figure considering the short space of time and the conditions of constant air raids in which it had taken place. There was now in operation a scheme of evacuation by air. This scheme had been organized by the Government of Burma and the Government of India and Indian National Airways had given every assistance they could in providing machines, while Chinese National Airways were doing splendid work in taking people away from Burma. He assured the House that in this evacuation scheme, as in all evacuation schemes, emphasis had been laid on avoiding any kind of racial discrimination.

**18th. MARCH :—**After 5 days' debate on the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill the Assembly divided and passed the motion by forty-nine votes to sixteen. The Moslem League voted against it. Of the Nationalist Party, one voted with the League while a few voted with the Government and some remained neutral. In his reply to the debate, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, said there had been comments of two kinds on the budget proposals. The greater volume of comment had taken the usual line about the weight of the burdens imposed on the country but there had also been a note of criticism that the sacrifice which the country was being called upon to bear at the present time was if anything disproportionate to the needs of the situation. He found himself much more impressed by the latter type of criticism than the former. Dealing at length with criticisms of the manner in which the accounting of lease and lend supplies had been done, the Finance Member referred to the suggestion that all that we had to do was to credit ten crores in the current year and thirty four crores in the year 1942-43; and the deficit would have vanished. This, he said, was an illusion of the kind that beset people in Britain when they thought that Russia would win the war for them. Critics in this case thought that America could balance the budget for them. After explaining the details of lease and lend arrangements, Sir *Jeremy* said that in the circumstances and in view of the amount actually included in the budget on this account, the manner of treatment of lease lend receipts could not possibly have made any substantial difference in our budgetary policy. Their effect was so small that they neither affected the taxation nor the borrowing proposals; there could be no question of the tax-payer or the lender to Government being asked to make greater sacrifices on account of the way in which Government were at present treating the accounting of the lease lend stores. Referring to a question put to him about the conditions which would be attached to the Government's share of the re-equipment reserve for industry, the Finance Member said he was not at present in a position to formulate them precisely, but broadly speaking Government would be anxious to see that such money was not used to increase dividends to shareholders but utilised to strengthen the position of the industry concerned after the war. Alluding to the position of those who had been victims of heavy loss in Burma and Malaya, he said that he had not had time to discuss the position with those concerned. The suggestion that the central board of revenue was not prepared to make any allowance for the unfortunate plight of these people was an unjustifiable one, because the board were prepared to hear all these people had to say and devise the most suitable measures of relief. As regards the sterling balances, he said these had hitherto been used in the best possible way, namely, extinguishing the external debt and buying up railways and so on, and Government would endeavour to continue to use them as opportunities presented themselves in the best possible way.

In the course of discussion of the bill clause by clause, the Finance Member accepted an amendment moved by Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* seeking to exempt certain machinery from the 20 per cent additional import duty. The amendment was passed. The machinery concerned is comprised in items numbers 72, 72(1), 72(2) and 72(3) of the first schedule to the Tariff Act.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* moved another amendment the effect of which would

be to exempt protected industries from the surcharge on customs duties. The amendment was rejected. The House then adjourned.

19th. MARCH :—A sudden development took place to-day while Mr. *M. A. Kazmi's* amendment proposing to omit from the Finance Bill the provision for taxing incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was under discussion. Mr. *L. K. Moitra* mentioned a point which had escaped the Government's attention and had not been mentioned in earlier debates. He said that the Bengal Act taxing trades, professions, callings and employments provided that every person liable to income-tax must pay a fixed annual tax of Rs. 30. This meant that new assesses would not only pay Rs. 16 annually to the Government of India but would also become liable to pay Rs. 30 to the Bengal Government. This revelation came as a bombshell. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* was informed that Mr. *Moitra's* contention was correct. It was also stated that another province, probably the C. P., also has legislation taxing employments. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Mr. *N. M. Joshi* and Mr. *A. C. Dutta* supported the amendment in the interests of the poorer classes and Mr. *K. C. Neogy* reinforced Mr. *Moitra's* point by quoting textually from the Bengal Act. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* had intended supporting the amendment on political grounds because he did not wish to disturb in these days the mental equilibrium of the class affected by the proposed extension of the income-tax classification, but felt doubly convinced after hearing Mr. *Moitra* that the amendment should be passed. He also brought forth the argument that during the last elections to the Central Assembly in 1934, the lowering of the taxable income to Rs. 1,000 had resulted in such a large increase in enfranchised persons that the Congress won the elections easily. If this limit was again lowered, the Congress might be grateful to the Finance Member but not to the other parties.

Sir *Jeremy Raisman* announced amidst cheers the decision of the Government to raise the limit of the lower minimum level of income-tax from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. This means that out of the estimated new assesses numbering 750,000 about 500,000 will be exempted from income-tax and that the estimated income-tax from this class of over a crore of rupees will be substantially reduced.

While announcing this concession, Sir *Jeremy Raisman* did not hide from the House that he ruefully viewed the damage thus done to an important feature of his Budget. His proposal was not intended so much to get revenue as to make the lower classes tighten their belt and reduce consumption. He had calculated that under the original proposal purchasing power to the extent of a hundred crores would have been affected, while under the modification he had announced only Rs. 40 crores of purchasing power would be affected. The Finance Member said that even though the point raised by Mr. *Moitra* showed an entirely unintended consequence, the Finance Bill had provided escape in that the people in Bengal could contribute to Defence Loans and not pay tax on income. As by choosing the first alternative they would not become assesses they would not be liable to the provincial tax. However, he had decided to make a gesture to the non-official benches, but in order to encourage saving he intended to maintain the alternative of subscription to Defence Loans for classes having incomes of from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 even though the majority of these classes would now be not liable to income-tax. He did not think that Sir *Cowasji Jehangir's* fears about franchise were well grounded and in any case, it was not the business of the House in considering financial proposals to worry about the effect on the number of the electorate.

Mr. *Kazmi* withdrew his amendment and, instead, Dr. *Banerjee* moved an amendment which was in the name of Mr. *Laichand Navalrai*, fixing the minimum level at Rs. 1,500. The House adopted this amendment.

20th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill was passed to-day by 44 votes to 14. The minority represented the Moslem League Party's votes. The Nationalist Party remained neutral and did not participate in the third reading of the Bill owing to the feeling expressed by the leader of the party that the Chair's ruling regarding the scope of the debate on the third reading had curtailed the power of the House. This attitude of the Nationalist Party combined with the Moslem League's previous decision to take no further part in the debate resulted in the curtailment of the debate which might otherwise have lasted the entire sitting.

The House next resumed discussion on the amendment to reduce the price of postcards to two pice. Mr. *K. C. Neogy* recalled the principle of running the Postal Department on a commercial basis and felt that that principle had been sacrificed without explanation and without a promise that it would be restored after the war. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* read out a part of his speech introducing the

emergency Finance Bill in 1940, when he made it clear that the proposal to increase postal rates was "a vehicle for an indirect tax." The House was satisfied with the explanation but eleven members of the opposition insisted on recording their support for the reduction motion.

When the *Finance Member* moved the third reading of the Bill, *Mian Ghias-ud-din* suggested unanimous support to the Bill as a moral encouragement to the soldiers fighting India's battles. After Mr. *Kazmi* had thanked the *Finance Member* for exempting the lower classes from income-tax, the debate abruptly concluded and the House voted on the Finance Bill. The House then adjourned till the 24th. March.

**24th. MARCH :—**The Assembly devoted to-day to consideration of non-official Bills. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, leader of the Congress Party, along with a few other members of the Congress Party, attended the Assembly to-day.

The House passed the Bills amending the Indian Limitation Act and the Indian Companies Act, as passed by the Council of State.

#### WEEKLY HOLIDAYS BILL

**25th. MARCH :—**On the motion of Mr. *H. C. Prior*, the House passed the Weekly Holidays Bill which provides that every person employed otherwise than in a confidential capacity or in position of management in any shop, restaurant or theatre shall be allowed in each week a holiday of one whole day. The Bill extends to the whole of British India and will come into force in a province or in a specified area within a province only if the provincial Government by notification in the official *Gazette* so directs.

The Assembly also passed Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill facilitating the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries. The House then adjourned till the 31st.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES AMEND. BILL

**31st. MARCH :—**On the motion of Mr. *S. N. Roy* the Assembly passed the Motor Vehicles Bill amending the Motor Vehicles Act 1939. Mr. Roy said the amendments proposed were more or less of a formal nature. The Assembly then adjourned.

#### RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

**1st. APRIL :—**The Assembly to-day threw out by 37 votes to 16 Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta's* resolution recommending to the Government that steps be taken for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenus. The Moslem League Party remained neutral.

After Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, Mr. *L. K. Maitra*, Mr. *Kailash Bihar Lal*, Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh*, Mr. *Chattopadhyaya*, Mr. *Kazmi* and *Sardar Sant Singh* had spoken in support of the resolution, Mr. *Dutta* said that Sir *Reginald Maxwell's* (Home Member) remark that the main political parties in the country regarded it as their duty to act as factories for the manufacture of fifth columnists was untrue and a gross calumny on the people of India. He demanded that Sir *Reginald* should withdraw his remark. He declared that the Government's present policy was crippling India's war effort and asked them, even at this late hour, to realize the gravity of the situation and act with broadmindedness. The *Home Member* winding up the debate said that the number of persons convicted under the Defence of India Rules and still serving imprisonment on February 1, 1942 was 720, out of whom the number of *satyagraha* prisoners was 441, as compared with 6,548 on November 1, 1941. The number of persons released so far was 6,475. Those detained under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules on February 1, 1942 were 1,141 as compared to 1,650 on November 1, 1941. He informed the House that acting on the suggestion of the Government of India all Provincial Governments were reviewing the cases of these prisoners and the result of their review was not yet known. He was, therefore, not in a position to give further information on the subject and suggested that members should await the outcome of the review of cases by Provincial Governments before considering the subject further. He made it clear that it was not the desire of the Government to retain any one who was anti-Fascist and who was determined to assist in the prosecution of the war, and he was doing his best to ascertain how many of the prisoners belonged to this class. He added that Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose's* case was not being reviewed by a tribunal at the moment, and would have to be considered latest. He assured the House that the Government was not so indifferent to the question as some members of the House thought. The resolution was pressed to a division and lost by 37 votes to 16. The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

# Generalissimo And Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's Visit

## Comradeship-In-Arms Of Two Great Countries

Few events during the past decade have so deeply stirred the imagination of the Indian people or so spontaneously evoked their goodwill and sympathy as the recent visit of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Coming as it did at a time when China and India are engaged in mortal combat against a common aggressor, the visit was far more than a mere gesture of neighbourly cordiality; it was a mission of supreme significance, designed to strengthen the like of friendship that stretch across the centuries and to seal a blood-bond of comrade-ship-in-arms between two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls or one-third of the population of the World. India on her part rose equal to the occasion and, in doing honour to her august visitors in the way she did, demonstrated to the world that her heart was one with China and that she was determined fully to discharge her share of the burden in furtherance of the common cause.

### The Generalissimo

Till a few years back the Generalissimo, though the head of a Government, was not much heard of in the West. He was not respectable. To many he was but one of the many modernised warlords of China, a sort of bandit-chief. To some he was a mere adventurer and to others he was just another revolutionary.

The great Democracies of the West turned a deaf ear to China's wail for help and justice. And most of them did not care to understand the great role that Chiang was playing as the maker of Modern China.

But the past four years of splendid resistance put up by China against the superior forces of Japan, and the exigencies of the Second World War opened the eyes of the West. Slowly but surely both the United States and Britain began to realise the value and the valour of the great Chinese leader.

What is the secret of Chiang's greatness? The answer is simple—he stands as the indomitable spirit of China.

His life itself reads like a romance though he himself is stern and stoic.

Though now a Christian, Chiang was nurtured in the ancient confucian traditions of China, in which his widowed mother firmly believed. His father, a trader in the village of Chikow, died when the future leader was a boy. His loving mother painfully scraped together the means to give her son an officer's education at Paotingstu Military Academy. When he was fifteen she married him to a girl named Mao.

Chiang's son from his first marriage, Chiang Ching-kuo, was sent to Moscow in the heyday of Soviet-Chinese friendship after the last war. Becoming a Communist, he quarrelled with his father but now has job in China's propaganda department.

Turning-point in Chiang's career was his meeting with pretty and accomplished Miss Soong Mei-ling, youngest daughter of the rich Christian, Americanised Soong family. Divorcing his first wife with a comfortable annuity and dismissing his concubines, China's leader married Mei-ling, and, in course of time, was baptised.

Chiang's marriage into the Soong family made him, posthumously, a brother-in-law of the late great Sun Yat-sen, "Father of the Chinese Republic," for Sun's widow was Soong Mew-ling's elder sister.

Ever since Marshal Chiang met the great Dr. Sun he had been his loyal follower. In the 1910 Chinese revolution he followed his leader to China and commanded a "dare-to-die" brigade of 100 men which captured Hangchow.

At the end of the last war, Sun Yat-sen sent henchman Chiang to Moscow as his representative. Though he did not like Communism, Chiang learnt much from the Red Army.

Back in China, he was put in charge of the new Whampoa Military Academy. Trained there were the hundreds of efficient officers who are now fighting the war against Japan.

When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the Soong family became pre-eminent in Chinese politics. Soong Mei-ling's eldest sister married heavy-jowled Dr. Hsiang Hsi Kung, China's Vice-Premier and Finance Minister.

Brother Tsu-Ven Soong (T. V. for short) is President of the Bank of China, the financial wizard who gets supplies and loans from abroad.

As the head of the Kuomintang, from 1927 onwards, Chiang was entrusted with the task of unifying his vast land.

But his difficulties were great. Vested interests, foreign intrigues, Japan's greedy arms and internal feuds made his task appear as almost superhuman. But he battled with indomitable courage.

And to unite China the Generalissimo employed three weapons: one economic, one political and one military. The last two he used very often at the same time, like those old duellists who carried a sword in one hand and a dagger in the other. So Chiang would argue politely with some recalcitrant warlord while he moved up his troops to the border of the warlord's province. In the last resort it was the Central Government army which made his policy possible: it was, so to speak, the final and unanswerable argument. Well-armed, well-trained by German officers, regularly paid (an unusual thing with Chinese armies) and personally devoted to General Chiang, these divisions became the nucleus of a formidable force. They were so clearly a match for any provincial army that warlords rarely insisted on putting the matter to the test, and if they did, the dispute was quickly settled.

But by the time that warlords were quelled new dissensions arose.

Alone among the other Powers, Soviet Russia had taken a very early and abiding interest in China's national movement and Communism had found a fertile soil in the mind of young China. Soon these young stalwarts began to assert themselves in the Councils of the Kuomintang. These leftist tendencies were not obviously to the taste of Chiang Kai-shek who began to put them down with a strong hand.

But Communism could not be scorched so easily. The Reds emerged as the champions of the peasantry and they formed first-class armies of their own to stand up against the crack troops of Chiang. But luckily these fights came to an end the moment that Chiang decided to resist the Japanese aggressor and the Red armies of China, patriotically, submitted themselves to his command. Behind this union lies one of the most curious episodes of modern history—the kidnapping of the Generalissimo by the Red troops.

It happened this way. To keep the Communists enclosed in the mountain refuge in the far-off Shensi, General Chiang had sent Chiang Hsuehliang, the Young Marshal, as "Pacification Commissioner" with his own army of Manchurian troops. These men, however, had been driven out of Manchuria by the Japanese four years earlier and longed passionately for revenge. They had no wish to fight the Communists who were then preaching the gospel of the United Front against Japan.

And so the two armies fraternised and Sian became a centre of the anti-Japanese movement. Thousands of students flocked for military training.

It was a great blow to Generalissimo Chiang and he decided to investigate the matter personally. In December of 1936, he flew to Sian with a small personal retinue to demand an explanation. But he found the situation far worse than he had anticipated. For Manchurian troops and the Communists were on the point of rebellion. The Young Marshal argued with the Generalissimo to drop his war with the Communists and concentrate the efforts of United China against the Japanese invader. But the Generalissimo was obstinate and rebellion broke out.

The soldiers fell upon Chiang's retinue and killed some of the staff. The Generalissimo himself tried to escape over a snow-covered mountain, but he was captured and made prisoner.

The question was what to do with him. The more fanatical of Reds wanted to finish him off then and there. Other were ready to kill him if he refused to listen to reason. But the young Marshal and the Communist leaders thought better. They tried to persuade the Generalissimo by argument and solitary confinement, but they realised that no matter what happened, it would do no good to kill the one man in China, who could pretend to command the nation's loyalty.

The chief danger to his life came from less intelligent or more unscrupulous members of the Nanking Government, who wanted to send out a punitive expedition against the rebels without delay. If they had done so, the Generalissimo's life would have been worth little. But fortunately, they were persuaded against this folly by General Chiang's wife, his personal adviser, Mr Donald, and his brother-in-law, T. V. Soong. These three with the great courage (for they could not know the real situation) at once flew to Sian and negotiated with the rebels.

What actually happened in the arguments which went on interminably in Sian no one knows, as an English writer says. But the Generalissimo refused to give in and made no promise of any kind.

When the leaders of this strange rebellion finally permitted Chiang to fly back to Nanking, a free man, they believed that they had failed. But the experience had its effect. Having saved his face and proved, incidentally, his personal courage, Chiang slowly and imperceptibly began to change his policy.

The Kuomintang Congress continued to denounce the Reds and opposed the United Front, but it was clear that the campaign against the Reds had been quietly called off. In return the Communists abandoned the anti-Government propaganda and some of their most revolutionary doctrines and concentrated instead on the necessity of united action against Japan.

And so, during all these four dreary years, United China has faced the battering of Japan's military machines, unflinchingly. Her cities have been destroyed, her homes were pulled down and her villages looted. But China's brave sons and daughters carry on their fight for freedom, an inspiring example to the rest of the world.—(*Free India*).

#### The Arrival in India

The arrival of the great Chinese leader and his noble consort in India was as dramatic as it was unexpected. Indeed, at the express desire of the visitors themselves, the secret was so well-kept that few, even in high official circles, were aware of their presence in the country till after a few days. It was only when the Generalissimo and his party had been comfortably settled in New Delhi as the guests of the Government of India, five days after they first landed on Indian soil, that the veil of secrecy was lifted and the news of their arrival announced. The following is an eye-witness's account of their arrival in New Delhi :

"At 1-30 P. M. on Monday, February 9, a mysterious special train slowly steamed into New Delhi railway station and stopped opposite the ceremonial platform. Save for a few select officials of the Government of India who had assembled there, the arrival was unnoticed. A few policemen guarded the entrance, but there was no unusual activity. The citizen went about his normal task unaware of impending sensation. On the platform, a high official of the Government of India stepped forward as the door of a saloon opened and a slim, dapper figure stepped out, accompanied by a distinguished-looking lady. From other saloons also several persons alighted on the platform. Warm greetings were exchanged, and the party drove off in closed cars to the Viceregal Estate where they were accommodated in two sumptuous residences placed at their disposal.

"The same afternoon a reception was held in honour of the distinguished guests in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's House. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered an address of welcome, to which an appropriate reply was given by the chief guest. The ceremony, which was attended by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and other Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was an impressive one.

"Later, the guests were entertained to tea by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow. After tea the party walked in the beautiful Moghul Gardens of the Viceroy's House, where, amidst the fountains and poplars, they faced a battery of cameras.

"At dawn on Tuesday the National Flag of the Chinese Republic was broken on the masthead of the residences where the guests were housed, informing New Delhi, India and the world that Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek were in our midst.

"Representatives of the Press had been informed of the event the previous afternoon by a spokesman of the Government of India, but the secret had been well-kept. On Tuesday morning, however, banner headlines in the Press informed the general public of the arrival of the distinguished visitors. Newspapers were in great demand and the public eagerly discussed details of one of the most sensational events in modern times.

"Never before had the Leader of the Chinese people done such honour to a neighbouring country. Never before had India have the opportunity of greeting so great a statesman, who was yet a man of the people. It was an event, unique and historic."

#### Viceroy's Address of Welcome

The following is the text of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the reception held in honour of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's House :

"Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek—

"In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India.

"My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history. This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world: it is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost.

"I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India.

"Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them.

We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the revered Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

"For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unremitting resistance to the aggressors. China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom. In the maintenance of that struggle we know well that you, our guests today, have carried the chief burden. Be assured that, to the utmost of our power, we will co-operate with China, even as she is mightily aiding us. I ask Your Excellency to believe that these are not mere words. My Colleagues and I affirm that India's heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause, and so by our added effort, to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire, with our great allies, will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory.

"For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that, at a moment when the direction of China's war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention, you have felt able to undertake this visit to our country. A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

"Your Excellency, I must not prolong unduly my words of welcome. You will have opportunity hereafter, I trust, for further meeting and profitable discussions with my Colleagues.

"We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China's manhood and womanhood, happily in our midst today. India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey; that you, and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you, will derive pleasure and interest, and some rest, during your visit to our land. We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to your Excellency, to Madame, and to all who have accompanied you."

#### The Generalissimo's Reply

His Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his reply said :

"Your Excellency, "On behalf of the people of China, I wish to thank you for this cordial welcome which you have extended to Madame Chiang and myself. I am happy to have this opportunity of visiting India, one of our allies, and China's brotherly neighbour. The subject of my visit is to have personal exchange of views with Your Excellency, the members of your Government and prominent men in Indian public life in order to secure more effective united efforts against aggression. I fully appreciate the importance of our meeting.

"As Your Excellency has pointed out, the spiritual bonds between our two countries are no new development; no mere growth of yesterday. In days almost legendary, Chinese seekers after truth found their way to India after years of perilous travel through arid deserts and over sky-reaching mountains to drink at the inexhaustible fountain of Indian philosophy. They took back to their motherland, in the face of indescribable dangers and difficulties, the priceless volumes which embodied the wisdom of India.

"I am appreciative of Your Excellency's reference to the cultural background between the two peoples. Without doubt, it was partly owing to its existence that the Indian nation was moved to express deep sympathy with us from the moment that we began our war of resistance. The enemy—now the common enemy—tried every expedient to divert that sympathy to himself. India was not misled for a moment. When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand.

"I am further grateful to Your Excellency for the tribute you paid to the Founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The principles which he has bequeathed to us have been responsible for the new spirit that has inspired the Chinese people to do their share in making a better world for mankind.

"It is now China's turn to show her appreciation of what India has done for her in a realistic way. The extension of the war to the South Pacific has brought the invasion of this country within the realm of possibility. Any attempted attack on India by Japan would have to be through Burma. The threat through Burma was one of the subjects discussed by me and General Sir Archibald Wavell, when he paid his flying visit to Chungking a month ago. An arrangement has already been made for the despatch of Chinese troops to Burma to assist in its defence. The first steps have thus been jointly taken to safeguard India from a landwise invasion from the east by using Chinese experience and man-power. On the north and east, China is India's shield from land invasion. China is proud and glad that it is so.

"Your Excellency, you have very kindly mentioned that China has been the first to take up arms in this world struggle for freedom. While this is true, I wish to point out that during the last four and a half years of our resistance to aggression, we have been spiritually sustained and materially assisted by His Majesty's Government, and by the people of the British Empire. I bring to Your Excellency, His Majesty's Representative in India, the heart-felt thanks of the Chinese army and people.

"Now that we are comrades-in-arms, standing shoulder to shoulder against aggression, Your Excellency's enlightened leadership constitutes a great contribution to the common cause. At the same time I am fully conscious of the added responsibility that has fallen upon my shoulders. We pledge to our valued ally, who occupies an important and unique position, our friendship and co-operation in attaining our common goal which is to defeat aggression and ensure victory for the democratic front."

#### Generalissimo's Busy Day

The round of engagements of the Generalissimo began on the morning of Tuesday, February 10, with a talk with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, followed by interviews with Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar and Mr. M. S. Aney, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Later in the morning, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow paid a return official visit to the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

In the evening, a State Banquet was given by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow in honour of the distinguished visitors. Eighty-six guests were assembled in the Banquet Hall of the Viceroy's House, including many high officials and other well-known public figures. Among the members of the Chinese party present were: Their Excellencies Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Madame Chiang; Dr. Wang Chung Hui, Secretary General, Supreme National Defence Council; General Shang Chen, Chief General Officer, National Military Council; General Chow Chi-Chou, Director, National Aviation Commission; Mr. Chang Tao Fan, Dean of Political Institute; Mr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information; Colonel Chen Tsai Tseng, Personal A. D. C. and Business Manager; Major-General Fisher Hou; Dr. Pao Chung-Jien, Chinese Consul-General, Calcutta; and Lieut.-Colonel Pee Tsong Kan, Secretary and A. D. C.



## Viceroy's Speech at Banquet

Proposing health of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, in the course of the Banquet, His Excellency the Viceroy said :

"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked : 'Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ?'

"None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who, on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished companions.

"The story of China during the last decade cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour. They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up as it were a banner to the civilised world.

"I do not need to remind you of what is already history. Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of Free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor. In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on 'if necessary for years, and if necessary alone'. China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words. Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden.

"That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone ; for today as Allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence. A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand. We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India. Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail : in both the lamp of freedom has been lit ; and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

"Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India. We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle. We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the danger of war and has accompanied her husband on his campaigns. It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front. That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too. These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taierchwang. We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth, through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan's pilgrim :

Whoso beset him round  
With dismal stories  
Do but themselves confound  
His strength the more is,  
There's no discouragement  
Shall make him once relent  
His first avowed intent  
To be a pilgrim.'

With God's help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies, shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed, in Asia, in Europe, on the high seas ; until our banners of victory float at last on a free air, purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China's fight for freedom.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

#### The Generalissimo's Reply

Replying to the toast, His Excellency the Generalissimo said :  
"Your Excellencies Ladies and Gentlemen,

"Your Excellency has done Madame Chiang and myself a signal honour which we deeply appreciate. You have been very generous in your praise of our personal endeavours. In those nearly five strenuous years of which you have spoken our contribution has not been as great as we wished. It is the united people of China, who true to their ideals, have borne the brunt of the battle for democracy. Since Japan's first invasion of Chinese soil they have been rising together to higher heights of philosophy, patriotism, unselfishness, courage, endurance and generosity with but one aim : out of the agonizing sufferings and losses that have been inflicted upon us, there shall arise a new world in which men and women can live in peace and happiness.

"Since the outbreak of the Pacific War, China and India have been drawn closer together. In the midst of the trial of war, I have availed myself of the first opportunity to visit India, our ally, in order to get better acquainted with her potentialities and the possibility of her contribution to the joint cause. I am glad that I have come and have learned much during my short stay here. We have a Chinese saying : "To have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay." I am truly impressed with the greatness of India.

"Your Excellency, it is a great pleasure for us to meet you and know you. Your knowledge of Indian affairs is extensive, and your statesmanship is profound. You have made me feel that I may draw without stint upon the richness of your wisdom. Excellency, Lady Linlithgow, your unbounded interest in social work was known to us before our visit. We should like to convey to you our sincere esteem.

"You have spoken of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill. Since this great leader assumed office, I have been in as close personal touch as the distance which lies between him and me has permitted, and I have found in him stimulation and encouragement.

"Your Excellency has spoken of the presence of Chinese troops in Burma. When I saw General Sir Archibald Wavell in Chungking, I told him that he could count on China's co-operation and assistance in joint resistance against aggression. I have done my best to make this promise good. This is no merit. It is the duty of one ally to another.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I now have the honour to propose the health of Their Excellencies, the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow."

#### Generalissimo at Ceremonial Parade

On Wednesday morning 11th. Feb. at 11 A. M., a ceremonial parade of troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Delhi was held on the ceremonial parade ground, west of the War Memorial Arch, New Delhi, in honour of His Excellency the Generalissimo.

His Excellency the Generalissimo, who was accompanied by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, took the salute. Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and members of the Legislative Assembly were present, in addition to civil and military officers. The following is an eye-witness account of the parade :

"Anxious to get a glimpse of the almost legendary figure of the man around whom Chinese resistance to the Japanese aggressor has centred for the past five years, thousands of people, representative of all sections of life in the Indian Capital, including many Chinese residents, turned out at the ceremonial parade. The setting was impressive. A large number of troops lined the parade ground, which stretches parallel to Kingsway, the magnificent avenue from the Viceroy's House to the War Memorial. Facing them in an enclosure provided for notable spectators were high civil and military officers and other notabilities.

A tumultuous cheer rang out as the crowd had its first glimpse of his Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, seated beside His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in a big Rolls Royce. The car slowly drove down the Kingsway from the Viceroy's House, the Generalissimo smilingly acknowledging the plaudits while carrying out a quick inspection of the troops. After the inspection the Generalissimo and the Commander-in-Chief mounted the dais at the saluting base, where the Generalissimo took the salute as company after company—British and Indian—marched past. The Seaforth Highlanders, the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, the machine-gun battalion of the Rajputana Rifles, the Punjab Regiment, the Frontier Forces Regiment, Paratroop battalions and the Hyderabad Lancers participated in the parade. A number of armoured carriers in the march past aroused the interest of the distinguished visitors.

"At the conclusion of the march past, the Generalissimo was introduced to Lady Wavell and Lady Hartley, and then, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, entered the car and drove off amidst renewed cheers."

#### More Interviews

During the rest of the day the Generalissimo granted interviews to several more visitors, including the Maharaja Holkar of Indore and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President.

In the evening, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek attended a banquet given in their honour by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

On Thursday morning, the Generalissimo gave interviews to Sir Andrew Clow, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Homi Mody, Mr. Raghavendra Rao and Mr. N. R. Sarker, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and General Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana of Nepal. Among the visitors in the afternoon was His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

#### Madame Chiang's Message to Indian Women

The highlight of Thursday's (12th. February) functions, however, was a reception arranged in honour of Madame Chiang Kai-shek by the All-India Women's Conference at the Lady Irwin College, New Delhi. Replying to the address of welcome presented to her by the Conference, Madame Chiang said :

"Words are inadequate to express my hearty appreciation of the kindness that has prompted you to hold this meeting of welcome in my honour. The opportunity of meeting so many representative women of India alone is sufficient reason for me to join my husband in coming to this great country. Mrs. Pandit some time ago invited me to visit India, but owing to my work I did not feel that I ought to leave China just then. The inward urge that I should come has been, however, latent for a long time. Therefore when the Generalissimo decided to take this trip, this urge became crystallized into action. Now that I am here and stand in the midst of the women leaders of India, who like their Chinese sisters are making immense contributions to their beloved land in this hour of trials and tribulations, I am happy.

"Your chairman has referred to the long and traditional relationship between our two countries, and to a renewal of those ancient bonds of culture. I wish to reciprocate in full measure this sentiment. The Chinese have always regarded the people of India as their brothers. Our two countries have had long religious association. Indeed, China and India are two pillars which today are supporting the economic and industrial edifice of Asia. We are proud of the important part which we are playing together in making the world safe for democracy.

"Mrs. Pandit has paid me a tribute for my share in the war of resistance to aggression. While appreciating this, may I have your permission to share the tribute with my fellow country women. In the past four years and a half, every section of Chinese life has been called upon to give its utmost for the nation ; and among those who have responded nobly to the needs of the crisis have been the women. The war, its multitude of problems, has brought forth a large number of new organizations concerned with refuge, aid, war relief, increase of production enterprises and care of war orphans.

"Our Chinese women are doing their tasks willingly and cheerfully because one cannot live in China and feel and think without being moved to action. The fact that a Japanese bombing raid kills 4,000 people in a single day may mean nothing to peoples living a great distance away from the scene, but when one hears flames roar, bombs thud, and sees the horrid outcome of meeting of human flesh and steel sharpnel, then the realities of war become very real. Chinese women have

been the first to face such suffering and misery, and also they have been in the forefront to carry out measures for their relief.

"The desperation of the enemy—also your enemy now—caused by the failure to make military advantages at will has led him to pursue a policy of slaughter of innocent people, men and women, of violence, of destruction of property, and of indiscriminate bombing in the hope of terrorizing those living in the interior of China. Such Japanese barbarism has not only failed to terrorize Chinese women to say nothing of Chinese men, but it has influenced them to work all the harder for the rescue of the injured, the safeguarding of homeless children and refugees, and evacuating of them to safer localities.

"Under the auspices of our Women's Advisory Council, women have been encouraged to work on the farms in place of their men who have joined the army. For those women who are unsuited for farm work, factories have been established to give them employment. The Women's Advisory Council also sees to it that while their mothers are working either on the farms or in the factories the older children are cared for in homes and the younger ones sent to day nurseries. In the broad sweep of the war work carried on by the women of China, devotion and accomplishment have become commonplaces.

"The poet Holmes once said : 'It is the province of knowledge to speak, and the privilege of wisdom to listen'. I would much prefer to hear what my Indian sisters have to tell me about their aspirations, their problems and their achievements, because of all this they possess an abundance of knowledge. While listening to what you are going to tell me, I have no claim to wisdom, but I am deeply interested in your problems and have come here to learn.

"Madame Chairman, in concluding, I wish to thank you and the members of the Conference once more for the sincere and moving welcome that you one and all have been showing me during my short stay in India."

#### Madame Chiang's Stirring Address

After the formal reply, Madame Chiang Kai-shek delivered an extempore address to the meeting.

"First of all," Madame Chiang Kai-shek said, "I want to tell you what you are up against, and I think you would want to know. I believe you are realists, for in spite of thousands of years of our heritage enriched by the development of the most profound system of philosophy yet evolved by any people in the world, the people of China and India are realists. You may have to fight against a foe full of treachery. During the last five years I have repeatedly pointed out what sort of people the Japanese are and what they have been doing in China, but because the Western world was too engrossed in other affairs, they branded my admonitions as propaganda. Now that the world has had a taste of Japanese methods at Singapore and Manila they are realizing that what I said was not a figment of war-torn imagination but bare facts.

"In 1932 at Shanghai, when the Chinese and Japanese had agreed in principle on certain conditions and were on the eve of signing an agreement, that very night the Japanese bombed and set fire to the sleeping population of Chapei and tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded. Just before the outbreak of the present Pacific hostilities, while the Japanese Ambassador in America and Kurusu were carrying on conversations with Mr. Hull, the Japanese again without warning struck at Pearl Harbour.

"A nation which has treachery as its policy in international dealings can never be trusted. The Japanese are already at your door. They have already struck at China and Burma. Who knows what will happen when they strike India? They will say to you : 'We come to liberate you.' But that is a lie.

"Do you know what happened in Nanking? After our troops had withdrawn, the Japanese rounded up every able-bodied man they could find there, tied them wrist to wrist, made them walk out of the town, beat them and bayoneted them. Later on the Japanese did not even take the trouble to bayonet or shoot them but made them dig their own graves and buried them alive."

After describing what the Japanese had done to Chinese Women, Madame Chiang Kai-shek went on in a moving passage: "What did they do to our children! They captured them and took their blood for the purpose of blood transfusion. They also sent boatloads of our children to be trained as traitors to their own country. We have found many little spies who told us that they had been trained by the Japanese to work against us.

This happened especially after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1932, when these children were carried off in thousands and specially drilled to work against their fatherland.

"When the Japanese occupy and seize a city they are not only out to loot everything but they try to kill the very soul of the people, everything to deaden body and soul. In cases when some of the surviving population were employed as labourers by the Japanese they received as part payment, injections of opium and heroin. The Japanese are an incredibly cruel and inhumanly callous enemy."

Calling upon Indian women to prepare themselves Madame Chiang said: "We did everything we could at first to appease the Japanese because we needed time in which to prepare ourselves. But when at last we knew the ruthlessness of the enemy we had to take up arms, ill-prepared as we were, for we realized that however terrible suffering and death may be, there was a worse thing—slavery of body and slavery of soul.

"China today is an acknowledged ally of the democracies but we have earned this name by fighting mostly with bare flesh and inferior arms, and by destroying everything of value which might fall into the hands of the enemy as we withdrew into the interior. We have burnt our fields; we have destroyed our houses and property in order to prevent the enemy from gaining them. We have this courage because we know that in order to save our national life we must have the fortitude to sacrifice our individual life.

"As soon as the war started we women of China formed ourselves into a Women's Council, a national body. In each province we formed a provincial committee and in each district a smaller branch. We followed a definite programme to help win the war. We trained and are continuing to train thousands of young women to go to every part of the country to tell the people what the war is about. In India today, there must be many people who still do not understand what the war is about, and who must be told. Many women from schools and colleges run away to join our war effort because they said they could not study while their nation was in jeopardy. I have trained such women personally. Among other lives of work after training they go behind the army and do liaison work between the army and the people.

"At first the authorities asked how can girls go and work in the big hospitals where the men are so rough? Who could protect them? Do you know that when the girls went there the men called them army officers and saluted them as such! Now we receive hundreds of telegrams asking for more women nurses and workers for the hospitals. For not only are the girls appreciated for their nursing ability but also for the fact that they provide wholesome and inspiring entertainment for the soldiers during their stay in the hospitals. As in India, there are many illiterate people in China, and our women are also working against illiteracy. The soldiers are learning to read and write while convalescing. Many of our factories and industries have been destroyed. So we have had to return to hand industries. These are organized in production centres and we can show you the success of these by saying that not only has the standard of the people's livelihood gone up in districts where these centres exist, but also by the fact that by the employment of women in the centres, their men have been able to join the army. You cannot expect a man to fight in the trenches and leave his family unless he knows that his women are self-supporting and can look after their children.

"The spirit of the new China is one for all and all for one. We are united by suffering and victory will crown our efforts. In every worthwhile enterprise, there must be people who are willing to sacrifice everything they have for what they hold most dear if that is to be a success. We in China have these people. I do not mean the Generalissimo. I do not mean myself. I mean the people of China, the unsung heroes.

"Like India, China's roots are deep. In our fertile soil which is now soaked in the blood of our patriots, whether soldiers or civilians, we shall grow fruit for the future. Thus runs a Chinese proverb: 'Think only of sowing; think not of reaping.' We of this generation shall not reap the full benefits of what we have sown but the generations to come will reap the fruits of our sacrifice. And as we today are reaping the fruits of labour of our ancestors, so must we be willing to sow for our children and our children's children."

#### Visit to Khyber Pass

On Friday (13th February) morning, the Generalissimo left by plane for the North-West Frontier Province on a visit to the Khyber Pass. Meantime, Madame

Chiang Kai-shek also, accompanied by Mrs. Vijayaluxmi Pandit, visited Agra, where she spent three hours seeing the Taj Mahal, the fort and other monuments.

The Generalissimo landed at the Peshawar aerodrome at 1 P. M. on Friday and was received by His Excellency the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province and other high officials. During the afternoon, the Generalissimo visited the defences of the Khyber Pass.

Speaking at Jamrud to Afridi tribesmen, the Chinese leader said that he felt that he was talking to his own brothers. He was greatly overwhelmed by the hearty welcome he had received from them. "I hope my brave brothers of the Khyber Agency will join hands with my country and our ally Great Britain in order to defeat Japan, Germany and Italy so that freedom may be brought forthwith and the world freed from war and aggression." He wished the Afridis all prosperity.

On his return from the Khyber Pass the Generalissimo was received at Jamrud by the Governor, who introduced him to Nawab Mohammed Zaman Khan, head of the Afridis and other Chiefs of the Khyber Agency. The Generalissimo then inspected a guard of honour furnished by Khyber Khassadars and tribal Boy Scouts. Later, the Afridis entertained the Chinese leader to tea. The party then left for Peshawar, where the Governor gave a banquet in honour of the Generalissimo.

#### Return From Peshawar

On Saturday 14th. Feb. morning, the Generalissimo arrived in Lahore on his return journey from Peshawar. He was received at the Lahore aerodrome by Sir Bertrand Glancy, Governor of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and other Ministers of the Punjab Government.

After spending a few hours at the Government House, Lahore, the Generalissimo flew back to Delhi, where he arrived in the evening.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu met Madame Chiang Kai-shek on Saturday evening and had tea with her. "The embodied flame of Chinese renaissance" was one of the phrases in which the poetess later summed up her impression of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

#### Press Conference

On Saturday afternoon, a Press Conference was arranged by the Bureau of Public Information to meet Dr. Hollington Tong, the Chinese Vice-Minister of Information.

Addressing the Press Conference as "brother craftsmen," Dr. Tong said he had brought greetings from the members of the Chinese Fourth Estate to their ally, India. Their common enemy, Japan, was putting out lies which must be overtaken and counteracted; he had decided to appoint a Chinese correspondent in Calcutta and another in Delhi and he hoped Indian correspondents too would visit Chungking where his office already dealt with 460 foreign Press Correspondents none of whom, he regretted, was an Indian. He had talks with Sir Frederick Puckle, Information Secretary, to establish quick means of transmission for the regular exchange of news between India and China and was also working out a broadcast time-table for the same purpose.

The people of China, he said, would like to read in the Chinese Press stories of the Indian people's contribution to the war effort, their munitions production, the heroism of Indian soldiers, India's air raid precaution arrangements and stories of human interests, but not yellow journalism.

More than 20 years ago, he revealed, the Japanese had drawn up the Tanaka Memorial, otherwise called the Charter of Aggression. It provided for the conquest, in turn, of China, the South Seas, India and the whole world. Originally, it was laughed at, and was not taken seriously by the world, but today it had been proved indisputably to be a genuine document. He would like every Indian to read it and promised to send it by the ton if Sir Frederick Puckle would arrange for its transport.

Warning the people of India, Dr. Tong said: "At first the Japanese always use sweet words and say 'friends, brothers and sisters, we have come to rescue you from fire and hell,' and when they come they bring hell with them; that has been our experience during the last four and half years. They did indescribable things to our women and wherever they went they left nothing of our property. It was like a typhoon sweeping over the land. They left nothing for the population to eat; they wanted them to starve. It is not a message of brotherhood or of friendship that they bring; it is a message of death, chilled death, it is barbarity and everything cruel."

### China's Publicity Organisation

Mr. Andrew, Press Attache of the British Legation at Chungking, was also present at the Conference and paid a tribute to the remarkable efficiency of the publicity organization which, he said, was the creation of Dr. Tong, and which had been rebuilt twice after its offices and records had been blown up by Japanese bombs. As an illustration of Chinese publicity methods, Mr. Andrew stated that only recently Dr. Tong's office had put out a remarkable slogan: "Every rumour is an enemy bullet."

On Sunday 15th. February morning Begum Shah Nawaz, M.L.A. (Punjab) had an interview with Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Later in the day, her daughter, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, also had an interview with Madama Chiang.

### Students' Welcome

In the afternoon the All-India Students' Federation presented a silken banner of the World Students' Association to Madame Chiang Kai-shek. On the banner were embroidered the words: "To the brave Chinese students from the All-India Students' Federation." The banner will be presented by Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese national organization of students in Chungking.

Madame Chiang thanked the Indian students' organisation for the gift and said that she would gladly convey the message of the Indian Students to their Chinese brethren.

A copy of the greetings for the Chinese students passed at the All-India Students' Conference, held recently at Patna, was also handed over to Madame Chiang to be delivered to the Chinese youth.

### Generalissimo And Madame Chiang Meet The Press

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met representatives of the Press on Sunday afternoon in the beautiful lawn of their residence. After shaking hands with the Press Representatives, the Generalissimo said in Chinese, which was translated into English by Dr. Hollington Tong:

"Madame Chiang and myself are very happy to meet you today. I have been in India nearly a week, but what I have seen has tremendously impressed me. After my return to China, I may have something to say to you, but today I have nothing to say except to give you greetings. It gives me great pleasure to meet you today. You may ask a few questions from Madame Chiang. With your permission I will now retire. Good-bye."

### Madame Chiang Answers Questions

Madame Chiang Kai-shek spent some time with pressmen, answering questions. In answer to a question as to what had impressed her most in India, she said:

"I have been so short a time here, and India is such a huge country, that it is going to take me some time really to digest what I have seen. But one thing which has impressed me, one of the many things which have impressed me, is the fact that the women of India, like the women of China, will have to take a tremendous part in the reconstruction of the country. I have met quite a number of leaders among Indian women, and I am full of hope that the women of India will be able to fulfil that destiny, and I am greatly impressed by the selfless quality of the women whom I have met. And, if they are the representatives of Indian women, I assure you India has an even more glorious future than what her past has been."

Appealing to the Press, Madame Chiang said:

"The war has to be fought not only with bullets, with artillery and with aeroplanes; it has to be fought by the press. You have tremendous influence over the people. The Press in China today reflects the will of the people, the heart of the people. Not only does it reflect that, the Press is also the moulder of opinion. And, you have, therefore, a tremendous responsibility. Voice die out, but the printed word seems to live on the mind of the reader. I hope you will not take the easy way of writing the sensational, but the more fundamental and honest way of writing what you think the people should know in order to educate mass opinion. That is my message to you."

"Speaking for my husband and myself, we would have regretted it if we had not been able to see you, because we feel that you are a very vital part, a very essential part, in the India of today and in the India of tomorrow."

Asked whether there were religious differences in China, Madame Chiang said: "We have no clear-cut religious sections as in India. Religion has more or less become part of life. Politics is not coloured by religion. We are all Chinese."

We all are one.

"It has been possible to put up this gigantic struggle, because we feel it is better to die than to become slaves and to have our children become slaves. We are determined to be freed from the Japanese aggression.

"I am not paying you a compliment, but I feel a bond of sympathy and spiritual unity between your people and mine, which my stay here has intensified."

Giving her impressions about the Taj Mahal, she said : "I think it is a very beautiful building. I think it is the symbol of a spirit even more beautiful than the building itself ; because it shows that none of us really die, even if our bodies die. I think the spirit lives on and when we think of the fact that so many centuries ago there was this devotion of an emperor to his empress, it only proves what the human heart and the human mind is capable of."

#### Visit to Calcutta

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by their party, left New Delhi by special train on Monday 16th February morning for Calcutta, where they arrived the following afternoon (February 17). On arrival at Howrah station, they were received by high officials of the Government of Bengal and other prominent persons. The party later drove to the Government House.

The same evening the Generalissimo granted an interview to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

#### Assembly's Welcome to Generalissimo

Meanwhile, a motion extending a welcome and expressing admiration for Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek was moved in the Central Assembly on Tuesday, February 17, by Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House.

The motion read : "Upon the occasion of the visit to India of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, this Assembly do place on record its high appreciation of the honour done thereby to India and its heart-felt admiration of the outstanding services rendered by the Generalissimo to China and the world in combating a power against whose aggression China and India are now happily allied."

The motion was unanimously adopted.

#### Mr. Aney's Speech

Commending his resolution for the unanimous acceptance of the House, Mr. Aney said :

"This resolution really needs no speech to commend it for unanimous acceptance by this House.

"It tries to embody in two short sentences the feelings of appreciation and admiration which the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang have evoked throughout this country. In this expression of appreciation the whole country has joined. Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, Indian States and numerous other public institutions and organisations extended hearty and warm welcome to the distinguished guests to this country.

"This Assembly, which constitutionally represents the whole of British India and can therefore speak for them authoritatively, will be doing a bare duty which it owes to the country it represents in adopting the resolution moved by me.

"What is the secret of this universal demonstration of the feelings of welcome and admiration for the Generalissimo and Madame ?

"Our guests represent China, a country and a culture which is no doubt as old as India and Indian culture, if not more. The visit no doubt recalls to our mind the old ties, spiritual, religious and cultural, by which these two great nations have been bound nearly for more than two thousand years. India has the proud privilege of being the sacred land of the birth of Lord Goutam Buddha, whose religion and preachings have been mainly followed in China, and as such a country to which pious pilgrims from China have been coming to visit the various places and shrines rendered sacred and sanctified by the activities of Shri Goutam Buddha and his great disciples in later years. Ancient India, which delighted more in rendering silent service to humanity than in recoding and chronicling it in pompous language in books of chronicles and histories, is found more accurately and faithfully described in the writings of some of these great talented pilgrims than in the old literature of the Hindus themselves.

"But let me assure the members of this House that the revival of memories of the olden connection, however pleasing to certain minds that take a more absorbing interest in the past than in the present, is not enough to explain the



unanimous tributes that are being paid to the Generalissimo and Madame by people of all castes, creeds and colours.

"There is certainly something outstanding in our guests which appeals to all alike, warms up their enthusiasm and evokes their appreciation and admiration. Those who are familiar with the modern history of China and the story of the establishment of the Chinese Republic by the late Sun Yat Sen and the vicissitudes through which it has gone and is still going, are certainly aware of the part played by our distinguished guests in that struggle. They can easily see the principles which both of them typify in their lives and which they stand and struggle for.

"The establishment of a Republic in China in place of the old Manchukuo regime is in itself an achievement of an epoch-making character. Our guests have not only made the greatest sacrifice in that noble effort, which like a magic wand or Kayakalp enabled China to shake off her old age and act bravely and enthusiastically like a young nation, but the distinguished guests have taken on themselves the onerous duty of preserving this edifice of democracy intact against the aggressive designs of a powerful neighbour like Japan.

'Japan was one of the first culprits during the last twelve years to invade the lands of an age-old, peaceful neighbour to satisfy her ambition of building an Empire in the Far East. This act of unwarranted aggression, which resulted in the loss of Manchukuo, naturally and inevitably excited the sympathies of India and all other civilised nations that stand for democracy and the racial, territorial and cultural integrity of nations.

"The heroic struggle which the Chinese people have been carrying on almost unaided during the last five years against Japan in defence of her Republic and democracy under the unique leadership of the Generalissimo, will undoubtedly go down to posterity as one of the noblest and the most inspiring chapters in the history of the human race.

"Our guests, the Generalissimo and Madame have been untiring in their efforts to fight with their powerful adversary. There in China, as in Russia, we see how a whole nation, and not merely a mercenary army, can fight in defence of its liberties, hearths and homes in spite of all odds and handicaps. The guests have placed before us and the whole world the example of what the political leadership of a nation can really mean and achieve. They have during the last ten years turned supine China, suffering from an over-dose of opium for more than 10 centuries, into a nation of soldiers which watches sleeplessly and vigilantly the movements of a dangerous enemy and fights with a determination and strength which has excited the admiration of the whole world and to a great extent frustrated his plans of Imperial conquests.

"The German aggression in Europe and Japan's aggression on the lands in the Far East have enabled the Allied Powers to appreciate the significance of the Chinese struggle against Japan. It is really an act of great chivalry and magnanimity that China, under the leadership of our guests, has joined the Allies and pledged its word to fight the enemies to the finish and conclude no separate peace.

"The war has no doubt taken a very serious and unfavourable turn in the Far East during the past month. The news of the fall of Singapore, received by us only two days before, is no doubt a news of major defeat of the British arms. The loss of Singapore virtually renders this country exposed to enemy attacks by sea and land.

"At a time of gloom and despondency like this, when everything looks disappointing and disheartening, the example of the heroic struggle carried on by the Chinese people and their determination to stand shoulder to shoulder with India to fight Japan, and the hand of assistance held out by America, are the most important factors that send rays of hope to dispel darkness and to cheer us up and keep the flame burning.

"Roosevelt, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek are the three persons whose combination and co-operation with the United Kingdom and India will, I feel sure, save not only India and the British Commonwealth but the whole world from the great catastrophe to which it is being led and driven by the Axis powers.

Democracy and civilisation look to the Generalissimo as one of their saviours and protagonists. And the confidence which the presence of our distinguished guests has inspired in the whole of India for the ultimate success of these great principles for which the Allies stand, is the real secret of the universal tribute paid to them throughout the length and breadth of this country.

"In concluding, I will quote a line from the books of a great Sanskrit poet :—

'Great men, full of compassion for the down-trodden, sanctify the shrines themselves and places of worship by their holy and august visits to such places.'

"India, therefore, rightly feels herself honoured by the presence of the Generalissimo and Madame, who have pre-eminently dedicated their lives to the service of China and the cause of justice, righteousness and democracy, which is the common cause of the whole civilised world.

"I have, therefore, no doubt that this House will carry the resolution with unanimity and acclamation.

#### Meeting with Mahatma Gandhi

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met Mahatma Gandhi, who had come to Calcutta specially for the purpose, on Wednesday, 18th. February afternoon. The meeting lasted for nearly 4½ hours. Among those present at the interview were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Mahadev Desai.

It was understood that during the latter part of the conversation Mahatma Gandhi used his spinning-wheel for a few minutes and made a present of the yarn he had spun to the Generalissimo. He also presented a spinning-wheel to Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

#### Visit to Santiniketan

The following day, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited Shantiniketan, centre of the famous Tagore University. A pair of silk dhotis and a chuddar for the Generalissimo and a lovely silk sari for Madame Chiang were presented on behalf of the Viswabharati at a reception held in their honour. Replying to the address of welcome presented to him, the Generalissimo said :

"Both Madame Chiang and I feel happy to visit the home of the great poet at this international seat of learning. We are grateful for the reception you have given to us. We did not see the poet in person, but we are glad to witness the spirit he had left behind in this institution he has founded. We fervently hope that the teachers and students who have gathered here will try to build up the great work, of which the foundation has already been laid by your Gurudev. Just as our Sun Yat Sen had established the spirit of universal brotherhood amongst us and raised the glory of new China, so your great preceptor has elevated the spirit of your great land and brought to it a new awakening.

"I have brought nothing from China to offer you but the warmth of my heart and the good wishes of our people. May you achieve the great work that has been left as a trust to the entire nation by the great leader of your land."

Replying separately, Madam Chiang Kai-shek said: "Today my mind flies back to thousands of students in my own country. Seeing your young faces, I remember with pride and hope the ardent spirit of New China and I also remember the terrible trial through which they are passing at this hour. Since Japan started her aggression on China, thousands and thousands of our students had to face bombs, tanks and artillery. Their homes and sanctuaries of learning were desecrated and destroyed, but as you know they walked hundreds of miles to new seats of learning provided by the Government in the interior of the country. They kept the mind of China awake and the torch of flaming patriotism burning brighter than ever.

"In this peaceful land, not suffering from Japanese militarism, it may be for you to realize what this means. I wonder also whether you realize that the principles of humanity demand a dynamic attitude towards life. Absence of hatred would be a dead and cold thing if it did not make it possible for others to perpetrate wickedness and wrong. You have a great opportunity and lead millions into freedom and equality.

"The Japanese bombed our universities thinking that they were hot-beds of resistance, and our students took the opportunity to make them real hot-beds of resistance. They carried on their work among the masses of our people. They laid the foundation of a great united China.

"Your noble founder, I believe, wanted you to prepare yourselves to become leaders. He would not remain apart from your people and be mere leader in name only, but bring revival in the generations which have to redeem your nation. I know that if our young people were aware of the possibility of my coming here, they would have sent their warm greetings of fellowship and of their sympathy for

you. Your poet has a place in the minds of the Chinese people for their heart and has been enshrined in all time to come."

#### Meeting With Bengal Premier

On Friday February 20, the Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, and the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, called on the Generalissimo and had over an hour's conversation with him.

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang also met other leading Indian personalities during the rest of their stay in Calcutta.

#### Farewell Message To India

On the evening of Saturday, February 21, His Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave his farewell message to the people of India. The message was read out by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and broadcast from the Calcutta station of All India Radio. The following is the full text of the message :

"During my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities, as well as with my Indian friends questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame and myself. The briefness of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long cherished hopes for India, it comes from the depth of my heart.

"Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression. China and India comprise one-half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to 3,000 kilometers. In the 2,000 years' history of their intercourse, which has been of purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature.

"To day they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

"Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and, in the present war, to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries, not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

"I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the case of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

"The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country ; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

"This leads us to believe that the pacific war is a turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India should voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of

the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material and should therefore by all means be retained.

"The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world suffer a setback for at least 100 years and there would be no end to human sufferings.

"So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 2,00,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombings from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. Moreover, they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses.

"In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of 26 nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

"Lastly, I sincerely hope, and I confidently believe, that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire."

And thus India bade adieu to the great Chinese leader and his noble consort at the conclusion of a visit which may well turn out to be a land-mark in history.

#### China's Day

An announcement made by H. E. the Viceroy said :—

"In all too short a time we shall be bidding God-speed to his Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang on their journey back to their own country. They leave behind in our hearts in India a picture of a brave and wise leader and a gracious lady; they take with them the assurance that India is heart and soul with China in a common struggle. I believe the people of India would welcome an opportunity of commemorating this visit, and I propose, on a day to be called China's Day, to throw my War Purposes Fund open to subscriptions for China's War Charities, and to supplement the money so received by an appropriate contribution from the sums already subscribed to my Fund by the Princes and people of

India. This money I will hand to Madame Chiang to be distributed as she may think fit, I have fixed March the 2nd as China's Day and invite everyone to combine to make it a success."

The date was later altered to March 7.

#### Messages Exchanged

The following are the messages exchanged between His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and His Excellency the Viceroy:

*From His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek dated February 21:*

"On the eve of our departure for China, I wish to express our hearty appreciation of the hospitality that you and Lady Linlithgow have shown to Madame Chiang and myself during our visit to India. Although our stay has been short, yet I am glad that satisfactory decision has been reached on a plan for our concerted action against aggression and for the parts both nations are to play.

"In leaving India I am taking away with me a firm conviction that our two countries will spare nothing in striving for further consolidation of their joint war efforts and for the early destruction of the force of lawlessness."

*His Excellency the Viceroy replied:*

"I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's message, and assure you that Lady Linlithgow and I will long retain the happiest recollections of your visit and that of Madame Chiang.

"I fully share your satisfaction that substantial results have been achieved in concerting our joint action against aggression and in the close co-ordination of Military plans.

"Here in India we will take to heart and follow the good advice which Your Excellency has given us out of the plenitude of China's bitter experiences. We will unite to resist the ruthless and brutal aggressor. We will stand shoulder to shoulder with the brave Chinese army and people whose strength is in Your Excellencies' wise and constant leadership. Come what may, we will be with you until the Japanese power is utterly broken.

"I trust Your Excellency and Madame Chiang are well and rested after the fatigues of so crowded and strenuous a visit."

## The Tanaka Memorandum

In this connection it will be interesting to read the Tanaka Memorandum, a summary of which we give in the following pages:—

General Tanaka, whose name is associated with the infamous Tanaka Memorandum, whose public record was one of organised treachery, brigandage and clandestine murder, became the Prime Minister of Japan in 1927. Under him the first step was taken to install the war-mongers Tada and Doihara in important posts in the Government. As Vice-Chief of the General Staff and Minister of War during the fruitless Siberian expedition, Tanaka embezzled several millions of secret service funds. Yet he became Premier and concurrently Foreign Minister in 1927 largely through the good offices of the equally unscrupulous Viscount Miura, the murderer of the Queen of Korea.

The most important event of his Premiership was the assassination in 1928 of Chang Tso Lin, the nationalist warlord of Manchuria. It was plotted and carried out at his instance by Colonel Doihara who with General Tada was responsible for the undeclared war in Manchuria in 1930. The assassination eventually led to Tanaka's resignation, and immediately after this he found himself and his colleagues so much involved in administration irregularities that fearing prosecution and replacement as head of the Seiyukai Party, he mysteriously committed *hari kari* in September 1929.

The following are extracts from the Memorandum prepared by General Tanaka in 1927 when he was Prime Minister of Japan. The document has been sometimes described as "Japan's Mein Kampf":—

"The three eastern provinces are politically the imperfect spot in the Far East. For the sake of self-protection, as well as the protection of the others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of "Blood and Iron." But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States which has been turned against us and China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future, if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Seas countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence.

"The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretence of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step if the Yomato race wish to distinguish themselves on continental Asia. Final success belongs to the country having raw materials; the full growth of national strength belong to the country having extensive territory. If we pursue a positive policy to enlarge our rights in Manchuria and China, all these prerequisites of a powerful nation will constitute no problem. Furthermore, our surplus population of 700,000 each year will also be taken care of. If we want to inaugurate a new policy and secure the permanent prosperity of our empire, a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia is the only way.

#### Technique Of Penetration

"While the sovereign rights are not clearly defined and while the Chinese and the Soviet Governments are engaging their attention elsewhere, it is our opportunity quietly to build our influence. Once we have purchased most of the land there, there will be no room for dispute as to whether Mongolia belongs to the Japanese or the Mongolians. Aided by our military powers, we shall realize our positive policy. In order to carry out this plan, we should appropriate Yen 1,000,000 from the "secret funds" of the Army Department's budget so that four hundred retired officers disguised as teachers and Chinese citizens may be sent into Outer and Inner Mongolia to mix with the people, to gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes, to acquire from them rights of pasturage and mining and to lay the foundation of our national interests for the next hundred years.

"Since the annexation of Korea, we have had very little trouble. But President Wilson's declaration of the self-determination of races after the European War has been like a divine revelation to the suppressed peoples.

"The Koreans are no exception. The spirit of unrest has permeated the whole country. Both because of the freedom they enjoy in Manchuria due to an incompetent police system and because of the richness of the country, there are now in the three Eastern Provinces no less than 1,000,000 Koreans.

"The unlooked for development is fortunate for our country indeed. From a military and economic standpoint, it has greatly strengthened our influence. From another standpoint it gives new hope for the administration of the Koreans. They will both be the vanguard for the colonization of virgin fields and furnish a link of contact with the Chinese people. On the one hand, we could utilize the naturalised Koreans to purchase land for rice cultivation, on the other, we could extend to them financial aid through the Co-operative Society, the South Manchuria Railway, etc., so that they may serve as the spearhead of our economic penetration.

"This will give relief to our problem of food supply, as well as open a new field of opportunity for any eventuality. They are different from those naturalized Japanese in California and South America. They are naturalized as Chinese only for temporary convenience. When their numbers reach two million and a half or more, they can be instigated to military activities whenever there is the necessity, and under the pretence of suppressing

the Koreans we could bear them aid. As not all the Koreans are naturalized Chinese, the world will not be able to tell whether it is the Chinese Koreans or the Japanese Koreans who create the trouble. We can always sell the dog's meat with a sheep's head as a sign-board.

#### Transportation is Mother Of Defence

Transportation is the mother of national defence, the assurance of victory and the citadel of economic development.

It is a pity that our railroads are mostly in South Manchuria, which cannot reach the sources of wealth in the northern parts. Moreover, there are too many Chinese inhabitants in South Manchuria to be whole-some for our military and economic plans. If we wish to develop the natural resources and strengthen our national defence, we must build railroads, we shall be able to send more people (Japanese) into Northern Manchuria.

From this vantage ground we can manipulate political and economic developments in South Manchuria, as well strengthen our national defence in the interests of the peace and order of the Far East. Furthermore, the South Manchurian Railway was built mainly for economic purposes. It lacks encircling lines necessary for military mobilization and transportation.

From now on we must take military purpose as our object and build circuit lines to circle the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia in order that we may hamper China's military, political and economic developments there on the one hand, and prevent the penetration of Russian influence on the other. This is the key to our continental policy.

#### "Trouble is Our Chance"

Fortunately for us, the financial conditions in Fengtien Province are in great disorder, which the authorities cannot improve unless we come to their succour. This is our chance. We should take positive steps until we have reached our goal in railroad development. Moreover if we manipulate the situation, the Fengtien bank-notes will depreciate to an inconceivable degree. In that event, the bankruptcy of Fengtien will be a matter of time. The development of Manchuria and Mongolia will be out of the question for them.

#### Japan And Russia

The Russian plans are designed to strengthen the Chinese Eastern Railway and thereby to extend its imperialistic schemes. For this reason the railways projected mostly run east and west.

For although the power of Soviet Russia is declining, her ambition in Manchuria and Mongolia has not diminished for a minute. Every step she takes is intended to obstruct our progress and to injure the South Manchuria Railway.

We must do our utmost to guard against her influence, we should use the Fengtien Government as a wedge to check her southern advance.

By pretending to check the southern advance of Soviet Russia as a first step, we could gradually force our way into North Manchuria and exploit the natural resources there. We shall then be able to prevent the spread of Chinese influence on the south and arrest the advance of Soviet Russia on the north.

In our struggle against the political and economic influence of Soviet Russia, we should drive China before us and direct the events from behind.

Meanwhile, we should still secretly befriend Russia in order to hamper the growth of Chinese influence. It was largely with this purpose in view that Baron Goto of Kata's cabinet invited Joffe to our country and advocated the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia.

#### Proposed New Railways

**Tungliao-Jehol Railway:** This line is 447 miles long and will cost Yen 50,000,000. When it is completed it will be of great value to our development of Inner Mongolia. As a matter of fact, this is the most important of all the railways in the whole undertaking.

According to the careful surveys of the War Department there are in Inner Mongolia large tracts of land suitable for rice cultivation. After proper development there will be room for at least 20 millions of our people. Besides, there is the possibility of turning out 2,000,000 head of cattle which may be transported by railways for food supply and for purpose of exporting to Europe and America. Wool is also a special product. While the sheep in Japan yield only two catties of wool per head per year, the sheep in Mongolia can yield six catties.

The South Manchuria Railway has made many experiments all of which confirm this fact.

Besides, the wool is many times better than that of Australia. Its low cost and high quality combined with its substance in quantity make Mongolia a potential source of great wealth. When this industry is enhanced by the facilities of railway department, the total production will increase at least ten-fold.

#### England Must Not Know

We have withheld this knowledge from the rest of the world, lest England and America compete with us for it. Therefore, we must first of all control the transportation and then develop wool industry. By the time the other countries know about it, it would be already too late to do anything.

With this railroad in our hands, we can develop the wool industry not only for our own use, but also for exporting to Europe and America. Furthermore, we can realize our desire of joining hand with Mongolia. This railway is a matter of life and death to our policy in Mongolia. Without it Japan can have no part in Mongolia's development.

#### Russia Again

Suolun-Tanan Railway: This line is 136 miles long and will cost Yen 10,000,000. Looking into the future of Japan, a war with Russia over the plains of north Manchuria is inevitable.

From a military standpoint, this line will not only enable us to threaten Russia's rear but also to curtail its reinforcement for North Manchuria.

#### "The Chinese Nuisance"

But the danger of this line is that it might provide facilities for Chinese migration into a new region and spoil our own policy.

Look at our experience with the South Manchuria Railway. Hasn't that served the interest of China? The redeeming feature, however, is the fact that the land and mines along this railway are in the possession of Mongolian princes.

If we can gain possession of them first, we need have no worries about Chinese migration. Moreover we can make the princes pass laws discriminating against Chinese immigrants. When life there is made miserable for the Chinese, they will naturally leave for places afar. There are other methods to bar the Chinese.

Only if we try hard enough, no Chinese footprints will be found on Mongolian territory.

#### Schedule Of Conquest

Now they can go on the trunk line directly from Chingchinkang via the Siberian Railway. When we are in control of this great system of transportation, we need make no secret of our designs on Manchuria and Mongolia according to the third step of Meiji's plans. The Yamato Race is then embarked on the journey of world conquest. According to the last will of Meiji our first step was to conquer Formosa and the second step to annex Korea. Having completed both of these, the third step is yet to be taken and that is the conquest of Manchuria, Mongolia and China. When this is done, the rest of Asia including the South Sea Islands will be at our feet. That these injunctions have not been carried out even now, is a crime of your bumble servants.

#### U. S. an Obstacle

For the sake of self-preservation, and as a warning to China and the rest of the world, we must fight America sometime. The American Asiatic Squadron stationed in the Philippines is but within a stone's throw from Tsushima and Senchima. If they send submarines to these quarters, our supply of foodstuffs and raw materials from Manchuria and Monogolia will be cut off entirely. But if the Kirin Hueining Railway is completed, we shall have a large circuit line through all Manchuria and Korea and a small circuit line through North Manchuria. We shall have access in all directions gaining freedom for the transportation of soldiers and supplies alike. When our supplies are transported through this line to our ports at Tsuraga and



Niigaya enemy submarines will have no way of getting into the Japanese and Korean straits. We are then entirely free from interference.

#### "Belgium Of Far East"

This is what is meant by making the Japanese sea the centre of our national defence. Having secured the free transportation of food and raw materials, we shall have nothing to fear either from the American navy because of its size, or the Chinese or Russian Army because of their number. Incidentally, we shall be in a position to suppress the Koreans. Let me reiterate the fact that if we want to carry out the New Continental Policy, we must build this line. Manchuria and Mongolia are the undeveloped countries in the East. Over this territory we shall have to go to war with Soviet Russia sooner or later. The battle ground will be Kirin.

Manchuria and Mongolia are the Belgium of the Far East. In the Great War, Belgium was the battlefield. In our wars with Russia and the United States, we must make Manchuria and Mongolia suffer the ravages. As it is evident that we have to violate the neutrality of these territories, we cannot help building the Kirin-Hueining and Changhin-Talai Railways in order that we may be militarily prepared. In time of war we can easily increase our forces and in time of peace we can migrate thousands upon thousands people into this region and work on the rice fields. This line offers the key to economic development as well as to military conquests.

#### Killing Chinese Industry

1. No amount of China's agitation can matter in the least to our industrial developments.

2. Furthermore, we ought to assist our people in oil business by extending to them financial credit, so that the oil industry of the Chinese will be forced out of the market.

3. However, the Chinese are adepts in learning our tricks and beating us at our own game. We have yet found no way by which we can compete successfully with them in oil-making and sailboard transportation.

4. Another thing we should be careful about is teaching the Chinese our industrial methods. In the past we have established factories in Manchuria and Mongolia and carried on industries near the source of raw materials. This gave to the Chinese the opportunity of learning our secrets and establishing competitive factories of their own.

Hereafter we should ship the raw materials back home and do the manufacturing there, and then ship the finished products for sale in China and other countries.

In this way we shall gain in three ways: (1) provide work for our unemployed at home, (2) prevent the influx of the Chinese into Manchuria and Mongolia, and (3) make it impossible for the Chinese to imitate our new industrial methods.

5. Because of the handicaps of the monetary system, people in Central and South China always buy beans and beancakes from their one people. We have no chance against them. In consequence, we cannot conquer the whole of China.

6. With the silver standard in existence, the Chinese Government can increase their notes to counteract our gold notes. Consequently, our banks will fail to carry out the mission of extending our country's influence.

7. We can acquire rights in real property and natural resources and defeat the credit of the Chinese silver notes. The Chinese will be unable to compete with us; and the currency of the whole of Manchuria and Mongolia will be in our control.

#### The Railroad To Political Power

The South Manchuria Railway Company functions in Manchuria as the Governor General of Korea did there before the annexation.

In order to build up our new Continental Empire, we must change the organization of the Company so as to break away from the present difficulties. The functions of this Company are varied and important. Every change of cabinet involves a change of the administration of the South Manchurian Railway, and conversely every activity of the South Manchurian Railway also has important consequences on the Cabinet. This is because the South Manchuria Railway is semi-governmental with final authority resting with the Cabinet.

For this reason, the Powers invariably look upon this railway as a purely political organ rather than a business enterprise. Whenever a new move is made for the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, the Powers would invoke the Nine-Power Treaty to thwart the plan of the South Manchuria Railway. This has greatly damaged the interests of our Empire.

#### Blinding The World

On account of these reasons, the South Manchuria Railway should be radically re-organised. All appurtenant enterprises which are profit-making should be made independent companies under the wings of the South Manchuria Railway, so that we may take determined steps in the conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia.

On the other hand, Chinese, Europeans and Americans should be invited to invest money in the South Manchuria Railway on the condition that we have a controlling share of its stocks. In that event the control of the Company is in our hands, and our mission from the empire can be discharged more vigorously. In short, by inviting international participation in the South Manchuria Railway, we can blind the eyes of the world. Having achieved that, we can push our advance in Manchuria and Mongolia at our will, free ourselves from the restraint of the Nine-Power Treaty and strengthen our activities in that country with foreign capital.

When we can have sufficient iron and steel for our own Industries, we shall have acquired the secret of becoming the leading nation in the world. Thus strengthened, we can conquer both the East and the West. In order to attain this goal, the iron works must be separated from the South Manchuria Railway. Such unified control will keep China from preventing us from becoming self-sufficient in iron and steel.

#### Wanted More Petroleum

Another important commodity which we lack is petroleum. It is also essential to the existence of a nation. Fortunately, there lie in the Fushun Coal Mine 5,200,000,000 tons of shale oil, from every hundred catties of which six catties of crude oil may be extracted.

By means of American machinery, every hundred catties will yield nine catties of refined oil good for motor cars and battleships.

At present Japan imports from foreign countries 700,000 tons of mineral oils every year valued at Yen 69,00,000. Those figures are on the increase. As there are 50 billion tons of shale in the Fushun Mines, the yield calculated at five per cent would be 250,000,000 tons; at nine per cent, 450,000,000 tons of oil. Taking an average of the two, the yield would be 350,000,000 tons and assuming the value of the oil to be fifteen yen a ton, the oil shale contained in the Fushun Mine would bring us Yen 5,250,000,000.

This will be a great industrial revolution for us. From the standpoint of national defence and national wealth, petroleum is a great factor. Having the iron and petroleum of Manchuria, our army and navy will become impregnable walls of defence. That Manchuria and Mongolia are the heart and liver of our empire is a truthful saying. For the sake of our empire, we should be congratulated.

As to Cultural undertakings such as hospitals, schools and philanthropic institutions, they are our signal towers in the advance into Manchuria and Mongolia. They are the institutions for spreading our national prestige and power. More specifically, they are the basis for rights and privileges.

The slogan of "Equal Opportunity" helps us to get foreign loans as well as to dispel suspicion of our designs in North Manchuria. At any rate, we shall need foreign capital to develop our continental empire. When the South Manchurian Railway is open to foreign investments, the powers will be glad to lend more to us and China can do nothing to block it. This is an excellent way to further our plans in Manchuria. We should lose no time in doing it.

#### Break Russo-Chinese Friendship

Moreover, both Russia and ourselves have been increasing armaments. On account of geographical positions, we have conflicting interests.

If we want to obtain the wealth of North Manchuria and to build up the new Continent according to the will of Emperor Meiji, we must

rush our people into North Manchuria first and seek to break the friendship between Russia and China.

### Organised Exploitation Of Manchuria

Our exploitation of Manchuria takes a variety of forms. Often those in authority take such different views that even the most profitable undertaking for our country cannot be carried out.

Because of the lack of speed, our secrets are often exposed and are used as propaganda material by the Mukden Government much to the detriment of our country in international relations. Whenever a new undertaking is projected in Manchuria and Mongolia, it will become the subject of discussion of tens of meetings and conferences in Dairen. Not only the approval of the four-headed government there is necessary, but also the sanction of the cabinet at home has to be secured before anything can be carried out.

Because of all these obstacles, any undertaking will take months and months before any definite results are seen. In the process it is possible for the Chinese to employ Japanese adventurers and to steal our secrets so that before a project is launched it is often reported to the Chinese and in turn it becomes common property of the world. We are suddenly brought under the check of the world opinion, and more than once we have incurred hardship in putting into practice our policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia.

Furthermore, the opposition party has also made capital out of what they find in these regions in order to attack the government. All these have many serious results in connection with our diplomatic relations.

Henceforth, we must change our practice in order to proceed adroitly. The centre of control must be in Tokyo. That will (1) ensure secrecy, (2) stop China from knowing beforehand our plans (3) avoid the suspicions of the powers before a thing is done, (4) unify the multiple control in Manchuria and (5) bring the government agencies in Manchuria and Mongolia in close touch with the Central government so as to deal with China with undivided power.

For these reasons we should follow the original plan for absorbing Korea laid down by Ito and Katsura and establish a Colonial Department the special function of which is to look after expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia.

The administration of Formosa, Korea and Saghalien Island may be its nominal function, but our expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia is its real purpose. This will blind the eyes of the world on the one hand and forestall the disclosure of secrets on the other.

### Fooling International Opinion

It is my personal conviction that the fact that the absorption of Korea could not be effected during the administration of Ito was due to the lack of a special office for control. Therefore, there were always differences of opinion and secret policies were impossible. Such a state of affairs played into the hand of international obstruction and Korean opposition.

Then a number of propagandists went to Europe and America as well as Korea itself, declaring that we firmly respected the independence of Korea and had no designs on an inch of Korean territory. The result of their work was the recovery of international confidence. After that, a colonial department was established under the pretence of Formosa. Then we seized the opportunity and the object was gained.

It goes to prove that in order to undertake colonisation and immigration, a special office for it is absolutely necessary. Moreover, the creation of a new empire in Mongolia and Manchuria is of utmost importance to the existence of Japan. It is necessary to have a special colonial office in order that the politics in that vast territory may be controlled from Tokyo.

The officers in the field should only take orders; they should not interfere with the execution of policies where they please. This will ensure secrecy; and the opposition nation have no chance of getting into secrets of our colonial activities. Then our movement regarding Mongolia and Manchuria will be beyond the reach of international public opinion, and we shall be free from interferences.

# British War Cabinet's Proposals

## For Creation of an Indian Union

### Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission

"The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet with party arrived at Karachi by air on the 22nd. March and at New Delhi on the 23rd. March to discuss with the leaders of Indian opinion conclusions which the War Cabinet have unitedly reached in regard to India, and to ascertain whether these conclusions will be generally acceptable to Indian opinion. Sir Stafford, who arrived by air from England, was accompanied by Mr. F. F. Turnbull (of the India Office and Secretary to the Secretary of State), temporarily attached to Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission, Mr. A. D. K. Owen and Mr. Graham Spry. Messrs. Owen and Spry are personal assistants to Sir Stafford and members of the War Cabinet staff. Mr. Owen is an economist and was Secretary, Political and Economic Planning, a non-official organisation, and is an expert on social services. Mr. Spry is a Canadian businessman in London.

### Cripps At Delhi Press Conference

At a Press Conference in New Delhi on March 23, shortly after his arrival at the Imperial Capital, Sir Stafford Cripps said :

"Obviously it would not be appropriate for me to say anything further about the precise nature of the proposals at this stage beyond the indications which were given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. Their chief object is to set out finally and with precision the practical steps which His Majesty's Government propose as the method of fulfilling their past promises of self-government to the Indian peoples. We believe that a generally acceptable line of practical action can be laid down now, and that thus the main obstacle to India's full co-operation in her own defence will have been removed."

### "A Great Friend Of India"

"We feel confident that with the political atmosphere thus clarified the leading political organisations will be enabled to put forward their maximum effort in preserving their country from the brutalities of aggression. How best their effective participation in the counsels of their country can be immediately arranged will be another matter for discussion.

"I have come here because I am, as I have always been, a great friend and admirer of India and because I want to play my part as a member of the War Cabinet in reaching a final settlement of the political difficulties which have long vexed our relationships. Once these questions are resolved, and I hope they may be quickly and satisfactorily resolved, the Indian peoples will be enabled to associate themselves fully and freely not only with Great Britain and the other Dominions but with our great Allies, Russia, China, and the United States of America so that together we can assert our determination to preserve the liberty of the peoples of the world.

"There is no time to lose and no time for long discussions. I am sure that in the circumstances of today the leaders of the main parties and interests in India will be ready to take quick decisions.

"My intention is to stay at Delhi for two weeks, for there are many urgent and important matters to be attended to in England, and I believe that within that time, with energy and goodwill, the essentials of success can be achieved. During so short a visit I shall, of course, not be able to travel about in the country and see everyone I should like to meet. I hope that my friends in India will understand that my time is short and will forgive me if I am unable to see them before I leave.

"My association in the past has been more close with my friends in the Congress than with the members of other parties or communities, but I am fully impressed with the need in any scheme for the future of India to meet the deep anxieties which undoubtedly exist among the Muslims and the other communities. I shall therefore embark upon my task with a mind equally open to all points of view—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and others. I believe that the proposals of the War Cabinet will appeal to the Indian leaders since they are the unanimous

result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have widely differing outlooks upon the Indian question.

#### Appeal To Press

"I shall be spending the first two days with the Viceroy, who has cordially welcomed my mission, and shall then have the opportunity of meeting the Commander-in-Chief and other members of the Executive Council and the provincial governors. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Chamber of Princes and the Hindu Mahasabha have been asked to nominate their own representatives to hold discussions with me, and representative of the Sikhs, the Liberal Party, and the Scheduled Castes have also been invited to meet me. I shall of course see other representative people including provincial premiers.

"I am confident that both the Indian Press and the Press in other interested countries will give their help in the great cause of Indian self-government and defence and will not by untimely speculation or by the spreading of uninformed and illconsidered rumours prejudice the chance of a successful settlement of the outstanding issues."

#### British War Cabinet's Proposals

The following are the conclusions of the British War Cabinet which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him for discussion with Indian leaders :—

His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following Declaration :—

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to :—

(i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

#### Complete Transfer of Responsibility

With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands ; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities ; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :—

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of

proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 110th of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India

### Cripps' Broadcast On The Proposals

The following is the text of the broadcast talk by Sir Stafford Cripps from the Delhi station of the All India Radio on March 30, 1942 :

I want tonight to give you a short explanation of the document which was published in the Press this morning, and which gives the proposal of the British War Cabinet for the future of India, a document unanimously agreed upon by every member of that Cabinet

First of all you will want to know what object we had in view. Well, we wanted to make it quite clear, and beyond any possibility of doubt or question, that the British Government and the British people desire the Indian peoples to have full self-government, with a Constitution as free in every respect as our own in Great Britain or as of any of the great Dominion members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. *In the words of the draft Declaration, India would be,* "associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs."

There is, however, an existing Constitution which regulates the Central and Provincial Governments of India and everyone agrees that in these troublous times we cannot here and now set about forging a new Constitution. It is far too important a matter for the future of India to be improvised in a hurried way.

The principle on which these proposals are based is that the new Constitution should be framed by the elected representatives of the Indian peoples themselves. So we propose that immediately hostilities are ended a Constitution-making body should be set up consisting of elected representatives from British India, and if the *Indian States wish, as we hope they will, to become part of the new Indian Union*, they too will be invited to send their representatives to this Constitution-making body, though, if they do, that will not, of itself, bind them to become members of the Union. That is the broad outline of the future.

### Defence of India

Now what is to happen in the meantime ?

The British people are determined to do their utmost for the defence of India and we are confident that in that great task the Indian peoples of all races and religions are eager to play their full part. Let me read to you what the statement says on this point—

"(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for, and retain the control and direction of, the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India." So ends the document.

The Governor-General whose task it is to form the Central Government of

India has done his utmost to assist me with my mission, and I am certain that the Indian leaders can rely upon him to find the best way in consultation with them for carrying out the general principle laid down in the clause that I have just read to you.

### "The Most Vital Question"

So much for the general framework of the proposals. But as we all know, the most vital and difficult question is that which concerns the interests of the various communities amongst the Indian peoples.

I will not attempt to go into any of the historical origins of these difficulties; let us instead look at them as a present fact. In the great sub-continent of India there is more than one people, there are many peoples and races as there are in the great sub-continent of Russia. Our object is to give to the Indian peoples full self-government with complete freedom as to how they will devise and organise their own Constitution.

There are those who claim that India should form a single united country, there are others who say it should be divided up into two, three or more separated countries. There are those who claim that Provincial Autonomy should be very wide with but few centrally controlled federal services; others stress the need for centralisation in view of the growing complexity of economic development.

These *and many other* various ideas are worthy to be explored and debated, but it is for the Indian peoples and not for any outside authority, to decide under which of these forms India will in the future govern herself.

If the Indian peoples ask our help it will of course be gladly given but it is for you, the Indian peoples, to discuss and decide upon your future Constitution. We shall look on with deep interest and hope that your wisdom will guide you truly in this great adventure.

We ask you therefore to come together all religions and races—in a Constitution-making body as soon as hostilities are over to frame your own Constitution.

We have specified the form which that body will take, unless, and this is an important point, the leaders of the principal sections of Indian opinion agree between themselves before the end of hostilities upon some other and better form.

### Single Constitution

That Constitution-making body will have as its object the framing of a single Constitution for the whole of India—that is, of British Indian together with such of the Indian States as may decide to join in.

But we realise this very simple fact. If you want to persuade a number of people who are inclined to be antagonistic to enter the same room, it is unwise to tell them that once they go in there is no way out—they are to be for ever locked in together. It is much wiser to tell them they can go in, and if they find they can't come to a common decision, then there is nothing to prevent those who wish, from leaving again by another door. They are much more likely all to go in if they have knowledge that they can by their free will go out again if they cannot agree.

Well, that is what we say to the provinces of India. Come together to frame a common Constitution—if you find after all your discussion and all the give and take of a Constitution-making assembly that you cannot overcome your differences and that some provinces are still not satisfied with the constitution, then such provinces can go out and remain out if they wish and just the same degree of self-government and freedom will be available for them as for the Union itself, that is to say, complete self-government.

We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples, but it is not for us, Britishers, to dictate to you, the Indian peoples; you will work out and decide that problem for yourselves.

### Appeal To Indian Leaders

So we provide the means and the road by which you can attain that form of the absolute and united self-government that you desire at the earliest possible moment. In the past we have waited for the different Indian communities to come to a common decision as to how a new Constitution for a self-governing India should be framed and because there has been no agreement amongst the Indian leaders, the British Government have been accused by some of using

this fact to delay the granting of freedom to India. We are now giving the lead that has been asked for and it is in the hands of Indians and Indians only whether they will accept that lead and so attain their own freedom. If they fail to accept this opportunity the responsibility for that failure must rest with them.

We ask you to accept this fulfilment of our pledges in the past and it is that request that I have put before your leaders in the document which you have now seen.

As regards the position of minority communities within the new Indian Union, I am confident that the constitution-making body will make just provision for their protection. But in view of the undertakings given to these minorities by His Majesty's Government in the past we propose that in the Treaty, which, under the draft Declaration, will be concluded between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body, the new Indian Union should undertake to protect the rights of these minorities. If there should be any non-acceding provinces a similar treaty provision would be made in respect of minority communities within their borders.

I have already indicated to you the position as to the immediate future.

#### The C-in-C's Position

I know that His Excellency the Viceroy has the greatest hope that the acceptance in principle of this document by the leaders of Indian opinion will make it possible for him to start forthwith upon the consultations which will enable him to implement the principle laid down in the last paragraph of the document which I have already read over to you.

It contains one essential reservation—that in respect of the responsibility for defence. This reservation does not mean that the Governor-General and his Executive Council will, or indeed could, be excluded from taking an effective share in the counsels for the defence of India. In this wide-flung war, defence cannot be localised in a single country and its preparation must permeate the activities of every department of Government and must demand from every department the fullest co-operation. If His Majesty's Government are to take full responsibility for the conduct of the naval, military and air defence of India, as it is their duty to do, then the defence of India must be dealt with by them as part of the world war effort in which they are now engaged, and the direction of that defence must rest in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief under the War Cabinet and their highest staff officers. But, as I have already pointed out, the Government of India must also have an effective share in the defence counsels and so we have decided that the Commander-in-Chief must retain his position as a Member of the Executive Council.

*In order, however, that India may have her full voice in this central control of strategy, defensive and offensive, not only in India itself but in all the inter-related theatres of war, we have invited the appointment of a representative Indian to the War Cabinet and to the Pacific Council of the United Nations—that is one of the ways in which India will have her full say in the counsels of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations as an equal partner. And when it comes to the making of the peace, India will appoint her own representatives to the Peace Conference side by side with those of the other free nations and so make her contribution to the building of a new world order.*

#### Definite And Precise

I am confident that nothing further or more complete could be done towards the immediate realisation of the just claims and demands of the Indian peoples. Our proposals are definite and precise. If they were to be rejected by the leaders of Indian opinion, there would be neither the time nor the opportunity to reconsider this matter till after the war and it would be a bitter blow to the friends of India all over the world.

I consider it a high honour that it has fallen to my lot to be the messenger of the War Cabinet in a matter of such vital and far-reaching importance to the future world order. I personally am convinced of the soundness and completeness of these proposals, and I have asked your leaders to give to them an ungrudging acceptance.

There will still be difficulties perhaps—the result of the distrust which has grown up between us in past years, but I ask you to turn your back upon that past, to accept our hand, our hand of friendship and trust and allow us to join with you for the time being in working to establish and complete your



freedom and your self-government. This, as you may know, has long been a cause dear to my heart and it is with the greatest hopes that I look to the events of the next few days which may, if wisely handled, seal for ever your freedom and our friendship.

Your country today is in peril from a cruel aggressor, an aggressor whose hand has soaked in blood and suffering great areas of China with its friendly and democratic peoples, an aggressor allied to those nations who have deluged with tragedy the once peaceful plains of Russia. Against those aggressors we and the Allied Nations will fight to victory.

The outlook is overcast for the moment but, believe me, I have no doubt as to the final result. Russia, the United States, China and Great Britain have resources which the Axis and its allies can never defeat.

We stand by our duty, growing out of our past historical associations, to give you every protection that we can, but with your willing help and co-operation this can be made more effective and more powerful.

Let us enter upon this primary task of the defence of India in the now sure knowledge that when we emerge from the fire and travail of war it will be to build a free India upon foundations wrought by the Indian peoples themselves, and to forge a long, lasting and free friendship between our two peoples. Regrets and recriminations as to the past can have no place beside the confident and sure hopes of the future, when a Free India will take her rightful place as a co-worker with the other free nations in that world reconstruction which alone can make the toil and suffering of the war worth while. Let the dead past bury its dead! And let us march together side by side through the night of high endeavour and courage to the already waking dawn of a new world of liberty for all the peoples.

### Resolution Of The Congress Working Committee

*A meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress was held at Delhi from March 29 to April 11, 1942. It passed the following resolution on the draft proposals of the British Government. This resolution was however not released to the press till April 10th after the final failure of the negotiations. It was communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps on April 2nd.*

The Working Committee have given their full and earnest consideration to the proposals made by the British War Cabinet in regard to India and the elucidation thereof by Sir Stafford Cripps. These proposals, which have been made at the very last hour because of the compulsion of events, have to be considered not only in relation to India's demand for independence, but more especially in the present grave war crisis, with a view to meeting effectively the perils and dangers that confront India and envelop the world.

The Congress has repeatedly stated, ever since the commencement of the War in September 1939, that the people of India would line themselves with the progressive forces of the world and assume full responsibility to face the new problems and shoulder the new burdens that had arisen, and it asked for the necessary conditions to enable them to do so to be created. An essential condition was the freedom of India, for only the realisation of present freedom could light the flame which would illumine millions of hearts and move them to action. At the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee, after the commencement of the War in the Pacific, it was stated that: 'Only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war.'

The British War Cabinet's new proposals relate principally to the future upon the cessation of hostilities. The Committee, while recognising that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future, regret that this is fettered and circumscribed and certain provisions have been introduced which gravely imperil the development of a free and united nation and the establishment of a democratic State. Even the constitution-making body is so constituted that the people's right to self-determination is vitiated by the introduction of non-representative elements. The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and the Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation. The Committee recognise that future independence may be implicit in the proposals but the accompanying provisions and restrictions are such that real freedom may well become an illusion.

The complete ignoring of the ninety millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination. While the representation of an Indian State in the constitution-making body is fixed on a population basis, the people of the States have no voice in choosing those representatives, nor are they to be consulted at any stage, while decisions vitally affecting them are being taken. Such States may in many ways become barriers to the growth of Indian freedom, enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the State as well as of the rest of India.

The acceptance beforehand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces, and which may well lead to further difficulties in the way of the Indian States merging themselves in the Indian Union. The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognising this principle, the Committee feel that every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union, consistently with a strong national State. The proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of a union and thus create friction just when the utmost co-operation and goodwill are most needed. This proposal has been presumably made to meet a communal demand, but it will have other consequences also and lead politically reactionary and obscurantist groups among different communities to create trouble and divert public attention from the vital issues before the country.

Any proposal concerning the future of India must demand attention and scrutiny, but in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present. The committee have necessarily attached the greatest importance to this aspect of the question, and on this ultimately depends what advice they should give to those who look to them for guidance. For the present the British War Cabinet's proposals are vague and altogether incomplete, and it would appear that no vital changes in the present structure are contemplated. It has been made clear that the Defence of India will in any event remain under British control. At any time defence is a vital subject; during war time it is all important and covers almost every sphere of life and administration. To take away defence from the sphere of responsibility at this stage is to reduce that responsibility to a farce and a nullity, and to make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any way and her Government is not going to function as a free and independent government during the pendency of the War. The Committee would repeat that an essential and fundamental pre-requisite for the assumption of responsibility by the Indian people in the present, is their realisation as a fact that they are free and are in charge of maintaining and defending their freedom. What is most wanted is the enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devolution of responsibility on them in the matter of defence. It is only thus that even at this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanise the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. It is manifest that the present Government of India, as well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence, and are incapable of shouldering the burden of India's defence. It is only the people of India, through their popular representatives, who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom, and full responsibility being cast upon them.

The Committee, therefore, are unable to accept the proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet.

*Note : Sir Stafford Cripps, after receipt of the Working Committee resolution, had an interview with the Congress President. With reference to the resolution*

*Sir Stafford Cripps told the Congress President that he took it that the resolution will not be immediately released to the press. He also told him that he would consult His Majesty's Government 'as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism of your Working Committee that under clause (e) of the draft declaration the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative India.'*

### Azad-Cripps Correspondence

*The full text of the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps in connection with the British Government's draft declaration is given below :*

*New Delhi, March 30, 1942*

My dear Maulana Sahib

I had the opportunity of a short talk with H. E. the Viceroy last night, during which he discussed with me his views as to the implementation of clause (e) of the draft declaration.

It must be clearly understood that the final definition of the division of responsibilities between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India is as stated in paragraph (e) of the document. I propose to make the position as to this as clear as I can in my broadcast tonight.

The Viceroy would be prepared to consult with Indian leaders on this basis to see whether it were possible to designate an Indian to some office connected with the Government of India's defence responsibilities without in any way impinging upon the function and duties of the Commander-in-Chief either in his capacity as supreme commander of the armed forces in India or as the member of the Executive Council in charge of Defence.

I give you this information as you put the question to me when last I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

*The Congress President received wires from Shri Shanti Kumar Narottam Morarjee and others drawing his attention to the fact that while Sir Stafford Cripps had invited the representatives of British Commercial interests for a discussion with him he had sent no such invitation to the Indian Commercial interests. The President sent a copy of the wire from Shri Morarjee to Sir Stafford Cripps and invited his attention to the just complaint of the Indian Commercial community. Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following reply :*

*New Delhi, March 31 1942*

My Dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you for your letter of to-day. The reply which I gave at my press conference, and to which Mr. Morarjee refers in the telegram you have sent me, was I assure you not intended to convey any lack of appreciation of the importance of Indian Commercial interest. I was dealing with the position in regard to European Commercial interests if the proposals which I have been discussing with you and the other leaders are given effect, and I said that I had seen representatives of the European community because the interests of that community might be affected. After all, the Europeans are a minority element in India who are entitled to be heard in such discussions as at present, not only in regard to their business interests but on other matters. Indian business interests will presumably be able to make their voice heard in the Constitution making Body through those members of the Provincial legislature who represent their interests, and then would be the time and place at which their interests would have to receive consideration. It does not seem to me that it would really be helpful to the discussions I have come here to hold to see Mr. Morarjee although I would have been happy to do so if I had been able to stay here longer than I can on this occasion.

I am exceedingly sorry that my letter of yesterday should have been delayed in reaching you. My Secretary took it to Birla House in the belief that the Working Committee was meeting there and understood that it would be immediately communicated to you.

Yours very sincerely

(Sd.) Stafford Cripps

*New Delhi, April 1, 1942*

Dear Maulana Sahib

I understand from the Hindu press that difficulties are still in the mind of Congress as to the question of the responsibility for the Defence of India.

I have done what I could to clarify this point but as I think it would be a tragedy if negotiations were to break down upon any misunderstanding of the position I should like to suggest that I should ask the Commander-in-Chief to meet yourself and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with myself in order that he may explain fully to you the technical difficulties of the situation and in order that you may make to him any suggestions you wish as to the division of responsibilities in this sphere of government. Unfortunately he is at the moment away at Calcutta but he is expected back on Saturday next at the latest (and possibly earlier). If you consider this a helpful suggestion—as I hope you will—I will ask him the moment he returns whether he will be prepared to attend such a meeting and I do not anticipate that there will be any difficulty about it.

I am sure you will realise that I do not want to be met with an impasse if there is any reasonable way out.

Yours sincerely  
(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps  
*New Delhi, April 1, 1942*

My Dear Sir Stafford

I have your letter of today's date, for which I thank you.

If you so desire it, I shall gladly meet the Commander-in-chief and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will, I hope, be able to accompany me.

My Committee have already arrived at a decision in regard to the proposals communicated by you to us. It was my intention to send this to you this evening, or possibly to take it over in person, in case you wished to discuss any point contained in it. This decision naturally covers other points also apart from Defence. I hope to send it to you some time today. If you wish to meet me again in regard to this I shall gladly meet you.

In your letter you refer to the "Hindu Press." I do not know what exactly you mean by this.

Yours sincerely  
(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad  
*New Delhi, April 1, 1942*

My dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you very much for your letter.

I will make the arrangement for the meeting with the Commander-in-chief the moment he returns.

As to the document you are sending over, I understand this expresses the views of the Congress Working Committee upon the proposals, but that it is not intended to be a definite and final statement as to the Congress attitude, in view of our meeting again.

I should be most grateful if you could come over and see me with regard to it tomorrow morning at 10 A. M.

I apologise for the reference to the "Hindu Press." I was referring to the Hindustan Times amongst other papers.

Yours sincerely  
(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps  
*New Delhi, April 2, 1942*

Dear Maulana Sahib

Mr. Jinnah has asked me to give him a clear picture of the method by which I have proposed that a Province should decide whether it will or will not join an Indian union set up in accordance with the procedure laid down in His Majesty's Government draft Declaration. I have told him in reply that the proposition which I have put orally to him and to the other leaders is that a Province should reach its decision by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution that the Province should join the Indian Union, and that if the majority for accession is less than 60%, the minority would have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population.

I explained this to you at our first meeting, but as I have written to Mr. Jinnah in this sense, I thought it desirable to give you a similar letter.

Yours sincerely  
(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps  
*April 3, 1942*

Dear Maulana Sahib

I have now been able to see His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and he will be very glad to meet you and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to discuss the position

regarding Defence. Subject to your convenience, 6 o'clock tomorrow evening would suit General Wavell and if you can manage this, I suggest that you should come here at 10 minutes to 6 P. M., and I will go up with you to the Commander-in-Chief's Office.

If there are any specific points of detail about organisation which you wish to raise, I should be very much obliged if you could let me have a note of them tonight or first thing tomorrow morning so that the Commander-in-Chief can consider them before the meeting.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

*After consulting His Majesty's Government on clause (e) of the declaration Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following letter to the Congress President:—*

*New Delhi, April 7, 1948*

My dear Maulana Sahib

I have, as I promised when I last saw you, consulted His Majesty's Government as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism of your Working Committee that under clause (e) of the draft declaration the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative Indian. Although, as the Working Committee have fully understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities, His Majesty's Government are anxious to give representative Indians the maximum possible participation in the Government during that period, in accordance with the principle laid down in clause (e) of the draft declaration.

I have explained to you the technical difficulties with regard to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and will not here reiterate them.

I have also pointed out that all those main aspects of the defence of India which at present fall under the care of other members of the Executive (e. g., Civil Defence, Supply, Home Affairs Communications, etc., etc.) will if the scheme is accepted, be administered by representative members in the new National Government.

His Majesty's Government are however anxious to do their utmost to meet the wishes of the Indian people, and to demonstrate their complete trust in the co-operative effort of the two peoples, British and Indian, which they hope may reinforce the Defence of India.

They also appreciate the force of the arguments that have been put forward as to the necessities of an effective appeal to the Indian peoples for their own defence.

I am therefore authorised to propose to you as a way out of the present difficulties that,

(a) The Commander-in-Chief should retain a seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council as "War Member" and should retain his full control over all the war activities of the armed forces in India subject to the control of His Majesty's Government and the War Cabinet upon which body a representative Indian should sit with equal powers in all matters relating to the Defence of India. Membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.

(b) An Indian representative member would be added to the Viceroy's Executive, who would take over those sections of the Department of Defence which can organisationally be separated immediately from the Commander-in-Chief's War Department and which are specified under head (i) of the annexure. In addition this member would take over the Defence Co-ordination Department which is at present directly under the Viceroy, and certain other important functions of the Government of India which are directly related to Defence and which do not fall under any of the other existing departments and which are specified under head (ii) of the annexure.

His Majesty's Government very much hope, as I personally hope, that this arrangement will enable the Congress to come into the scheme so that if other important bodies of Indian opinion are also willing it will be possible for His Excellency the Viceroy to embark forthwith upon the task of forming the new National Government in consultation with the leaders of the Indian opinion.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

#### Annexure

(i) Matters now dealt with in the Defence Department which would be transferred to a defence Co-ordination Department.

(a) Public relations.

- (b) Demobilization and post-War reconstruction.
- (c) Petroleum Officer, whose functions are to calculate the requirements of, and make provision for, all the petroleum products required for the Army, Navy and Air Force, and for the Civil Departments including Storage and distribution.
- (d) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.
- (e) Amenities for, and welfare, of troops and their dependants, including Indian soldiers abroad.
- (f) All canteen organisations.
- (g) Certain non-technical educational institutions e. g., Lawrence Schools, K. G. R. I. M. Schools and the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College.
- (h) Stationery, Printing and forms for the Army.
- (i) Reception, accommodation and social arrangements for all foreign missions, representatives and officers.
- (ii) In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence, but difficult to locate in any particular existing departments. Examples are  
 "Denial" policy.  
 Policy of evacuation from threatened areas.  
 Signals co-ordination.  
 Economic warfare.

*The formula for defence suggested in the above letter, was considered by the Working Committee and rejected by them. In particular the functions allotted to the Defence Minister, as listed in the Annexure, were considered totally insufficient. The Committee, therefore, expressed their inability to accept this suggestion.*

*After the rejection of the above formula a second formula for Defence was placed before the Working Committee by a mutual friend, with the previous approval of Sir Stafford Cripps. There was no list of subjects or functions attached to this.*

#### Second Formula For Defence

In amplification of clause (e) of the draft declaration His Majesty's Government make the following proposition upon the subject-matter of the Defence of India.

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in charge of a representative Indian member with the exceptions of functions to be exercised by the Commander-in-chief as war member of the Executive Council.

(b) A war department will be constituted which will take over such functions of the Defence Department as are not retained by the Defence member. A list of all the retained functions has been agreed, to which will be added further important responsibilities including the matters now dealt with by the Defence Coordination Department and other vital matters related to the defence of India.

*The Working Committee having considered the above formula varied it as follows :*

#### Working Committee Formula

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, for the duration of the war by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India, and who will be an extraordinary member of the National Cabinet for that purpose.

(b) A War Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This Department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

(c) The Defence Member shall be in charge of all other matters relating to Defence, including those now dealt with by the Defence Coordination Department.

*This formula was sent with a covering letter, dated April 8th, which stated inter alia :*

The new proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British War Cabinet, were entirely unsatisfactory. Both the approach and the allocations of subjects were, in our opinion, wrong, and there was no real transfer of responsibility for Defence to representative Indians in the National Government. Such transfer is essential for the successful defence of the country, for on it depends the full mobilization of the war-potential of the country.

The approach made in the draft you gave me this morning seems to us a more healthy one. With some alterations that we suggest, it might be made the

basis of further discussions. But, it must be remembered, that a very great deal depends on the allocation of subjects between the Defence Department and the War Department, and until this is done, it is not possible to give a final opinion.

Leaving aside this subject of allocation for the present, we would suggest that the formula which is to form the basis of discussion should be as follows: The formula is given above.

You will notice that this does not differ materially from your formula. The general approach is that the National Government is responsible for the entire government of the country including its defence. But, in view of the war and the obvious necessity of allowing full scope for war operations to the Commander-in-Chief, functions relating to the conduct of the war are delegated to him and are to be exercised by him for the duration of the war. He will in effect have full control of these operations and of the war activities of the armed forces in India.

It is presumed of course that there will be full cooperation between the Defence Department and the War Department. The National Government will inevitably strain every nerve towards the successful defence of the country and will give all possible help to the Commander-in-Chief in this behalf.

Sir Stafford Cripps has already stated that a representative Indian will be a member of the War Cabinet in London, and that membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.

There are many other important matters which have to be considered, but I do not wish to trouble you with them, however, in order to prevent any misapprehension later on. In the draft declaration proposed to be made by the British Government there is much with which we do not agree. The preamble commits us to Dominion Status, though there is a possibility of our voting ourselves out later on. Clauses C and D relate, inter alia, to the right of a province not to join the Union and to the nomination by the Rulers of States' representatives to the constitution-making body. We think these provisions are bad and likely to have dangerous consequences. We have indicated our views in regard to them in the resolution a copy of which I have already sent you. All these provisions are for the future and they need not come in the way of a present arrangement. As controversial matter, this might be left out of any proposed declaration at this stage. It will be open to any group or party to adhere to its own opinions in regard to them and yet co-operate in a settlement for present action. We hope that it may be possible for us to arrive at a satisfactory settlement about them at a future date.

One other matter to which we attach importance might be mentioned, though it does not arise out of the present talks. We presume that the independent status of India will be recognized by the United Nations. Whenever this is done, it will greatly help our common cause and strengthen our bonds with each other.

### Sir Stafford Cripps' Formula

*Sir Stafford Cripps amended as follows the Working Committee's formula given above.*

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, until the new constitution comes into operation, by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India and who will be a member of the Executive Council for that purpose.

(b) A War Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This Department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

(c) The Defence Member shall be in charge of the other matter relating to Defence in the Defence Department and those now dealt with by the Defence Co-ordination Department in addition to other important matters closely related to Defence.

(d) In the event of any new functions falling to be discharged in relation to Defence or any dispute arising as to the allocation of any old functions it shall be decided by His Majesty's Government.

*To this was added a comprehensive description of the functions of the War Minister:*

The War Department, for which the Commander-in-Chief will be Member, will be responsible for the governmental relations of G. H. Q., N. H. Q. and A. H. Q., which include:—

- (1) Examining and sanctioning all proposals emanating from G. H. Q., and A. H. Q.
- (2) Representing the policy of Government on all questions connected with the war which originate in or concern G. H. Q., N. H. Q. or A. H. Q.
- (3) Acting as the channel of communication between the Government of India and H. M. G. on all such questions.
- (4) Acting as liaison between these head-quarters and the other Departments of Government, and Provincial Governments.

The above formula was received on the afternoon of April 8th. Immediately on receipt of it a letter was sent on behalf of the Working Committee pointing out that the description of the War Minister's functions appeared as all-comprehensive. It was, therefore, requested, that illustrative lists of the functions of both the Defence Minister and the War Minister be supplied to enable the Working Committee to understand the implications of the proposal. No such lists were supplied then or at any time later.

The Working Committee met, as usual in the morning and afternoon of April 9th and gave full consideration to the new proposal. In view of the absence of the list of functions no definite decision could be taken.

In order to avoid further delay it was decided that the matter be further considered in a personal interview between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps. Also there were other matters that needed elucidation. The interview took place in the late afternoon of April 9th. On the 10th morning a report of what transpired at the interview was placed before the Working Committee, who came to the decision that they could not accept the British Government's proposals as they stood. The following letter was therefore sent by the Congress President to Sir Stafford Cripps :

### Azad's Letter to Cripps

*New Delhi, April 10, 1942*

Dear Sir Stafford

On the 2nd April I sent you the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress containing their views on the tentative proposals put forward by you on behalf of the British Government. In this resolution we expressed our dissent from several important and far-reaching proposals for the future. Further consideration of these proposals has only strengthened us in our conviction in regard to them, and we should like to repeat that we cannot accept them as suggested. The Working Committee's resolution gives expression to our conclusions relating to them which we reached after the most earnest consideration.

That resolution, however, emphasized the gravity of the present situation and stated that the ultimate decision that we might take would be governed by the changes made in the present. The over-riding problem before all of us, and more especially before all Indians, is the defence of the country from aggression and invasion. The future, important as it is, will depend on what happens in the next few months and years. We were therefore prepared to do without any assurances for this uncertain future, hoping that through our sacrifices in the defence of our country we would lay the solid and enduring foundation for a free and independent India. We concentrated, therefore, on the present.

Your original proposals in regard to the present, as contained in clause (e) of the proposed declaration, were vague and incomplete, except in so far as it was made clear that "His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India." These proposals, in effect, asked for participation in the tasks of to-day with a view to ensure "the future freedom of India." Freedom was for an uncertain future, not for the present, and no indication was given in clause (e) of what arrangements or governmental and other changes would be made in the present. When this vagueness was pointed out, you said that this was deliberate, so as to give you freedom to determine these changes in consultation with others. In our talks you gave us to understand that you envisaged a National Government which would deal with all matters except Defence.

Defence at any time, and more particularly in war time, is of essential importance and without it a National Government functions in a very limited field. Apart from this consideration, it was obvious that the whole purpose of your proposals and our talks centred round the urgency of the problems created by the threat of

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Note: G. H. Q.=General Headquarters; N. H. Q.=Navy Headquarters; A. H. Q.=Air Headquarters.



the invasion of India. The chief functions of a National Government must necessarily be to organize Defence both intensively and on the widest popular basis and to create a mass psychology of resistance to an invader. Only a National Government could do that, and only a government on whom this responsibility was laid. Popular resistance must have a national background, and both the soldier and the civilian must feel that they are fighting for their country's freedom under national leadership.

We pointed this out to you. The question became one not of just satisfying our national aspirations but of effective prosecution of the war and fighting to the last any invader who set foot on the soil of India. On general principles a National Government would control defence through a Defence Minister, and the Commander-in-Chief would control the armed forces and would have full latitude in the carrying out of the operations connected with the war. An Indian National Government should have normally functioned in this way. We made it clear that the Commander-in-Chief in India would have control of the armed forces and the conduct of operations and other matters connected therewith. With a view to arriving at a settlement, we were prepared to accept certain limitations on the normal powers of the Defence Minister. We had no desire to upset in the middle of the war the present military organization or arrangements. We accepted also that the higher strategy of the war should be controlled by the War Cabinet in London which would have an Indian member. The immediate object before us was to make the defence of India more effective, to strengthen it, to broad base it on the popular will, and to reduce all red tape, delay and inefficiency from it. There was no question of our interfering with the technical and operational sides. One thing, of course, was of paramount importance to us; India's safety and defence. Subject to this primary consideration, there was no reason why there should be any difficulty in finding a way out of the present impasse in accordance with the unanimous desire of the Indian people, for in this matter there are no differences amongst us.

The emphasis on Defence led you to reconsider the matter and you wrote to me on the 7th April suggesting a formula for Defence.

In this letter you said: "As the Working Committee have understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities." The Working Committee's attitude in the matter has been completely misunderstood and I should like to clear this up, although we are not immediately concerned with it. The Committee do not think that there is any inherent difficulty in the way of constitutional changes during the war. Everything that helps in the war not only can be but must be done, and done with speed. That is the only way to carry on and win a war. No complicated enactments are necessary. A recognition of India's freedom and right to self-determination could easily be made, if it were so wished, together with certain other consequential but important changes. The rest can be left to future arrangements and adjustments. I might remind you that the British Prime Minister actually proposed a union of France and England on the eve of the fall of France. No greater or more fundamental change could be imagined, and this was suggested at a period of grave crisis and peril. War accelerates change; it does not fit in with static conceptions.

The formula for Defence that you sent us was considered by us together with its annexure which gave a list of subjects or departments which were to be transferred to the Defence Department. This list was a revealing one as it proved that the Defence Minister would deal with relatively unimportant matters. We were unable to accept this and we informed you accordingly.

Subsequently, a new formula for Defence was suggested to us, but without any list of subjects. This formula seemed to us to be based on a more healthy approach and we suggested certain changes pointing out that our ultimate decision would necessarily depend on the allocation of subjects. A revised formula was then sent back to us together with an indication of the functions of the War Department.

This was so widely and comprehensively framed that it was difficult for us to know what the actual allocation of subjects and departments, as between the Defence Department and the War Department, would be. A request was made on our behalf that illustrative lists of these subjects might be supplied to enable us to consider the matter. No such lists were supplied to us.

In the interview we had with you yesterday we discussed the new formula

and expressed our viewpoint in regard to it. I need not repeat what I said then. The wording of the formula is after all a minor matter and we would not allow that to come in our way, unless some important principle is at stake. But behind that wording lay certain ideas and we were surprised to find that during the past few days we had been proceeding on wrong assumptions.

When we asked you for illustrative lists of subjects for the two departments, you referred us to the old list for the Defence Department which you had previously sent us and which we had been unable to accept. You added that certain residuary subjects might be added to this but, in effect, there was not likely to be any such subject as the allocation was complete. Thus, you said, that substantially there was no change between the old list and any new one that might be prepared. If this was so, and we were to go back ultimately to the place we started from, then what was the purpose of our searching for new formula? A new set of words meaning the same thing made no difference. In the course of our talks many other matters were also cleared up, unfortunately to our disadvantage. You had referred both privately and in the course of public statements to a National Government and a "Cabinet" consisting of "ministers." These words have a certain significance and we had imagined that the new Government would function with full powers as a Cabinet, with the Viceroy acting as a constitutional head. But the new picture that you placed before us was really not very different from the old, the difference being one of degree and not of kind. The new Government could neither be called except vaguely and inaccurately, nor could it function as a National Government. It would just be the Viceroy and his Executive Council with the Viceroy having all his old powers. We did not ask for any legal changes but we did ask for definite assurances and conventions which would indicate that the new Government would function as a free government the members of which act as members of a cabinet in a constitutional government. In regard to the conduct of the war and connected activities the Commander-in-Chief would have freedom, and he would act as war minister.

We were informed that nothing can be said at this stage, even vaguely and generally, about the conventions that should govern the Government and the Viceroy. Ultimately there was always the possibility of the members of the Executive Council resigning or threatening to resign if they disagreed with the Viceroy. That sanction or remedy is of course always open, but it is curious that we should base our approach to a new government on the probability of conflict and resignation at the very outset.

The picture therefore placed before us is not essentially different from the old one. The whole object which we, and I believe you have in view—that is, to create a new psychological approach to the people, to make them feel that their own national government had come, that they were defending their newly won freedom—would be completely frustrated when they saw this old picture again, with even the old labels on. The continuation of the India Office which has been a symbol of evil to us, would confirm this picture. It has almost been taken for granted for sometime past that the India Office would soon disappear as it was an anachronism. But now we are told that even this undesirable relic of a past age is going to continue.

The picture of the government, which was so like the old in all essential features, is such that we cannot fit into it. Normally we would have had little difficulty in disposing of this matter for it is so far removed from all that we have striven for, but in the circumstances of today we were prepared to give full consideration to every proposal which might lead to an effective organisation of the defence of India. The peril that faces India affects us more than it can possibly affect any foreigner, and we are anxious and eager to do our utmost to face it and overcome it. But we cannot undertake responsibilities when we are not given the freedom and power to shoulder them effectively and when an old environment continues which hampers the national effort.

While we cannot accept the proposals you have made, we want to inform you that we are yet prepared to assume responsibility provided a truly national government is formed. We are prepared to put aside for the present all questions about the future, though as we have indicated, we hold definite views about it. But in the present, the National Government must be a cabinet government with full power and must not merely be continuation of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In regard to defence we have already stated what, in our opinion, the position should be at present. We feel that such an arrangement is the very minimum that

is essential for the functioning of a National Government and for making the popular appeal which is urgently needed.

We would point out to you that the suggestions we have put forward are not ours only but may be considered to be the unanimous demand of the Indian people. On these matters there is no difference of opinion among various groups and parties, and the difference is as between the Indian people as a whole and the British Government. Such differences as exist in India relate to constitutional changes in the future. We are agreeable to the postponement of this issue so that the largest possible measure of unity might be achieved in the present crisis for the defence of India. It would be a tragedy that even when there is this unanimity of opinion in India, the British Government should prevent a free National Government from functioning and from serving the cause of India as well as the large causes for which millions are suffering and dying today.

Yours sincerely  
(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad

### Cripps' Reply to Azad

*New Delhi. the 11th April 1942*

My Dear Mulana Sahib,

I was extremely sorry to receive from you your letter of April 10th expressing the rejection by the Congress Working Committee of His Majesty's Government's draft declaration.

I will not deal with those points which are covered by the original resolution of your Committee which you sent me, as they were clearly not the reason for your decision.

Nor need I go into the question of the division of duties between the Defence Minister and the Commander-in-Chief as War Member with which you deal at length. This division allotted to the Defence Minister all functions outside those actually connected with the General Headquarters and Air Headquarters which are under the Commander-in-Chief as head of the fighting forces in India.

In addition to these functions in the narrow field of "Defence" it was suggested that all other portfolios relating to that subject such as :—

*Home Department*—Internal order, police, refugees, etc.

*Finance Department*—All war finance in India.

*Communications Department*—Railways, roads, transport etc.

*Supply Department*—Supplies for all forces and munitions.

*Information and Broadcasting Department*—Propaganda, publicity, etc.

*Civil Defence Department*—A. R. P. and all forms of civilian defence.

*Legislative Department*—Regulations and orders.

*Labour Department*—Man power.

*Defence Department*—Administration of Indian personnel, etc.

should be put in the hands of representative Indians as members of the Executive Council.

Nothing further could have been done by way of giving responsibility for Defence services to representative Indian members without jeopardising the immediate defence of India under the Commander-in-Chief. This defence is, as you know, a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government, while unity of Command is essential in the interests of the Allied help to India.

The real substance of your refusal to take part in a National Government is that the form of Government suggested is not such as would enable you to rally the Indian people as you desire.

You make two suggestions. First that the constitution might now be changed. In this respect I would point out that you made this suggestion for the first time last night, nearly three weeks after you had received the proposals, and I would further remark that every other representative with whom I have discussed this view has accepted the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war and at such a moment as the present.

Second you suggest "a truly National Government" be formed, which must be a "cabinet Government with full power."

Without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a very large scale this would not be possible, as you realise.

Were such a system to be introduced by convention under the existing circumstances, the nominated cabinet (nominated presumably by the major political

organisations) would be responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed and would in fact constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority.

This suggestion would be rejected by all minorities in India, since it would subject all of them to a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet. Nor would it be consistent with the pledges already given by His Majesty's Government to protect the rights of those minorities.

In a country such as India where communal divisions are still so deep an irresponsible majority Government of this kind is not possible.

Apart from this, however, until such time as the Indian peoples frame their new constitution, His Majesty's Government must continue to carry out its duties to those large sections of the Indian people to whom it has given its pledges.

The proposals of His Majesty's Government went as far as possible short of a complete change in the constitution which is generally acknowledged as impracticable in the circumstances of to-day.

While therefore both I and His Majesty's Government recognise the keen desire of your Working Committee to carry on the war against the enemy by every means in their power, they regret that your Working Committee has not seen its way to join in the war effort upon the conditions sincerely offered, the only conditions which could have brought together all the different communities and sections of the Indian people.

I propose to publish this answer.

Yours sincerely  
(Sd.) Stafford Cripps

### Azad's reply to Cripps

*New Delhi, April 11, 1942*

Dear Sir Stafford,

I have just received your letter of April 10th and I must confess that my colleagues and I were considerably surprised to read it. I am sending you this reply immediately and can only deal briefly here with some of the points you have raised.

The points covered by our original resolution are important and represent my Committee's well-considered views on the British proposals as a whole. But we pointed out to you that so far as the proposals relate to the future they might be set aside, as we were anxious to assume responsibility for India's government and defence in this hour of danger. This responsibility could only be undertaken, however, if it was real responsibility and power.

As regards the division of functions between the Defence Minister and the War Minister you did not give illustrative lists, as requested by us, and referred us to the previous list of the Defence Minister's functions, which, as you know, we had been wholly unable to accept. In your letter under reply you mention certain subjects, directly or indirectly related to the war, which will be administered by other departments. So far as the Defence Minister is concerned, it is clear that his functions will be limited by the first list that you sent.

No one has suggested any restrictions on the normal powers of the Commander-in-Chief. Indeed we went beyond this and were prepared to agree to further powers being given to him as War Minister. But it is clear that the British Government's conception and ours in regard to defence differ greatly. For us it means giving it a national character and calling upon every man and woman in India to participate in it. It means trusting our own people and seeking their full co-operation in this great effort. The British Government's view seems to be based on an utter lack of confidence in the Indian people and in withholding real power from them. You refer to the paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government in regard to defence. That duty and responsibility cannot be discharged effectively unless the Indian people are made to have and feel their responsibility, and the recent past stands witness to this. The Government of India do not seem to realise that the war can only be fought on a popular basis.

Your statement that we have for the first time after three weeks suggested a change in the constitution is hardly correct. In the course of our talks reference was made to it, but it is true that we did not lay stress on it as we did not want to introduce new issues. But when you stated explicitly in your letter that we had agreed that no constitutional changes could be made during the war, we had to deny this and correct your impression.

It is the last part of your letter that has especially surprised and pained

us. It seems that there has been a progressive deterioration in the British Government's attitude as our negotiations proceeded. What we were told in our very first talk with you is now denied or explained away. You told me then that there would be National Government which would function as a Cabinet and that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King in England vis-a-vis his Cabinet. In regard to the India Office, you told me, that you were surprised that no one had so far mentioned this important matter, and that the practical course was to have this attached or incorporated with the Dominions' Office.

The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview.

You have put forward an argument in your letter which at no time during our talks was mentioned by you. You refer to the 'absolute dictatorship of the majority.' It is astonishing that such a statement should be made in this connection and at this stage. This difficulty is inherent in any scheme of a mixed cabinet formed to meet an emergency, but there are many ways in which it can be provided for. Had you raised this question we would have discussed it and found a satisfactory solution. The whole approach to this question has been that a mixed cabinet should be formed and should co-operate together. We accepted this. We are not interested in the Congress as such gaining power, but we are interested in the Indian people as a whole having freedom and power. How the Cabinet should be formed and should function was a question which might have been considered after the main question was decided; that is, the extent of power which the British Government would give up to the Indian people. Because of this we never discussed it with you or even referred to it. Nevertheless you have raised this matter for the first time, in what is presumably your last letter to us, and tried most unjustifiably to sidetrack the real issue between us.

You will remember that in my very first talk with you, I pointed out that the communal or like questions did not arise at this stage. As soon as the British Government made up its mind to transfer real power and responsibility, the other questions could be tackled successfully by those concerned. You gave me the impression that you agreed with this approach.

We are convinced that if the British Government did not pursue a policy of encouraging disruption, all of us, to whatever party or group we belonged, would be able to come together and find a common line of action. But unhappily, even in this grave hour of peril, the British Government is unable to give up its wrecking policy. We are driven to the conclusion that it attaches more importance to holding on to its rule in India, as long as it can, and promoting discord and disruption here with that end in view, than to an effective defence of India against the aggression and invasion that overhang us. To us, and to all Indians, the dominant consideration is the defence and safety of India, and it is by that test that we judge.

You mention that you propose to publish your letter to me. I presume that you have no objection now to our publishing our original resolution, your letters to us, and our letters to you.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad  
New Delhi, April 11, 1942

My dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you for your letter which I have just received in reply to mine of the 10th April. I have no objection to your releasing the Congress resolution and our correspondence whenever you desire to do so.

Yours sincerely

Stafford Cripps

Note :—On receipt of this letter the resolution of the Working Committee as also the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps were released to the press.

### The Congress President At a Press Conference

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met a large number of journalists on April 11th in Delhi and spoke to them about his talks with Sir Stafford Cripps. In particular, he referred to his first interview with Sir Stafford, and said that he had emphasis on these issues.

Firstly, he told Sir Stafford that the approach to the Indian problem made.

in the Draft Declaration was not only not correct but was likely to lead to greater complications. If the British Government desired to infuse a new spirit in India even at this eleventh hour and send out a person like Sir Stafford for the task, the simple method would have been to send out through Sir Stafford the announcement that Britain was prepared to part with power. Sir Stafford could then have asked Indians to draw up a scheme. If we failed to draw one up, the entire responsibility would have been ours.

Sir Stafford, in reply, referred to the first part of the Draft Declaration and asserted that it was a considered decision of principle. He added that provision had already been made in it for different political organisations and it was open to them to come to an agreement at any time.

"I pointed out," said the Maulana, "that after concrete proposals had been introduced by him, the task of independent agreement among the parties in India had been made difficult."

"Secondly," proceeded the Maulana, "I told Sir Stafford that the Draft Declaration laid much greater emphasis on the future than on the immediate present, while India demanded changes in the present system. The proposals relating to the present were not positive; they were negative."

"I said to him that as far as the Congress was concerned I do not see how it could accept the proposals. War, I said, was threatening India; but the light had gone out of the hearts of the millions, who might have sacrificed themselves for their country."

"Our common task now demanded that we should find a psychological approach in order to re-kindle the spark of patriotic fervour in those hearts. This could not be achieved merely by holding out promises for the future, but people must be made to feel that they were free in their own country to-day and had to defend their own freedom and their own country."

"Sir Stafford, speaking with great confidence, assured me that clause (e) of the Draft Declaration provided for complete freedom and transfer of power, with only one reservation about defence."

"I then pointed out that defence of the country was the demand of the moment as far as the country was concerned and during the war. Civil administration had disappeared because problems of defence permeated every civil department, and if you reserved defence you practically reserve all the powers which you say are being transferred to India."

"Sir Stafford said by way of reassurance that the reservations related only to the functions of the Commander-in-Chief."

"The rest of the discussion proceeded in respect of this particular question."

"The third point emphasised by me was that in tackling the political question in India, communal questions were bound to arise at some stage or other and would have to be solved. I assured him that as soon as the main political problem was settled, the responsibility of finding a satisfactory solution of the communal and other problems would be ours, and I could confidently assert that we would find a satisfactory solution."

"Sir Stafford entirely agreed with me and said this was exactly what he had said before the War Cabinet before he came out to India."

"This naturally conjured up in my mind a picture of the present not found in the cold words of the Draft Declaration, and I, therefore, naturally decided to call a meeting of the Working Committee to examine it."

"I, however, regret to say that the first impression of the picture created as a result of my earlier interviews with Sir Stafford gradually became blurred as the discussions on material points proceeded from stage to stage. And when I last met him on the night of April 9, the whole picture had completely faded out."

Referring to his interview with General Wavell, the Maulana said: "In the course of our talks, Sir Stafford Cripps had repeatedly emphasised the technical difficulties in the way of transferring defence to an Indian member. He had suggested that we should meet General Wavell, because he could explain the technical side of the question much better."

"But curiously enough, throughout our interview with the Commander-in-Chief, at which other military officers were present, not a word was spoken about any technical difficulty; the entire discussion proceeded on political lines. It did not strike me for a moment that we were interviewing a military expert but an expert politician."

"I think," the Maulana went on, "I must clarify the position created by

certain speculations in a section of the press as regards Mahatma Gandhi's part in the discussions. The Mahatma's views as regards participation in any war are well known and it would be entirely untrue to suggest that the Working Committee's decisions have in any way been influenced by those views.

"In fact, Mahatma Gandhi made it clear to the Working Committee that they were perfectly free to come to their own decisions on the merits of the proposals. He did not really want to participate even in the earlier sittings of the Working Committee but he was persuaded by me to stay on from day to day as long as he could afford to do so. Eventually, my persuasion proved powerless to make him stay longer.

"I want to repeat what I said yesterday that the Working Committee's decision has at every stage been unanimous," he declared.

He concluded: "It is deeply to be regretted that the aim which all of us had passionately desired has not been reached, but I must acknowledge that all these discussions were carried on in a friendly atmosphere and in spite of profound differences which at times led to heated controversy. We and Sir Stafford have parted as friends. The cordiality of the talks was maintained to the last."

### Jawaharlal Meets The Press

*Pt Jawaharlal Nehru met a number of Indian and foreign journalists at a Press conference in New Delhi on April 18th 1942 and dealt at length with the Cripps' negotiations and the attitude taken up on behalf of the Congress.*

Who is responsible for the failure of the Cripps' negotiations? In answer to this question, Pandit Nehru explained in detail the various stages of the negotiations. If he had been asked just before his last interview with Sir Stafford Cripps, he would have said that the chances of coming to an agreement were about 75 per cent. At that interview, however, the full picture which Sir Stafford, suddenly and for the first time, put before them of the proposals was such that he could not agree to it, "A big change had occurred somewhere in the middle" said Pandit Nehru. It was obvious, he added, that there was some trouble between Sir Stafford and others.

Pandit Nehru went on to say: "While it was my extreme desire to find a way out and make India function effectively for defence and make the war a popular effort—so great was my desire that some things I have stood for during the last quarter of a century, things which I could never have imagined for a moment I would give up, I now agreed to give up—I am convinced personally that it is impossible for us to agree to the proposals as they eventually emerged from the British Government's mind. I am in complete and whole-hearted agreement with the Congress resolution and the letters of the Congress President.

The change in the attitude of Sir Stafford Cripps which led to the sudden breakdown of the negotiations was then described by Pandit Nehru. From the first, the impression which Sir Stafford has given was that the new Government would be a National Government. Sir Stafford had himself often used the words, "National Cabinet." He had also said that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King, in other words, a constitutional head. The language used by Sir Stafford had led them to assume that everything was being transferred except Defence and also that the Viceroy would not interfere with the decision of the Cabinet though he might have special powers such as in connection with the States or some major issue. So the question of the new Government's powers, etc., was not even discussed. At the last interview on Thursday night, however, the picture which Sir Stafford gave showed that the premises and assumptions on which they had been arguing had no real foundation. Sir Stafford began to talk of the Viceroy's "Executive Council" and not a "National Government." Names did make a difference. "If we go to the country, talking about the Viceroy's Executive Council, what would the people think?" asked Pandit Nehru amidst laughter. They agreed to legal phraseology, but contrary to their old assumptions, Sir Stafford suddenly made it perfectly clear that there would be no essential change between the position of the Viceroy's Council and that of the new Government which they were asked to join. "I was amazed," declared Pandit Nehru. It might be that Sir Stafford had been pulled up by his senior partner in England or someone here. "We cannot change laws," said Sir Stafford, but when he was asked: "Tell us at least what conventions you propose. Will they function as a Cabinet? Will the Viceroy work as a constitutional head?" Sir Stafford replied: "I am totally unable to say anything on the subject, because it is completely within the discretion of the Viceroy. Go to him later on and discuss the matter with him. I can-



not interfere or indicate what should be done." So it amounted to the old August offer again—with a few minor changes. They were merely asked to agree to join the Viceroy's Council practically unconditionally—with the vague background provided by the Cabinet's declaration.

Dealing with the Defence question, Pandit Nehru said that at no time had it been suggested by the Congress that the normal powers of the Commander-in-Chief for carrying on the war in an effective way should be interfered with. But in addition to his powers as Commander-in-Chief, he was now having other powers which were really those of a Defence Minister. Pandit Nehru said that the removal of Defence from their responsibilities made the position of the Defence Minister absurd and ridiculous. Their conception of defence was different from that of the Government. It was not keeping a regiment here and there, but they wanted to mobilize hundreds of millions of Indians. They wanted to make every man and woman do something for the war—make it a popular war. The military conception was a fight with their armies and if the latter failed, to surrender, but their conception was different. They would not surrender whatever happened—whatever happened to military forces, popular resistance should continue to the end—as in China and Russia. Could they discharge their duty in this spirit? Could they make India hum as an organized unit of resistance? Could they make India feel that she was fighting her own war for her freedom? That was their idea in asking for a popular conception of Defence, but the Government's attitude as put to them was a singularly complacent attitude—a conception of India from a standpoint which was peculiar only to England. "We are in the right. All those who are against us, are not only in the wrong, but damnably in the wrong.

Referring to the Defence question during the Cripps' negotiations Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that at first a certain formula was given by Sir Stafford according to which the Commander-in-Chief was to be War Minister and the Defence Minister was to have certain functions entrusted to him. Attached to it was a list—practically exhaustive—of the functions entrusted to the Defence Minister. There were propaganda, canteens, petroleum, amenities, stationery and subjects of that kind. The subjects proposed to be allotted were such that "they would have made the Defence Minister's position ridiculous in the eyes of the public," said Pandit Nehru. It was not acceptable to the Congress Working Committee. Then came a new formula—at the instance of a third party but presumably with Sir Stafford's approval—with no list of subjects attached.

In the Working Committee's opinion, this afforded a basis for arriving at an agreed formula for Defence, but the really important point was—what would be the subjects transferred to the Defence Minister? Sir Stafford did not reply to a letter asking for a list of these subjects: "At no stage did we receive them" said Pandit Nehru. When they asked him personally, Sir Stafford referred them to the Army Manual. Later, Sir Stafford entered into a long disquisition on the Indian Army—that it was really an offshoot of the British Army controlled by the British Government, through their representative, the Commander-in-Chief. It was explained to Sir Stafford on behalf of the Congress that it was not their intention to do anything to upset present arrangements, but what they wanted was, firstly, to make the Indian Army feel that the Army was theirs. They wanted to give the National background, the psychological appeal, necessary for a popular war. Sir Stafford's attitude was, however, rigid. In the end, he said that the list of subjects were those already given in his original formula.

Sir Stafford refused to follow the Australian model saying that Mr. Curtin in Australia had even greater powers than Mr. Churchill had in England. As regards the citizen army, Sir Stafford said that the matter would lie within the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, but he added that the Commander-in-Chief would probably agree. If he did not agree, it was open to the Ministers to resign.

Commenting on this attitude of the Government, Pandit Nehru said: "That is not the way to bring about a settlement." He went on to say: "That is not the way to fight a war—not the lackadaisical way of the Viceroy's House and the Government of India. If there is a National Government, everybody will have to work or get out. It is not an evening dress war. It is work work, work. Those who sit to dinner in evening dress at 8-15 are not going to win this war. In reply to those who talked of the want of equipment as a reason against a citizen army, he cited the example of China and Spain. The former was now self-sufficient so far as small arms were concerned. In India, with a National Government, they could double or treble the production of our factories. They could do without



luxuries and turn those factories producing non-essential goods into factories for small arms. The whole conception of the citizen army was, he said, a practical conception, a psychological conception, an essential conception.

Pandit Nehru went on to narrate how a person who had become a German prisoner and had managed to escape told him and others what the Germans thought of the Indian troops, how much they had been struck by their courage and efficiency in action. It is a magnificent army. What would we not do, if we has such people to draw upon?" said the Germans. "If they fight like this in a mercenary way how much better would they fight if they thought they were fighting for their own freedom?" It was really a question of psychological approach, declared Pandit Nehru. Explaining further, he said:

"The whole approach was one of lighting a spark in hundreds of millions of minds in India. It was not an easy responsibility for anyone to undertake. Nevertheless, we felt that circumstances demanded it and whatever our grievances with the British Government, whatever the past history of our relations, we could not allow that to come in the way of what we considered our duty to our country at present."

Referring to the future, Pandit Nehru said: "India and Russia are the two important theatres of war. Little else counts for the present. Much will, of course, depend on the next two or three months in the Russo-German War. A great deal depend on India or what happens as between Germany and Russia; but apart from that India is going to be for the next three or four months the crux of the war. It will make a difference to the length of the war and the intensity of the war. Every country in the world realizes this, except, of course, the big people in New Delhi and Whitehall—they are slow of understanding and comprehension—and, therefore, you have these frantic radio appeals from Germany and Japan."

"If today a National Government of India said, 'We are going to arm the Indian people. We may not have the best of modern arms, aeroplanes, tanks; but we are going to arm them with such guns as we can make, think how the world situation will change; what reaction it will have on Germany and Japan and also in the Allied countries.'"

In answer to a question, Pandit Nehru said:—

'So far as I know India, and I know it tolerably well, the major sentiment in India naturally is one of hostility to the British in India. You cannot root out 150 years of past history and all that has happened in those years. It has sunk deep down into the Indian soul. Suppose we had come to an agreement and had to convert, to change that sentiment suddenly, we could have done it if we could have given a sensation of freedom to the people of India. The fundamental factor today is distrust or dislike of the British Government. It is not pro-Japanese sentiment. It is anti-British sentiment. That may occasionally lead individuals to pro-Japanese expression of views. This is short-sighted. It is a slave's sentiment, a slave's way of thinking, to imagine that to get rid of one person who is dominating us we can expect another person to help us and not dominate us later. Free men ought not to think that way. It distresses me that any Indian should talk of the Japanese liberating India. The whole past history of Japan has been one of dominating others. Japan comes here either for Imperialist reasons straight out or to fight with the British Government. Anyhow, whatever the reason, if it comes here, it does not come here to liberate."

In the course of his talk, Pandit Nehru removed two or three misconceptions. In reply to Sir Stafford's charge that the Congress had, for the first time, in its letter of April 10 asked for big changes immediately in the constitution, Jawaharlalji explained that the reference in the letter was only intended to remove a misunderstanding. In one of his letters Sir Stafford had said that the Congress had agreed that there should be no constitutional changes in the interim period. As this was not correct, the President explained the position. The Congress had merely said that it did not want to enter into an argument now on these constitutional questions, but they had made no commitment of the kind that they agreed not to ask for any immediate constitutional changes. Their position was this: "While we are not agreeing, we are not pressing this. It is not an issue."

Sir Stafford was not, therefore, correct in saying that a major issue had been raised. Pandit Nehru referred to the offer made by Mr. Churchill, at a critical time in the war, to France for a union with England. The suggestion made by Pandit Nehru was that Parliament should pass a small Bill of six sections giving independent status to India and agreeing to the principle of self-determination. Other

details, communal and other, could be left over for settlement later, but if this had been done, the whole approach to the question would have become different—as between England and India and also between the communities. The Congress point of view was this—they were prepared to have a National Government for war purposes, but as regards the future Government, they were prepared to leave over for future consideration the question of detailed and precise proposals for future Government. Pandit Nehru said, however, that the present proposals would have also to be considered with the view-point of the future. If the independence of India was now accepted in principle, it would have a great psychological effect on the people.

Asked about Sir Stafford's reference to the "tyrannical rule of a majority" in his farewell statement, Pandit Nehru said :

"I want to make it perfectly clear that throughout our talks and correspondence, except for the last two letters, there was no reference at all at any stage in the slightest degree to the question of majority rule, because much as we disliked it we accepted the idea of a composite Cabinet formed from different groups representing different ideologies in the country, some coming among others from the Muslim League and from the Hindu Mahasabha and Sikhs. We accepted that, although it was a thing which would have made the functioning of the National Government very difficult. At no stage, did we discuss the number of any groups in the Council. It was important, but we did not discuss it because we, speaking on behalf of the Congress, never laid stress on the Congress having this or that. We wanted no power for the Congress. We always talked in terms of what the National Government would have, whoever may be there and whatever numbers it may consist of. We talked of it as a group and of what power that group should have. The communal issue in any form was never discussed except that Sir Stafford Cripps often repeated one formula, that he was only concerned with agreement between three groups in India, the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. He did not care whether others agreed or not, but if any of these three did not agree the scheme fell through.

"For the first time," he went on, "this question was definitely emphasised by Sir Stafford Cripps in his letter dated April 10 in which he used the phrase 'tyrannical rule of the majority.' Now, for an eminent lawyer and constitutionalist like Sir Stafford to use these phrases in this manner is extraordinary. We were thinking in terms really not even of a legislature but of a Cabinet consisting of 15 persons. What the proportions in that Cabinet may be we never discussed. Suppose there was the so-called Congress majority in it, though the Congress was not thinking on those lines. But Sir Stafford's mind was continually functioning, balancing the different communal factors. Suppose, then, in a Cabinet of 15 there was a Congress majority of eight or nine. Now cabinets, if they are to function at all, cannot function and do not function, especially in war-time, by majority. You must have a certain homogeneity or common outlook; otherwise the Cabinet may break up. Sir Stafford has been continuously reminding us of the ultimate sanction of resignation. If we had that ultimate sanction, so also every group in that Cabinet had that ultimate sanction. So, the talk of the tyranny of the majority is amazing and fantastic nonsense.

Pandit Nehru referred to the mention of the 'Hindu Press' in one of Sir Stafford's letters. When further questioned, he said he meant the *Hindustan Times*. That in itself showed how he was continually thinking in regard to every matter in terms of Hindu and Muslim.

Pandit Nehru observed he could not conceive of Mr. Jinnah or Dr. Savarkar really disagreeing with anything that the Congress had put to Sir Stafford in regard to the proposals for the immediate present.

Earlier at the conference, Pandit Nehru declared: "Today the dominant factor is the imminent peril to India, and I want you to appreciate what I say. We agreed to things which in the last 22 years we would never have dreamt of agreeing to or coming near. In these 22 years we have stood for something. Not only the Congress but vast numbers of people outside the formal fold of the Congress, even communal organizations, have demanded independence. For the first time in these 22 years, I swallowed many a bitter pill, when I said I was prepared to agree to many things so as somehow to come to an agreement. I did want to throw all my sympathy and all the energy I possess in the organization of the defence of India.

### Statement by Congress President

Sir Stafford Cripps is reported to have said in the course of an interview  
31

at Karachi before leaving India that Congress leaders first went to see Col. L. Johnson, who acted as a mediator in his personal capacity.

This is likely to create an impression that his mediation was sought by us. Facts, however, are otherwise. On or about April 1, a common friend informed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that Col. L. Johnson was anxious to meet him and would be glad if a meeting could be arranged at his residence. Accordingly, Pandit Nehru met him. Again it was by a pure accident that on April 3, while I was on my way to a meeting of the Working Committee, I went to Pandit Nehru's residence which was on my way to pick him up, and there I found Col. Johnson. Naturally we met and had a brief talk. At the end of this talk, Col. Johnson expressed a desire that in the event of the Working Committee coming to an adverse decision, he should be allowed a chance to see if he could be helpful, before the committee's final verdict was formally communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps. His wish was so obviously in the interest of the common object, namely, successful conclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, that I saw no objection in complying with it. It is hardly necessary to narrate the rest of the story. But I must make it perfectly clear that nobody on behalf of the Congress sought either Col. Johnson's or President Roosevelt's intervention, although in the very nature of things, Col. Johnson's friendly interest was appreciated.

### Jawaharlal's Statement to the Press

Sir Stafford Cripps' statement made in Karachi about Congress leaders going to Colonel Louis Johnson and his acting as mediator is not correct and is liable to be misunderstood. Sir Stafford has not been fair either to Colonel Johnson or to the Congress leaders. There was never any question, as I have stated previously, of our asking for mediation or arbitration from any one and President Roosevelt's name has been needlessly dragged into this matter. We dealt with Sir Stafford alone though others were naturally interested in the developments that were taking place. Colonel Johnson did not interfere in any way, though of course he expressed his desire that a satisfactory settlement should be reached. We are grateful to Colonel Johnson for his friendly approach to our problems, though in the nature of things he could not interfere in what was taking place.

Sir Stafford has told us that the British Government is not going to take any further initiative from them as they have managed to get completely stuck in ruts of their own making. We do not rely on the British Government for anything except to obstruct political and economic advance in India. The initiative lies with others who do not live in ruts. The dominating factor of the situation is the fact that India can only be defended effectively as a free country by the people themselves acting through their National Government. I notice that parts of what I have said torn from their context, have been given publicity by some sections of the press and by the radio. This is not fair. I think it is every Indian's duty to refuse submission to every aggression, old and new, and to resist it. We cannot and must not submit for that way lies a surrender of the soul and spirit of the nation. But it must be realised that effective resistance is not an individual matter and no one can deliver the goods except a free national Government with power and responsibility, which can organize the masses. This patent fact cannot be ignored and this is the crux of the question in India.

### Cripps Explains Breakdown of Negotiations

"You will have heard that the draft declaration which I brought to India on behalf of the War cabinet, and which I explained to you last time I spoke over the wireless, has been rejected by your leaders," declared the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, Member of the British War Cabinet, broadcasting from the Delhi station of All India Radio at 8.30 p.m. on April 11, 1942.

Sir Stafford said: I am sad that this great opportunity of rallying India for her defence and her freedom has been missed.

None could have been more fully conscious than I of the great difficulties which history has placed in the way of a settlement of the relations between British and Indian peoples and even more between the different communities in India.

In the past British Government have been accused of using vague terms to cloak a lack of purpose; and when they have stated that it must be left to the Indian communities to agree amongst themselves, it has been said that this was only a device by which Great Britain might indefinitely retain its control over India.

The Congress has, since the outbreak of war, repeatedly demanded two essentials as the basis for its support of the Allied effort in the war. First, a declaration of Indian independence and, second, a Constituent Assembly to frame a new and free Constitution for India. Both these demands find their place in the draft declaration.

It was in the light of the demands and criticism of the Indian leaders that the War Cabinet drafted their declaration, with the object of convincing the Indian peoples and world public opinion of the sincerity of their desire to offer freedom to India at the earliest practicable moment.

To avoid the complaints that had been made in the past, they put out a clear and precise plan which would avoid all possibility of Indian self-government being held up by the views of some large section or community. But they left it open to the Indian leaders to agree upon an alternative method if they wished.

Of course, every individual and organisation would have liked the draft declaration to express his or their point of view, forgetting that if it did, it would inevitably have been rejected by others.

The War Cabinet were thus in a position rather like that of an arbitrator who tries to arrange a fair compromise between conflicting points of view. They could not, however, without denying the very freedom that they were offering, impose a form of government upon the Indian peoples which they did not themselves freely choose. But in all this spate of criticism, those vital parts of the document with which all agree have never been mentioned. Full and free self-government for India—that is its central feature.

#### Immediate Difficulties

This critical and unconstructive attitude is not the best way of arriving at a compromise, but compromise there must be if a strong and free India is to come into being.

Some day, somehow, the great communities and parties of India will have to agree upon the method of framing their new Constitution. I regret profoundly for the sake of India, for whom I have a deep and admiring friendship, that the opportunity now offered has not been accepted.

But all this concerns the future. The immediate difficulties have been as regards the present. First, there was the difficulty as to defence. Upon that the attitude of the British Government was very simple. For many decades the defence of India has been in the charge of His Majesty's Government. This has led to an organisation which places the control of the armed forces under a Defence Secretariat headed by the Commander-in-Chief who is also the Defence Member. The Army in India—containing British and Indian units—the Navy and the Air Force all came under this supreme command.

The demand has been made that the defence of India should be placed in Indian hands. No one suggests that the Commander-in-Chief, as the head of the armed forces, should be under the Indian Government, but they say, the functions of the Defence Member should be transferred to an Indian.

#### "An Impossible Course"

This may sound simple—in fact it would mean a long and difficult reorganisation of the whole Defence Secretariat—an unscrambling of eggs scrambling many years ago—which would cause delay and confusion at the very moment when the enemy is at the gates and the maximum of speed and efficiency is essential in defence. The duty of the British Government to defend India and our duty to our American Allies who are giving such valuable help, makes such a course impossible.

To show our complete sincerity of desire to give to representative Indian members of the Executive the maximum of power, we offered to create a new War Department which would take over the Governmental relation of the Commander-in-Chief's General Headquarters and Naval and Air Headquarters and which would be in his charge as War Member, leaving the rest of the Defence Department—with a number of most important functions added—to an Indian Defence Member.

In the wider area of Defence, which touches almost every department of the Government of India, the administration would have been wholly under the control of representative Indians.

But none of these things was the real cause of the breakdown of the negotiations.

### Why Talks Failed

In their final letter addressed to me, the Congress Working Committee have stated that the temporary form of Government envisaged during the war is not such as to enable them to join the Government.

They have two suggestions to remedy the situation. First, an immediate change of the Constitution, a plan that everyone else has admitted to be wholly impracticable while the war is proceeding; and second, that they are prepared to enter a true National Government with a Cabinet of Indian leaders untrammelled by any control by the Viceroy or the British Government.

Realise what this means. The governing of India for an indefinite period by a set of persons nominated by Indian parties, responsible to no legislature or electorate, incapable of being changed and the majority of whom would be in a position to dominate large minorities.

It is easy to understand that the great minorities in India would never accept such a system. Nor could His Majesty's Government, who have given pledge to those minorities, consent to their being placed unprotected while the existing Constitution lasts, under a simple and possibly inimical majority rule. It would be a breach of all the pledges that we have given.

Such a solution may sound simple and attractive to those who have no knowledge of the deep communal division in India, but it is in fact wholly impracticable and would never be accepted by very large sections of the Indian peoples.

### "The Essential Need"

The essential need in India today is for all the leaders of all the main parties and communities to come together in a single National Government. A scheme that attracts some and repels other, such as the Congress has suggested, is of little value.

Nor does the precise form matter so greatly. Inspiration and leadership are not to be found in forms or conventions, they will be demonstrated by combined purpose and unity of action.

No Constitution and no convention will work unless those who lead the people will come together with a common determination to make it work. Had Congress leaders felt themselves able to join with the other leaders who were willing, then, indeed, a great work might have been accomplished.

One thing I must make clear. I alone in India carry the responsibility for what has been done, neither the Viceroy nor the Commander-in-Chief carries any responsibility for these negotiations. They have throughout done their utmost to help me, and I express to them and many other willing helpers of all nationalities my most sincere thanks for that help.

### A "Genuine Effort"

We have tried by the offer that I brought to help India along her road to victory and to freedom. But, for the moment, past distrust has proved too strong to allow of present agreement.

But in that failure to achieve immediate result there is no bitterness. Our effort has been genuine. No responsible Indian has questioned the sincerity of our main purpose—the complete freedom of India.

We may differ as to the methods by which that freedom can best be reached both now and in the future, but upon one thing we must all be agreed, that it cannot be reached through a fresh conquest of India by a power such as Japan that has shown itself brutal and intolerant to its own Asiatic sister nations.

It is only necessary to visit Formosa or the occupied parts of China—as I have done—to know that through a Japanese conquest death, misery, and starvation will come.

The widely advertised propaganda of the Japanese, painting themselves as the liberators of China, has resulted in nothing but untold suffering and tragedy for hundreds of thousands of honest and peaceful Chinese, men women and children.

The same propaganda, now being made to trick the Indian people into submission, holds out for them no better prospect than the dire suffering which have been inflicted upon their Chinese neighbours.

The basic philosophy of the Japanese Fascists, as of their German counterparts, is that they as a 'superior race' have the right to enslave

all whom they can conquer. I have seen and heard of the exploits of the Nazis in Russia, in Poland, in Yugoslavia and in other Slav countries of Europe and I know that none but the most diseased imagination could ever conjure up the ghastly and sadistic horrors which these barbarians have made a reality throughout every town and village in that vast area.

#### An Overwhelming Tragedy

That human bestiality could sink so low is an overwhelming tragedy for the world, and it is a tragedy that we and you and all the Allied nations are determined to expunge from the pages of history, in the only way that we can, by the decisive defeat of those responsible for this brutalisation of humanity. No peoples with the culture of the Indians—a culture as old, as deep and as real as that of their Chinese neighbours—could ever stand by and tolerate these insults to their moral standards and to their common humanity.

Our philosophies, our religions and our traditions differ widely, but in whatever form we may each worship our own conception of supreme power and absolute goodness, we one and all, desire to see those ethical and moral standards which are implicit in our religion become the touchstone of our behaviour in all the wide and human contacts which make up our day-to-day life.

#### A Duty And An Obligation

And in this epic struggle for decent moral standards in the world we fight against the godless barbarism and bestiality of our enemies, but we do not fight alone. Russia, China, the United States of America, and all the Allied nations with their suffering peoples, stand beside us, a great company of gallant men and women who will give their all for those things which they know to be right and just. On the battlefields of Russia and China, in their cities and on their farms, millions of our fellow men and women have already given their lives that we might live.

To that great and gallant army of the heroic dead we not only owe a debt of gratitude, but we acknowledge a duty and an obligation.

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield." To strive, to seek, to find that righteous victory which they died to win, and not to yield to that barbarous aggression against which they made their bodies a living wall of resistance.

It is true that millions have died in those countries, as others have died in the crowded streets of our English cities, in our ships upon the high seas and fighting in our armies on the land and in the air; but as each has fallen others have crowded forward to take the vacant place and countless millions are even now preparing to strengthen and reinforce the effort, to make victory sure.

#### Plea For United Efforts

The hour has struck when India herself is being driven inexorably by the aggression of Japan into the front line of defence in a war which now spreads its evil tentacles into nearly every country in the world.

We shall do our utmost, despite all our heavy commitments elsewhere, and the United States of America will lend her great and growing aid as well, to assist the Indians in the defence of their country. We ask them to help us as we seek to help them. Together we can do much, divided far less.

Hard and difficult times surely lie ahead, the path of honour and of duty has never been an easy one, and today in those who would follow it to its end there must be found a greater courage and determination than ever before; but the end is certain as the slow wheels of justice grind out defeat for the aggressor nations.

The vast resources of manufacture of the United States, of Great Britain and of Russia, matched to the unlimited man-power of the Allied nations, can bring but one result—the final victory, and towards that victory India can and must play her part, a part that will give her the proud right to full and free representation in the council of the nations when they meet to make the final peace which can, if we will it, lead the peoples of the world into a brighter and happier future of organised and co-operative freedom.

The common peoples of the world will have opportunities in the world resettlement such as they have never had before, and the Indian peoples and their leaders must make ready to play their full part in building up the new world order.

### Call To Youth

This is the time when the youth of the world are called upon to make every sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice of life itself, but through that selfless service to humanity they earn the right to take their full share in the shaping of the future. Though old heads may be wiser, old hearts cannot have the fire and courage of youth—it is that fire and courage which we must summon to the Defence of India and to the building up of her freedom when victory is won.

Risks must be taken, innovations must be tried, and we must climb quickly out of the ruts of peacetime habits and customs. A new tempo is needed, a new devotion, a more total effort to finish quickly with the horrors of war.

I have seen that effort being made in the Soviet Union, the wholehearted devotion of an entire continent—more varied in racial origin than India itself—and the world has learnt what a great and courageous people inspired with the love of their country and of their freedom can achieve. I have witnessed, too, the Chinese—ill-equipped, lacking many essential supplies—indomitably carrying on their defence year after year and wearing down the aggressor who has penetrated deep into their homeland. The cities and towns of England have been deeply scarred and her people have suffered as none ever before from the concentrated hate of enemy bombing. Their courage and their fortitude have thrilled the world.

Now is the time for India and her people to join their courage, strength and their endurance in this great heroic and world-wide army of the common people, and to take her part in those smashing blows for victory against brutality and aggression which shall for ever free the masses from the age long fear and tragedy of poverty and of war.

### Statement At Press Conference

Addressing a Press Conference held in New Delhi on the 11th April 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps said :

I have now received the replies from all the principal parties and communities to whom I submitted the draft declaration of His Majesty's Government.

The negotiations have been prolonged in the case of the Congress only. There have been many meetings and a number of formulæ and suggestions especially upon the question of a Defence Minister. After very lengthy deliberations, the outcome of which seemed uncertain from day to day, I received the reply of the Congress.

It made it clear that the Working Committee were not prepared to accept the scheme or to enter a national government.

As a result of this and other answers I have had most regretfully to advise His Majesty's Government that there is not such a measure of acceptance of their proposals as to justify their making a declaration in the form of the draft.

The draft is, therefore, withdrawn and we revert to the position as it was before I came out here. Though not quite perhaps to that position.

### "Frank And Friendly Spirit"

These discussions and negotiations have been carried on in the most frank and friendly spirit on all sides. We have all acknowledged each other's sincerity in the matter and although we must for the moment agree to differ, there is no bitterness or rancour in our disagreement.

Sometimes in the heat and excitement of discussion and argument we are apt to overlook the area of agreement.

There is a large and very important area of agreement as to the future freedom of India.

I shall be leaving New Delhi on my return journey on Sunday morning.

I want first to thank you all for your help and then I want to ask you to continue that help—not to me but to India.

The discussions are over, they will slip back into history and they will leave their impress a good, clear, healthy impress which will influence the future.

But the present and the future press upon us and must be faced.

India is threatened, all who love India—as I love India and you love India—must bend their energies—each in his own way—to her immediate help.

That help cannot come through discussions and differences, it must come by drawing together the diverse elements into a closely-knit and common effort.

That is your task, there you can help whatever your party or community. We

have tried our best to agree—we have failed. Never mind whose fault it is, let me take all the blame if that will help in uniting India for her own defence.

Great Britain will do her utmost. America is doing all she can, and now India must devote herself wholeheartedly with total effort in every field of activity to defending her soil and to protecting her women and children from those ghastly horrors that have befallen her Chinese friends, neighbours.

You have my best thanks for what you have done to help me, you will have my even greater thanks in what you will do to help India.

### Sapru-Jayakar Memorandum

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in a memorandum presented to Sir Stafford Cripps, dated New Delhi, 4th. April 1942, strongly pressed for the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council and among other things asked that the majority required for any decision by a Provincial Legislature to adhere or not to adhere to the Union should not be less than sixty-five per cent of the Indian members of the lower House present at the meeting at which the decision would be taken. The memorandum opposed a plebiscite for the purpose and called attention to the necessity for the restoration of popular Governments in the Provinces.

Giving their personal views, Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Jayakar said: "We observe from the draft declaration that excepting Clause (E) there is very little in the declaration about the change to be introduced in the constitution of the Government during the period of the war. It may be that instructions have been or may be issued to His Excellency the Viceroy to bring about the necessary changes in the composition and the constitution of the Executive Government. If any such instructions have been issued, we are not aware of them, but we must point out that Indian opinion attaches the greatest importance to the transfer of real power in the Central Government at the present moment, and it is for this reason that we emphasise the necessity of the complete non-official assumption of Government without the reservation of any portfolio during the interim period.

"We have considered the terms of Clause (E) as originally given to us and as subsequently amended by Sir Stafford Cripps. In the amended clause, we find it stated that, while His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as a part of their world war effort, the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. We have carefully considered the terms of this amended clause, particularly in the light of the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps at the Press Conference, a summary of which appeared in the Press on the 30th of March, 1942. It is stated therein that Sir Stafford Cripps was emphatic that handing over political control and direction of Defence in the midst of the war to the Indian Government would be fatal, and further that if Indian leaders insisted on absolute control over Defence before accepting the scheme, then the scheme would fall through. We realise that the transfer of absolute control over Defence at the present juncture, when it is necessary that there should be unity of direction and control of military policy, would not be in the best interests of England and India. But we fail to see how this end will fail to be achieved by the appointment of an Indian Defence Member, who, we presume, will be a man possessed of a due sense of responsibility and would be only too willing to accept expert advice and to work in the closest co-operation with the War Cabinet.

"While we appreciate the necessity of unity of policy and control in matters of defence, we think, in common with most of our countrymen, that the appointment of an Indian Member in charge of Defence, working in close association and co-operation with the War Cabinet and willing to accept expert advice, will be taken at this stage as an unmistakable token of the reality of the transfer of such power and as a symbol of the confidence of His Majesty's Government in the people of his country. We have no doubt that the object of His Majesty's Government is that the people of this country should feel that this is their own war, but we feel that the requisite sense of responsibility for the defence of the country can best be stimulated by an appeal to their sense of pride and self-esteem and by the two countries—England and India—completely identifying themselves with each other in the common causes of defending this country. We strongly



hold that it would be a mistake to ignore the strength of the sentiment of the people on this subject.

"We desire to state unequivocally that we are stongly in favour of the Indian people rendering every possible help in the successful prosecution of the war. At the same time, we feel equally clearly that in order to achieve that end, it is necessary that, during the period of the war, there should be an Indian Defence Member of the Council of the Governor-General. We are fully aware of the arguments to the contrary and we do not wish to overlook or minimise them but we feel that the arguments in favour of the adoption of this step are overwhelming.

"The adoption of an Indian Defence Member will have a great effect on Indian psychology. It will inspire the people with confidence and materially help in altering the present mentality of the people which in our opinion, is not adequately zealous in the successful prosecution of the war. We do not in the slightest degree desire that there should be any conflict between his powers and those of the Commander-in-Chief in technical matters or in decisions about the movements or disposition of the troops or similar other matters. We think that the presence of such a Member will, far from weakening the military position in India, strengthen it, and the political effects of this step will be very wholesome."

"Besides, there are, in our opinion, large and inexhaustible resources of man-power remaining untapped in the youth of the country, which can be mobilised by methods which a Defence Member drawn from the people alone can effectively employ. His approach to this store-house of strength will be by methods vitally different from those which the British official mind has hitherto employed with such little effect. The successful way in which the people of China, Russia and even the small Philippine Islands have resisted the overwhelming forces of Japanese aggression, contrasted with the debacle in Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon, graphically illustrates the difference between a struggle carried on by the people of a country under the direction of their own leaders and another pursued with the aid of a professional army, guided and directed by officers who are drawn from a different race. We venture to suggest that at this critical time, when the danger is daily approaching the old-world ideas of keeping Indians in the perpetual position of unarmed helplessness and also the feelings of distrust and suspicion which have led this policy, should be forthwith abandoned and a new era of hope and confidence inaugurated, leading to a joint effort by England and India on terms of mutual reliance and association. It is only such an association that would be productive of the maximum effort of this country, resulting, eventually, in a victory based on the self-esteem, honour and willing sacrifice of a proud people.

"On all these grounds, we desire strongly to press the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Executivs Council as otherwise, the declaration, whatever its other merits may be, will fail to achieve the object it is intended to serve. It should not, in our opinion, be difficult to define the spheres of activity of the Defence Member and of the Commander-in-Chief so as to avoid conflict; nor should it be difficult to secure close co-operation and co-ordination between the two.

The second point to which we desire to advert relates to Clause (E) of the proposed declaration. While we recognise the justice of allowing any province of British India the liberty of remaining out of the new constitution and of retaining its present constitutional position, we are not free from considerable doubt and anxiety about the wisdom of the further provision which makes it possible for another Federal Union being established. Such a Federal Union may, in certain conceivable circumstances, be a rival or hostile Union. But apart from this, we cannot favour any step which may have the effect of breaking up the integrity of the country fostered by a long succession of Hindu and Muslim Emperors and a galaxy of British administrators. We are convinced that the creation of more than one Union, howsoever consistent in theory with the principle of self-determination, will be disastrous to the lasting interests of the country and to its integrity and security.

"In the draft Declaration which has been handed over to us, we do not find any indication of the precise majority of votes which will be required in a provincial legislature to carry a resolution as to whether the province will or will not adhere to the Union. We are, however, of the opinion that in a matter of this momentous character, the method of a bare majority cannot be adopted, and the majority required for any decision on this question should not be less than 65 per cent of the Indian members of the Lower

House in which the resolution is passed. We do not think that a decision in which the Indian population is primarily interested should be allowed to be influenced by the votes of European members to whom the question of remaining in one Federation or another cannot be of the same importance as it is to the Indian members.

We are also strongly of the opinion that, once this principle of a prescribed majority of votes in a legislature is accepted, it would not only be superfluous but might easily lead to grave social disorder if resort were to be had to the further device of a plebiscite of the adult population of the province. We feel that, in the existing circumstances of the country, such a plebiscite, however democratic in theory, is bound to lead to serious consequences gravely disturbing peace and tranquillity not only in the province concerned, but in other areas to which the contagion may easily spread, leading to violent communal or religious conflicts. For these reasons, we cannot conceal our grave concern as to the wisdom and expediency of the provisions making it possible for some provinces to combine into a separate Union.

"We attach importance to the possibility of leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities coming to some mutual agreement before the cessation of hostilities—an agreement which may secure and safeguard the interests of all minorities by providing for (a) their representation in the legislature, (b) in the Government to be established, and (c) reservation to them of the fullest liberty in matters of conscience, religion and culture. If the contending parties begin to work together in a common cause during the interim period, they will, we hope, learn to appreciate one another's point of view, and a spirit of tolerance and confidence may be generated, conducive to a final settlement which will secure the position of the minorities in the fullest measure without causing a disruption of the well-established integrity of the country.

"If, however, all attempts during the intervening period to secure one Federal Union unhappily fail and the overwhelming wishes of the provinces to have separate union are indicated through their legislatures, and the evils pointed above of having a separate Union are prevented or mitigated, we have no objection to the experiment suggested in the draft declaration being made subject, of course, to what we have stated above.

"Lastly, we desire to call attention to the necessity for the restoration in the provinces of a popular form of Government. There is no reference to this question in the draft Declaration, probably, because it is intended to leave it for decision by the new Government which is to be established at the Centre. We consider, however, that the rule which at present prevails in so many provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act should be brought to an immediate end and their administration restored once more to popular control. If for the successful working of the Provincial Government it should be necessary to establish Coalition Governments, we would indeed welcome such an arrangement.

"On the other points arising out of the draft declaration of Sir Stafford Cripps, we do not wish to say anything more than that we are in general agreement with the line adopted by His Majesty's Government."

### The Hindu Maha Sabha Memorandum

The Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha, in a memorandum on Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, issued from New Delhi on the 1st. April 1942, said :

"There are several points in the declaration which are more or less satisfactory, but according to the statement unfortunately made by Sir Stafford Cripps, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is to be accepted or rejected *in toto*. As some essential features of the scheme are wholly or partially unacceptable to us, the Hindu Maha Sabha has no other alternative but to reject the scheme.

#### India should not be divided

"One of the cardinal points in the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps has put forward on behalf of the War Cabinet is the right which has been conferred on the provinces of British India to keep out of the Indian Union or Federation. The basic principle of the Hindu Maha Sabha is that India is one and indivisible. In religious and cultural aspects there has been recognised the fundamental unity of India by the Hindus throughout the ages, and even unity in political sphere was an accomplished fact in many periods of this country's history.

Even during some two centuries of British rule, the political unity of India has been recognised and fostered and this has always been claimed by Britain herself as her finest achievement. Besides, India has been treated as one political and constitutional unit under the Constitution Act of 1935. The right to step out of the Indian Federation will stimulate communal and sectional animosities. The other option given to the non-acceding provinces to set up a rival Pakistan-Federation constitutes, in view of such Moslem movements as Pakistan and Pathanistan involving threats of joining hands with Afghanistan and other Moslem nations, a serious menace to India's security and this may lead to civil war in the country. The Hindu Maha Sabha cannot be true to itself and to the best interests of Hindustan (India) if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form. The Hindu Maha Sabha therefore has fundamental objections to the proposal.

#### Objection to right of non-accession

"The right of non-accession of any province to the 'Indian Union' cannot be justified on the principle of self-determination, and no such right can be imposed by any outside authority. India has already been one unitary State, and the existing provinces are constituted as administrative units. The analogy of sovereign States entering into a federation and surrendering portion of their sovereignty for certain common purposes cannot apply to Indian provinces.

"According to the scheme of Sir Stafford Cripps, a treaty will be signed between His Majesty's Government and the Constituent Assembly and such a treaty will implement the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government for the protection of racial and religious minorities. In the framing of this treaty all parties and sections will have an effective say. Such a treaty ought to completely satisfy the minorities. If, however, any minority is not satisfied with the safeguards in the proposed constitutions, then the question of such safeguards can be referred to the tribunal of arbitration to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with disputing parties. We want to take our stand on justice and fairplay and we do not ask for any rights or privileges which we are not prepared to extend to any community.

#### Interim arrangements vague and unsatisfactory

"The Hindu Maha Sabha is not so much concerned with a declaration as to the future but the real question is whether England is willing to transfer immediately real political power to India and, if so, to what extent. It notes with regret that the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps has announced is nebulous, vague and unsatisfactory with regard to the interim arrangements. The Government of India Act of 1935 still maintains the bureaucracy in power with the Governor-General and the Governors as their powerful protagonists. But, for the successful prosecution of the war, it is essential to transfer real power to Indian hands and to set up conventions whereby Indian Ministers can formulate and execute a policy of national defence, including the formation of national militia and the arming of the Indian people for the defence of the country.

"It has been the demand of the Hindu Maha Sabha that India should be immediately declared an independent nation with free and equal status in the Indo British Commonwealth. The declaration promises full national sovereignty in the future but the constitutional position and status of India during the interim period have not been made at all clear. Particularly in regard to defence, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is unacceptable to us. It is urgent and imperative that if India is to be an effective partner in the struggle for freedom, her defence policy must be determined and her defence arrangements must be made on the responsibility of her own Defence Minister enjoying the confidence of all sections of the people. The tragic experience of Malaya and Burma have demonstrated that apart from the deplorable failure of military strategy, the apathy and hostility of the people who were deliberately kept unarmed, contributed to the British reverses. The psychology necessary for full and willing co-operation in the present war amongst the Indian people cannot be created unless and until the defence of India is put in Indian hands.

#### Election of constitution-making body

"We note with satisfaction that this scheme provides for a constitution-making body for framing the future constitution of India, and that the Constitution Assembly may begin its work with the declaration of India's independence. But the principle on which it will be constituted is vicious. The constitution-making

body will be elected on the basis of the communal award which is not only anti-national but runs counter to the essential principles of democracy.

"Unless and until the scheme of His Majesty's Government is radically altered and readjusted on the vital issues mentioned above, the Hindu Maha Sabha cannot be a party to its acceptance, inasmuch as the scheme is to be accepted or rejected *in toto*."

### The Muslim League Memorandum

The Muslim League Working Committee in a resolution dated New Delhi, the 11th. April 1942, declared that the Cripps proposals, in their present form, were not acceptable.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, says the resolution, have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the announcement made by Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of the Commons on the 11th of March, 1942, and the Draft Declaration of the War Cabinet of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of India and also the interim proposals, during the critical period which now faces India, for the immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country.

The Committee appreciate that the British Prime Minister in his pronouncement, made it clear that the Draft Declaration embodied only the proposal of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India, thus maintaining the validity of the Declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which had promised to the Mussalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the Constitution should be set up nor the Constitution itself should be enforced without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

The Committee while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent unions in India regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and therefore no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reason given below

(1) The Mussalmans, after 25 years' of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims, which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, as adumbrated in the preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility and is purely illusory.

(2) In the Draft Declaration a Constitution-making Body has been proposed with the primary object of creating one Indian Union. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has finally decided that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones; and it will, therefore, be unfair to the Mussalmans to compel them to enter such a Constitution-making Body, whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union. With conditions as they are, it will be not only futile but on the contrary may exacerbate bitterness and animosity amongst the various elements in the country.

Besides, the machinery which has been proposed for the creation of the Constitution-making Body, namely, that it will consist of members elected by the newly elected Lower Houses of the eleven Provinces, upon the cessation of hostilities, as a single electoral college by the system of proportional representation, is a fundamental departure from the right of the Mussalmans, hitherto enjoyed by them, to elect their representatives by means of separate electorates which is the only sure way in which true representatives of the Mussalmans can be chosen.

The Constitution-making Body will take decisions by a bare majority on all questions of most vital and paramount character involved in the framing of the constitution, which is a departure from the fundamental principles of justice and contrary to constitutional practice so far followed in the various countries and Dominions; and the Mussalmans by agreeing to this, will, instead of exercising

their right and judgment as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the Constitution-making Body, in which they will be a minority of about 25 per cent.

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union, as contemplated in the Draft Declaration, has been conceded, presumably, in response to the insistent demands by the Mussalmans for the partition of India, but the method and procedure laid down are such as to negative the professed object for, in the draft proposals, the right of non-accession has been given to the existing Provinces, which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis.

The Mussalmans cannot be satisfied by such a declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issues is to court disaster.

In the draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union; but in the letter dated the 2nd of April from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is stated that "a Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent, the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population." In this connection, it must be emphasised that in the provinces, where the Mussalmans are in a majority as in the case of major provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assemblies; and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, the total number namely 60 and 50 respectively is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Mussalmans of those Provinces.

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the Provinces in which the Mussalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the provinces and not to the Mussalmans alone which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination.

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or from a Union.

(5) With regard to the treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation.

#### Complete picture not available

With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the counsels of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the Centre and discard the rest of the draft scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements.

In conclusion, the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan Scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated March, 1940, which is now the creed of the All-India Muslim League, namely, "The establishment of completely independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped

together to constitute independent States as Muslim free national homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign ; adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them ; in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them" is unequivocally accepted and the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination is conceded by means of a machinery which will reflect the true verdict of Muslim India, it is not possible for the Muslim League to accept any proposal or scheme regarding the future.

### The Liberal Federation's Memorandum

*Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, President of the Liberal Federation of India, *Sir Chimanlal Setalvad* and *Mr. Naushir Bharucha*, Honorary Secretary of the Federation, saw *Sir Stafford Cripps* on the 2nd. April 1942, and communicated to him the following views of the Liberal Federation on the draft declaration :

The Council of the Liberal Federation has very carefully examined the draft declaration brought by *Sir Stafford Cripps*. It welcomes the proposals to make India a self-governing Dominion with the same status and functions as are enjoyed by Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth.

On examination of the different heads of the proposals, the Council feels that the provision giving liberty to any province not to accede to the Indian Union is fraught with serious difficulties and dangers. The creation of more than one Federal Union in India, having their own separate armies may result, in certain conceivable circumstances, in a conflict between them. It would almost immediately lead to customs barriers and complicated questions about ports, railways, existing public debt, etc., would arise. Moreover, the weakness of the military organisation of the one or the other of the different Unions will seriously impair the safety and defence of India as a whole. The Council further feels that communal feelings would be further exacerbated in the course of a decision about accession or non-accession.

All these and other considerations and the serious dangers and difficulties, should be fully considered before His Majesty's Government finally decide to implement these proposals. The Council has always been of the view that the interests of different communities should be adequately safeguarded and that the interests of different communities should have proper voice in the governance of the country. But the proposals now made so far beyond the necessities of the case will seriously affect not only the unity and solidarity of India, but her stature and influence in the Commonwealth of Nations.

One of the effects of the proposals is that the questions whether a province accedes to the Union or not will in the last resort be determined by a plebiscite, unless 60 per cent of the Lower House of the Legislature vote for accession. The plebiscite vote is to be determined by a bare majority. The Council feels that the decision of such a momentous question should not be concluded by a bare majority but that some minimum percentage, say, at least 55 per cent should be prescribed. The Council also sees no reason why women, who are entitled to vote for the elections to the Legislatures and can be and are members of the Legislature, should be denied a vote in the plebiscite.

With regard to the representation of the Indian States on the constitution-making body the Council urges that the people of the States should be given a voice in the selection of the representatives of the States on this body.

#### An Indian Defence Member essential

On the subject of Defence, the representation of India on the War Cabinet and the Pacific War Council is satisfactory so far as it goes. But this should not stand in the way of the appointment of an Indian as a Defence Member. Such an appointment will have a tremendous effect in producing the necessary psychological reaction, which will bring the Indian people whole-heartedly in the war effort. The Council of the Liberal Federation would also urge the British Government to appreciate the fact that totalitarian aggression involves totalitarian defence and that a total war cannot be won unless the Indian nation, as a united political entity, throws itself into this war heart and soul. Malaya, Singapore and

Rangoon serve as grave warnings as to how, even in modern warfare, technical skill alone, without the spontaneous support of the millions on the 'Home Front' can achieve little on the military front. It is the considered opinion of the Council that full co-operation of the Indian people will not be secured in the war effort unless an Indian Defence Member is appointed.

With regard to the question of reconstituting the Executive Council, the Governor-General's Council should be nationalised, so that by conventions in the near future, the Governor-General may assume the position of a constitutional head of his Government.

### **States' People's Conference Memorandum**

The Standing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference considered the proposals of the British War Cabinet as published on March 30, 1942.

The Standing Committee is naturally interested in all the proposals made because of their direct or indirect effect on the future of the Indian States, which is bound up with the future of the rest of India. But the Committee proposes to consider only those proposals which directly affect the people of the Indian States.

The Committee has noted that the whole approach to this question on the part of the British Cabinet is vitiated by the extra-ordinary assumption that only the British Government and the Rulers of the States count in the disposal of these vital issues. Nowhere is any reference made to the people of the States who number 90 odd millions. This would in any event, have been an extraordinary assumption and procedure, but in the modern world and in the course of the world war that is going on, when so much is repeatedly said about a new order and democracy and freedom, such a deliberate omission and ignoring of 90 million people is significant of the way the mind of the British Government functions even in these times of peril and disaster. It is an insult to those people and any proposals based on such insults, can only be resisted to the uttermost. The only alternative to such a course would be for the States' people to give up all their cherished objectives and dreams and submit indefinitely to an intolerable slavery.

#### **Based On Unwarranted Assumption**

In these circumstances, it is hardly necessary for the Standing Committee to consider these proposals in any detail when they are based on unwarranted assumptions and premises which can never be accepted. Nevertheless the Committee desires to emphasise that these proposals are utterly harmful and injurious to the cause of freedom both in the States and in India as a whole. The Committee desires to repeat what has been authoritatively stated before that it "cannot admit the right of the Rulers of the Indian States or of foreign vested interests to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people within the States or in the provinces and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests."

To treat the so-called treaties between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, as a justification for the political fragmentation of India in opposition to or ignoring the opinion of the people of the States, is a position wholly untenable in the modern world. It must be remembered that only 30 or 40 States have such treaties and that in the making of these treaties the States people had no hand. These treaties were made long ago in circumstances which no longer exist. It is intolerable that these ancient treaties should be made to come in the way now of political and economic advance on the part of the people.

#### **Establishment of Responsible Government**

The States' People's Conference holds as its fundamental objective that the present States system in India must be ended and responsible government should be established in the States. It holds with the Indian National Congress that "Poorna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole India inclusive of the States; for, the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it is being maintained in subjection."

The Indian States system represents an order which has ceased to exist all over the world and which is a denial of both national and personal freedom. It suffers from not only the autocratic personal Government of the Ruler but also from the direct and indirect intervention and control of irresponsible British authority. It thus suffers, as has frequently been pointed out in the past by high British officers, from the evils which inevitably flow from this extraordinary arrangement. In some ways it represents a system far worse than that of fascism

against which the present war is said to be waged. It is the people of the States and not their Rulers of the British suzerain authority that stand for democracy.

In the proposals under consideration no reference whatever is made to the internal democratisation of the States. It is stated there that the States will have the option at two stages to join the rest of India. First, in the drafting of a constitution; secondly, in accepting membership in the Indian Union. At neither stage is there any reference to the people of the States and only the Rulers are supposed to decide these vital questions which affect the people. The people of the States demand the right of self-determination at every stage through their elected representatives and any decision made with reference to them can have no binding effect of them.

#### Perpetuating British Dominion

In the event of the Rulers of the States keeping out of the Union, it would appear that British Paramountcy is intended to continue together with all the other evils that present. It has been stated that foreign British armed forces may be stationed in the States to give effect to this paramountcy. In present circumstances, when both the States and the rest of India are under British control, this however undesirable, is a feasible proposition. But in the event of the rest of India forming an independent Union, the stationing of foreign forces in the States will create new problems affecting both the safety of the States and that of the Indian Union. Questions will inevitably arise as to how these foreign forces can move from one State to another through independent territory. As a result a large number of British Colonial territories calling themselves Indian States will be created owing ultimate allegiance to a foreign power. Such a development can only lead to continuous conflict and instability.

The Standing Committee, therefore, rejects and condemns these proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet in regard to the States. The whole scheme is a complete negation of the avowed war-aims of the British Government and would appear to be an attempt to consolidate the British Colonial domination in large parts of India and to maintain autocratic rule in the States. The Committee declares that nothing short of full self-determination and the right to frame the constitution of the States as well as to participate in the Constituent Assembly for all India through their elected representatives, can be accepted or can meet the requirements of the situation.

#### Congress Support urged

The Standing Committee respectfully draws the attention of the Indian National Congress towards all these resolutions and statements of policy that have emanated from its executive from time to time with regard to the Indian States, and trusts that the Congress will accept any constitutional scheme for India in which the right of self-determination for the people of the States has not been conceded on par with British India and in which provision is not made for the same democratic, political and economic rights as for the people of the provinces.

The Standing Committee calls upon the people of the States to strengthen their respective organisations in order to bring pressure upon their Rulers for the fulfilment of their demands and to be prepared for all the eventualities that will necessarily arise in the course of such awakening.

#### Momin Conference Memorandum

The Committee of the All-India Momin Conference adopted a resolution at New Delhi on the 8th. April 1942, declaring that the Cripps proposals fall short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and are not acceptable unless modified.

The Committee firmly believes that the solidarity, integrity and unity of India are vitally essential for the common good of the Indian people and especially in the best interests of the Muslims of India. The Committee cannot, however, lose sight of the fact that a section of the Muslims is against the introduction of a single unitary system of government in this country, apprehending such a system to be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims residing in the Muslim majority provinces. But the Committee, being conscious of the fact that the fear and apprehensions of such Muslims are the outcome of the mutual distrust and suspicion of the communities inhabiting this country, has full belief that such communal dissensions and animosities as exist at present will completely disappear with the establishment of full self-rule in India.



The Committee holds that the proposal relating to the option given to the provinces to keep out of the proposed Indian Union has been ingeniously devised inasmuch as its practical effect would inevitably be to create several 'Ulsters' within India.

The Committee opines that the constitution-making body, as envisaged by the proposals, would reflect the opinion of only 10 per cent of the inhabitants of India and can, therefore, hardly be called a democratic body.

Stressing the need for transfer of control of India's Defence to Indians, the Committee declares that the masses must be made to feel that this war is being fought in the interest of India and that it is their own war.

#### SUGGESTED CHANGES

The Committee considers that the proposals are absolutely unsatisfactory and fall short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and regards them as quite unacceptable unless they are modified in the manner suggested below :

1. that no province be allowed to keep out of the Indian Union unless the scheme of one single Indian Union were given a fair trial for full ten years;
2. that instead of allowing the existing Lower House of the Provinces to nominate representatives to the constitution-making body, provision be made to constitute that body by electing its members by means of adult franchise;
3. that the control of the Defence of India be forthwith transferred entirely into Indian hands; and
4. that the peoples of the Indian States be given the right to elect representatives to the constitution-making body.

#### The Depressed Classes' Views

"The proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps placed before us, as settled facts, if accepted by us, would undoubtedly place us under the yoke of our oppressors and blood and tears would be our lot for ever", said Rao Bahadur *M. C. Rajah*, *M. L. A.*, in a statement to the Press, issued from Poona on the 22nd. April 1942, expressing his views on the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Continuing, Rao Bahadur Rajah says that the Depressed Classes do not view favourably the proposal of His Majesty's Government to set up a Constituent Assembly as the constitution-making body inasmuch as in this caste-ridden and sect-ridden country the Depressed Classes will have absolutely little or no chance, through such an electoral college as envisaged in the proposal, of returning genuine representatives of the community to the constitution-making body. It will only aid the Congress Party to secure a fully packed gathering in such a body.

"If the portfolio of Defence is also to be handed over to the Indians, that will be the last instrument placed in the hands of the Congress by His Majesty's Government to emasculate and strangle the Depressed Classes politically", he adds.

Proceeding Rao Bahadur Rajah says, "Ninety per cent of India's wealth is reported to be her agricultural produce and 90 per cent of India's tillers of the soil are the Depressed Classes. I feel that it is my duty to point out that India will march onwards to its promised goal, that it will progress forward to the extent to which its least favoured community, the Depressed Classes, march onward and progress. It is, therefore, necessary that if any further power devolved upon the Congress or the Muslims, it should be so devolved that the interests of all classes, however small, should be very carefully protected and safeguarded and their aspirations nourished and not smothered."

Concluding, Rao Bahadur Rajah sounds a note of warning that no arrangement which the British Government might enter into with the Congress and other political parties without the consent of the Depressed Classes would be binding on the community and that if any such arrangement was made it would be strongly resented and stoutly resisted with all the means at their command.

#### Moderate Sikhs' Memorandum

On the invitation of Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia, a meeting of Moderate Sikhs of the Punjab was held at Amritsar on the 5th April 1942 at Majithia House, Sardar Jodh Singh, Principal of the Khalsa College, presiding. Over 150 Sikh leaders including Sardar Buta Singh, a member of the Council of State, were present.

After four hours' discussion the meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians,

that a representative government owing allegiance to the Crown and including at least one Sikh be established at the centre, that secession of provinces should not be allowed, and that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities including Sikhs.

A memorandum on these lines was submitted through Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia.

## Cripps Explains Breakdown in Commons

In the House of Commons on the 28th April 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal, opened the debate on his mission to India. He said that he did not think that any one in this country need regret that the proposals for the solution of the problem of Self-Government for India were put forward. No one blamed His Majesty's Government for the failure to reach an agreement.

Sir Stafford Cripps added: "I do not believe it is possible to find under the existing circumstances a fairer solution of the problem than the Government's declaration."

Sir Stafford spoke as follows :

"When it was announced that I was to go to India with the Cabinet's proposals, this House was good enough to express its hopes that the mission might have a successful conclusion. That hope, was, I know, re-echoed by the great mass of the British people, by the Dominions and by a multitude of friends in Britain, India, the United States and elsewhere. Unfortunately, events have brought disappointment to these hopes, but I do not think anyone in this country need feel regretful that the proposals were put forward or need blame the British Government for the unfortunate fact of the failure to reach an agreement.

### "OUR SINCERITY OF PURPOSE DEMONSTRATED"

"I should like to emphasise, at the outset, what I fear may prove rather a lengthy account of my mission, that, in my view, nothing but good will result both from the fact that the proposals were made and from the almost equally important fact that the War Cabinet sent one of its own members to discuss them in India with the leaders of Indian opinion (cheers). This method of presentation of the proposals has, I believe, demonstrated our sincerity of purpose (cheers).

"Let me say a word or two regarding the background to my visit. Undoubtedly, the moment was a difficult one and a number of people have made comment on it. It is a pity that something on the same lines was not done earlier."

"There is much in the relationship of this country to India that could be criticised, analysed and argued about. But I do not propose to embark upon any such argument, as it is far more profitable, I believe, to spend the time available in an examination of the present and future rather than in an attempt to allot blame for the past. It is a task we can very well leave to the historian.

### "MOMENT CHOSEN A DIFFICULT ONE"

"The moment chosen was a difficult one for three main reasons. First, because of the imminent approach of the enemy to India's shores. Japanese forces, by land and sea and air, were almost at the gates of India, and in such circumstances, many things that might have been usefully discussed and negotiated in more peaceful times could not be dealt with, because there was the overriding need to do everything in our power to carry out our duty to defend India from a foreign invader. Second, owing to the events in the Far Eastern theatre of war, accompanied by highly skilled, though grossly misleading, propaganda from Axis sources, an atmosphere of defeatism and anti-British sentiment was showing itself in certain sections of Indian opinion. Indians too, were uncertain of the future, and of the British Government's view as to what that future should be. Third, with the approach of Self-Government or Dominion Status as a reality, communal differences of view as to the form of government suitable for the future in India had tended to become more definitely crystallised; and, especially the idea of two separate Indias, which even two years ago was little more than a vague vision of certain extremists, had come to be a definite and accepted programme of the most powerful Muslim political organisation. There were, of course, other factors in the situation, but these were the principal ones, which increased the difficulties of obtaining any general understanding among the Indian peoples.

## BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVE

"It was the need for a clarification of the situation and for consolidation of Indian opinion in a favourable direction that impelled the British Government to decide that some positive steps must be taken and taken quickly. The British Government's objective and hope was that we might use these very difficulties to bring together all the main leaders of Indian opinion for the double purpose of solving India's future and reinforcing her defence against the invader threatening her shores. To accomplish this, two things were necessary, first, to give a clear, unequivocal promise regarding the future; second, to address an invitation to the various communal and political sections of Indian opinion to come together on the Viceroy's Executive Council for the immediate prosecution of the war in India. This invitation would have to be made upon the basis of the offer regarding the future status of India. In the circumstances of the communal situation in India at the present time, it must be borne in mind that the future is inevitably linked with the present. I am confident that no mere temporary arrangements could have been reached without some exposition of our future intentions.

"Had we attempted to deal only with the present, we should immediately have been met with the demand for a clarification regarding the future. The difficulty of the communal situation has recently been emphasised by Mr. Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan* of April 19, where he makes the following statement. "The attainment of Independence is impossible until we have solved the communal tangle. We will never tackle this problem so long as either or both parties think Independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle. There are two ways of solving what has almost become insoluble—the royal way of non-violence or the way of violence."

## Conflicting Demands

"The British Government also had to deal with certain definite and often conflicting demands voiced by various leaders of important sections of Indian opinion. The Congress was known to have demanded repeatedly Independence for India and a Constituent Assembly which should devise the new constitution for the Indian people, and perhaps the most important of all, a single Indian Government for the whole of India, British India and Indian States together. The Muslim League, on the other hand, had adopted, as the main plank of its programme, the demand for Pakistan—a territory made up of that rather vague congeries of areas in which Muslims are in a majority. The more dispersed, but still important minority of the Depressed Classes desired specific protection against the adverse effect of the caste system, while the Sikhs, that brave fighting race (cheers) who have done and are doing so much to help Britain in the defence of India, desired some form of protection against majority rule by another community. There were many other minorities, religious, racial or social, who equally asked for special treatment, either along the lines of that already accorded under the 1935 Act or upon some more generous scale. Then, outside British India, were the Princes and their peoples, some Princes having special treaty rights arising, in many cases, over a century ago."

"Among these conflicting claims it was necessary for the British Government to attempt to lay down some method whereby the Indian people could determine their own future—a method that would be acceptable to as many shades of opinion as possible. It was, of course, wholly consistent with the whole trend of earlier declarations, that if all sections of Indian opinion could agree upon some alternative method of Self-Determination, there would be no difficulty regarding its acceptance by the British Government. But in the past, when it had been left to the Indian communities to agree upon some manner of deciding their future, the British Government had been accused of relying upon the impossibility of an agreement in order to perpetuate their own domination over India. It was, therefore, necessary to devise a scheme whereby the refusal of a large minority to co-operate would not hold up the majority in their demand for Self-Government.

## Clause relating to Interim Period

"So much for the considerations upon which that part of the draft Declaration dealing with the future constitution of India was based and which resulted in the form in which it was made before the Indian leaders and in which it appears now in the White Paper. The second part of the draft Declaration was to deal with the immediate period before the new constitution could come into being. It was left in vague and general terms, but subject to one vital and precise reserva-

tion. The reason for this form was that it was desired to leave open for discussion the way in which participation by Indian leaders in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations, to use the words of the document, could be made most effective and immediate. The single express reservation was as to Defence, and I shall return to that point in detail since it was one of the difficulties which arose during my discussions in Delhi.

"Let me, now, say a word as to the manner of conducting these discussions. I was most anxious that there should be no suspicion, whatever, that the British Government were hand-picking those whom I saw and consequently I asked the main organisations themselves to appoint those they wished to meet me. This they did, and they mostly expressed the wish that I should not interview any other than those of their Working Committees (laughter). Certain individuals I did see, such as Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Jayakar, the present or past Prime Ministers of all Provincial Governments, the Governors, and lastly but by no means least, members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indeed, it was to this latter body that I first disclosed the details of the draft Declaration immediately upon my arrival in India and after seeing them, each one individually. It was to the same body that I first announced the failure of the agreement. The British Government are fully aware of the service that has been done by the members of the Viceroy's Executive, and especially by those Indians, who have represented the interests of their peoples in that body. For that reason, I considered it necessary to go first and last to them.

#### Indian Press Both helpful and Fair

"As the House knows, I kept the draft Declaration from publication for the first week of my stay in Delhi in order that during that period I might submit to all the principal Indian representative leaders personally. It then became clear that its contents were becoming generally known, and it was considered better that it should be published and this was done. The Indian Press were both helpful and fair in that they gave the fullest publicity to all I said to them in Press conferences, while of course expressing their own views, often very forcibly.

"It is worthy of note that the skilful and analytical minds of the Indians sometimes lead them to seek out and emphasise every point as to which there may be doubt or as to which there may be disagreement, while they are apt to pass over points as to which there is agreement. This, sometimes, gives an appearance of much more keen and concentrated opposition than in fact exists. On the fundamental vital facts of their Self-Government and their Self-Determination there was, I believe, no single case of disagreement, not excluding representatives of the European community whom I saw twice. Disagreement came upon the way in which Self-Determination should be exercised, and upon the transitory provision for the Government of India until the new constitution could come into force.

#### A Legacy of the Past

"It must always be remembered that the one legacy of the past is the unwillingness of any considerable section of Indian opinion to accept any British offer unless the offer was also accepted by at least one of the two principal bodies—the Congress and the Muslim League. The state of internal opinion is such that, unless there is to be a large measure of acceptance of an offer, no minority cares to lay itself open to the accusation of being the creature of British Imperialism. It was, therefore, to be anticipated and we did anticipate that there would either be general acceptance or general rejection of the draft Declaration.

"Before I pass to particular matters around which discussions developed, I must make clear one other matter relating to the negotiations. When I was sent to India by the War Cabinet, I was given full authority to arrive at a settlement within the terms of the draft Declaration. Its essentials had to be maintained—a matter which I myself regarded as of importance as it was the one and only way in which general, discursive and endless discussions could be avoided. But, I alone was responsible for what was put forward to Indian leaders by way of explanation and amplification of the details in the draft.

"I naturally maintained close contact with the Viceroy. We met, in fact, every night during my stay and discussed the progress of events. I also maintained close contact with the Commander-in-Chief. Both were most helpful, but the responsibility for what was done was mine, not theirs. There was a tendency in some Indian quarters to suggest that they were responsible for the difficulties over Defence. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"There is perhaps one other person to whom I should refer to avoid any misunderstanding since his name has been somewhat bandied about in the Press. It so happened by coincidence that while I was in New Delhi, the Economic Mission arrived from the United States, headed by Colonel Louis Johnson, representing directly in that matter, President Roosevelt. He was entertained by the Viceroy on his first arrival, and while he was there, one of the Congress leaders asked to see him. After consulting the Viceroy and in accordance with the latter's advice, he saw Pandit Nehru and in a most helpful conversation ascertained what at the time seemed to be the difficulties in the way of settlement. I also called upon Col. Johnson by way of courtesy on his arrival, and gave him as accurate a picture of the situation as I could. Thereafter, at my suggestion and in accordance with his own personal desire to be of any assistance he could, he had other interviews of great help in clarifying the situation. At no time did he act otherwise than in a purely personal capacity, and he like two or three of my good Indian friends, merely did his best to give what help he could. I am personally most grateful to him and I am sure the Congress leaders are similarly so. But, I wish to make it abundantly clear that there was no question of American intervention, but only the personal help of a very able and pleasant American citizen.

#### Congress Attitude to Dominion Status

"Let me now come to the difficulties that arose. These were mostly concentrated into my discussions and correspondence with the Congress leaders. The Muslim League did not deliver me their objections until after they knew the result of my negotiations with the Congress. Questions outside the Congress objections which were raised by other sections I will deal with separately.

"The difficulties fell under three heads, which will be observed from a perusal of the final resolution of the Congress and the letter from the Congress President in the White Paper. The first were those related to the method of determining the new Constitution, the second those relating to Defence and the third those relating to the general form of the interim government.

"So far as the first category was concerned there were three objections. The first to the use of the word 'Dominion' and its definition in the opening paragraph of the draft Declaration. This was not a matter of prime importance. The Congress claim has been for Independence and they were afraid that their followers would attach undue importance to the apparent limitations included in the definition, although, I think, the leaders themselves appreciated the added words in Clause C of the draft Declaration which reads: 'The Treaty will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member-States of the British Commonwealth.' I think these words were accepted as making it perfectly clear that India could, in fact, leave the British Commonwealth of Nations should the Indian Government under the new constitution so desire it.

#### Provinces and Right of non-accession

"The second objection was the most substantial one. It was as to the right of non-accession of the provinces after the new constitution had been decided by the constitution-making assembly. I would ask members to study the two resolutions of the Congress and the Muslim League and then to look at the draft Declaration. They will, I think, come to the conclusion that the draft Declaration does no more than what Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have constantly stated that they were prepared to do—that is keep open the issue of Pakistan—and they also, I am sure, realise that the scheme of the draft Declaration is as fair a compromise as possible between two extreme views. It was the British Government's duty to try and get an agreement by compromise, and not give either party all they wanted and then force it upon the other. I do not personally believe it possible to find, under existing circumstances, a fairer solution of the problem—a solution which aims at and provides for a single United India but which admits, if in the last resort parties cannot agree upon a form of constitution enabling them to work together, that the Muslims must be allowed, in those provinces where they can get a majority of the whole electorate, to vote those provinces out of the Union.

"I should add one word of explanation regarding the proposal made for effecting this non-accession, and which does not appear in the document itself.

The only ultimate test must be the wish of the actual majority of the adult male population of the province—that is to say, by a plebiscite. But it was not necessary to go to the trouble of a plebiscite where the result is a foregone conclusion. It was, therefore, suggested that every province should pass in its Lower House a formal vote of accession to the new Union, but if a minority of 40 per cent or more were against accession, then the minority should have the right to challenge a plebiscite, which should determine the matter by a simple majority. I desire to emphasise once again that the whole scheme was no rigid unchanging plan since it was expressly open to Indian communities to agree among themselves on a better alternative.

#### Position of Indian States

"The third and last objection was as regards the position of Indian States. The Congress has now, for many years, interested itself in the lot of the people in the Indian States and has declared that, in any new Constitution, the people, as distinct from their autocratic Rulers, must have a say. They, therefore, protested not against the Indian States coming into the constitution-making authority, but against their representatives being nominated by the Rulers and not elected by the people. Unfortunately, in my view, representative institutions have not yet developed in a great majority of the Indian States, which must be dealt with as they are, if they are to be brought into the constitution-making authority—and that participation, I believe, every one desires including most of the States' Rulers themselves.

"If there was a machinery in the States whereby popular representatives could be chosen, the British Government would be only too pleased. Already, a small beginning has been made in some States by the more enlightened Rulers and their Dewans. I am certain this House would wish the British administration in India to do all it can to encourage and expedite that development. But, for the moment, we can only deal with the situation as it exists historically. I need not trouble the House with all the complexities of the present constitutional position so far as the Indian States are concerned since, under the draft Declaration, the position would have been altered only so far as alteration was necessary to adjust the economic relationships of the new Indian Union or was caused by the action of the Indian States themselves in joining the new Union.

"However, none of these three differences with the Congress Working Committee would have been decisive of a negative result. For, though objecting and registering their protest, the Congress and the Muslim League and other bodies, such as, the Hindu Mahasabha, would have been prepared to co-operate, upon the immediate situation, despite the making of a declaration by the British Government and that is probably the most one can expect under the circumstances. It would, in fact, have meant a solution, for the Self-Determination laid down in the draft would then have held the field with finality, subject only to the various communities and bodies in India arriving at some alternative method by agreement.

#### Minorities other than Muslims

"There is one other matter with regard to the future to which I must refer. That is the position of the minorities such as the Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, Indian Christians and others. Each wished not unnaturally to have some special specific measure of protection included to cover its own case. But once Self-Determination has been promised to India, as proposed in the draft Declaration, it would be impossible for any British Government to impose terms in the new Indian Constitution. To do so would be a negation of Self-Determination. We have, however, in the past given undertakings to these minorities but in none of these cases other than that of the Muslims could these promises be dealt with by such device as non-accession. The minorities are not sufficiently localised or self-contained even in the case of the Sikhs, to make that possible, assuming that, upon other grounds, it was desirable. Some other solution therefore had to be found. I have not the slightest doubt that these minorities, all of whom would have been represented in the constitution-making body, in accordance with their strength under the Communal Award, would have obtained ample protection under the constitution from the majority. Indeed, the forces operating within the constitution-making body would have tended, very much, in favour of the minorities. But in view of our pledges we could not leave the minorities to rely upon this alone. We therefore, inserted an express clause as to the Treaty covering minority protection which will be found in Paragraph 2 of the draft Declaration.

"I should like to record here that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League expressed the slightest objection to this method of treating this subject,

Minorities themselves were, of course, unable to say at this stage what form of protection they wished for, since until the form of the new constitution is known, nobody can state how within that form the minorities can best be protected. That would have had to be a matter for negotiation when the main lines of the constitution have been decided upon. The minorities were all, I think, anxious to come into a temporary Government had it been formed under the terms of the draft Declaration despite their criticism of the scheme as a whole as lacking more specific protection for their own interests.

#### Defence control

"I now pass to the second category of objection—that relating to Defence. This is a matter which is far more complicated than might appear on the face of it, and whereon there was a distinct division of opinion amongst Indians themselves. Upon one thing, there was, I think, practical unanimity, and that was the actual technical conduct of the war in India and the control of the armed forces for the fighting purposes must remain under the British Commander-in-Chief. Every one realised that that was mere common-sense. So, there was no difficulty regarding it. The difference of opinion came when the responsibilities of the Government of India as apart from those of the British Government were considered. These latter—that is the direct responsibilities of the British Government—would have been quite satisfactorily dealt with by having a representative Indian on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council, both of which posts were offered to Indian leaders. It was first sought to clarify the position as between the British Government's direct responsibilities and those of the Government of India by rewarding the final draft of Clause E into the form in which it now appears in the White Paper: 'During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must inevitably bear responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort. But the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India.' It was thought by those words to define as clearly as possible the division of responsibilities between the British Government and the Government of India. But, there is another cross division of responsibilities, much more difficult to define or separate out.

"The House will appreciate that, since the last war, the Commander-in-Chief in India has also held the post of Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and his actual function and activities are divided between the two posts he holds. In fact, the Defence Secretariat and the Defence Department and staff are, from the mere fact that they have a common chief, all interlinked and inter-dependent in such a way as to make anything like a complete detailed separation of the functions of the Commander-in-Chief from those of the Defence Minister a very long and complicated matter, and one which, if it was attempted at such a critical moment at this, would throw into chaos the whole Defence organisation in India,

#### FORMULA EVOLVED AS REGARDS DEFENCE MEMBER

"Nevertheless, I took the view—and the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief agreed—it will be difficult for representative Indians on the Viceroy's Executive to rouse the people of India to their defence, unless they could say with justice that at least some part of Defence was the responsibility of a representative Indian and so of the Indian peoples. That was the point which was stressed by practically every one I interviewed including the Europeans. It was in an attempt to overcome this very real difficulty that I spent a good deal of my time at New Delhi. Various suggestions were made and several formula tried, until eventually one was worked out which became the final suggestion and is the only one with which I need now deal. It will be found on Page 8 of the White Paper. Its object was quite simple, to allocate to the Commander-in-Chief, as War Member of the Viceroy's Executive, all administrative functions under the Government of India for the vital and efficient carrying on of the war—that is the relations of his General Staff, Naval Staff and Air Staff, whilst at the same time leaving to a representative Indian other functions of Defence, roughly corresponding to the list on page 8 of the White Paper under the heading, Annexe 1, together with a number of other very important functions, examples of which are given in Annexe 2 and which would in fact have made the new Defence Department one of the largest of all departments in India.



"The House will, of course, realise that numerous other aspects of Defence, such as, Civil Defence, Communications, Labour, etc., are already in the hands of Indian members of the Viceroy's Council and would have continued so, although personages might have been changed. It was impossible for the British Government to go further with safety (cheers) and no risk could be taken at such a moment as the present on so vital and immediate a matter as the defence of India. Moreover I do not believe that the minorities, who contain some of the finest fighting elements in India, such as, the Panjabi Muslims and the Sikhs (cheers), would have consented at this stage to any further devolution of Defence responsibilities. This question did not actually arise, and the British Government were not able to go further. From the attitude of these minorities, I am confident they would not have consented to any further transfer in this field. I believe that this latest formula might have gained acceptance and at one moment, the Indian public seemed to think that a satisfactory solution had been found. I feel pretty sure, had the Congress leaders been able to accept finally the draft Declaration and enter the new Government, they would, upon the question of Defence, have been able to rally their Indian followers behind them. But it was not upon this issue that the final break came, though it was no doubt to some undefined extent involved in the breakdown.

#### Form of Interim Government

"The final question which was raised at my last and long meeting with the President of the Congress and Pandit Nehru, was as to the form of the temporary Government that might be in power until the end of the war and the coming into operation of the new constitution. I had, from the outset, made it clear to those whom I saw that it was not possible to make any constitutional change, except of the most insignificant kind, prior to the new constitution coming into operation as a result of the labours of the constitution-making assembly. This fact had been accepted by everyone without discussion as it was obvious, that it was a practical impossibility to start upon the discussion and framing of a new constitution at the present time. And, if such a discussion had been practicable and had been embarked upon, it would have occupied many months during which nothing could have been done by way of forming a new Government. Not only so, but any such alteration now would have been thought to prejudge the situation under the new constitution and would undoubtedly have met with opposition for that reason. Any such step, therefore, as recasting the constitution at the present time, was admittedly out of question. This was made quite clear in my letter to the President of the Congress, dated April 7, where I said: 'As the Working Committee have fully understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities.

#### Cabinet anxious to make a reality of the offer

"At the same time, the British Government were most anxious to make a reality of the offer under Clause (e) in any way practicable and consistent with the existing constitution. It was always possible, in such circumstance, by mutual understanding, with co-operation on both sides, to do much, especially when all are intent upon a common object so vital and all-embracing as the defence of India. Questions as to the formation of a new Government, how members of the Viceroy's Executive should be treated, how the business therein should be conducted, were of course essential matter for the Viceroy who had to carry on the Government of India and not for me as a member of the War Cabinet on a visit to India. I, therefore, told the Congress leaders that the general principle of participation or co-operation was laid down in paragraph (e) of the Declaration, which stated that the British Government desired to invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principle sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, but the exact nature of its operation could only be decided as the result of discussions with the Viceroy, once Indian leaders had made up their minds that they could accept the draft Declaration upon other points. I stated that I was prepared to remain in India in such an event until the new Government was formed so that I could, if necessary, give any help required, but I could not bind the Viceroy to accept any particular arrangement for the conduct of his Executive. I informed them, after a discussion with the Viceroy, that immediately they decided to accept, he would call the principal leaders into consultation as to the formation of his new Government and that the only British members upon whom the new scheme insisted were the Viceroy himself and the Commander-in-Chief. I also pointed out to them if the conditions offered by the Viceroy were such that



they could not accept them they would of course, be as free as any other individuals who refused to take office or if they found they could not work in the Government, they would be free to resign, though naturally I hoped such a situation would never, in fact, arise. I see no other way myself in which the matter could have been arranged, but Congress leaders, as is shown by their final letters, apparently felt they would not have wide powers they thought necessary for their successful participation in the Government.

#### Issues on which Final Break came

"As I pointed out in my broadcast from New Delhi, the position of complete power asked for by the Congress—and which was not demanded by any other section of opinion in India—would leave them in an impossible situation. The Executive Council, once chosen by the Viceroy, would not have been responsible to anyone but themselves or in a loose way perhaps to their political or communal organisation, and there would have been no protection for any minorities. I am quite confident none of the minorities would have accepted such a position and least of all the Muslims (cheers). It was on this issue that the final break came, followed as I had expected, by the rejection by the Muslim League for reasons precisely opposite of those by the Congress, but all concerned with the future rather than the present.

"I regret and the British Government regret most profoundly that our efforts had failed, but do not let the House or the people of this country imagine that all the results of the War Cabinet's action and my mission are on the debit side. There is much, I venture to think, on the credit side as well (cheers.)

"First, there is the advantage which accrues from the methods which have been adopted in this case. Instead of a somewhat vague declaration, put out without previous consultation with the leaders of Indian opinion, a precise and clear statement of a suggested solution has been discussed in India with all Indian leaders by a member of the War Cabinet sent there for that particular purpose. The fact that a member of the War Cabinet was sent in the stressed circumstances of to-day indicated the depth of the genuineness of our desire to reach a settlement of our outstanding difficulties.

"Second, the content of the scheme has put, beyond all possibility of doubt or question, that we desire to give India Self-Government at the earliest practicable moment and wish her to determine for herself the form that Government shall take. However great the criticism of the details may have been, no responsible Indian leader has challenged our sincerity upon that point. I think it accurate to say that this is the first time such an assertion could be truly made, and it is a most important and significant fact for our future relationships.

"Thirdly, the whole of the discussions proceeded upon a basis of frank and mutual understanding and in an atmosphere of friendliness though the past was too strong for complete confidence to have been established. I have a feeling that we have taken a step forward especially as far as the younger elements in India are concerned, who are perhaps less influenced by the struggles and bitterness of the past than some of their older colleagues who still retain leadership.

#### India's Determination to defend country

"Finally, the whole discussion upon the issue of Defence has served to bring to the front the determination of the Indian people to defend their own country. Such statements as that by Pandit Nehru—a man of great determination—or the more recent attitude of Mr. Rajagopalachari, must do much to influence Indian opinion. The representative of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah and the leaders of other parties and communities, such as the Sikhs and Mahrattas, all expressed to me personally their readiness to stand with us in the defence of their country and do their utmost to help in every way. It is unfortunate that they do not find themselves in a position to give help as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but it is good to know that each in his own way is prepared to assist. We have been brought closer to our Indian friends as fellow-defenders of their country, but we are not yet so close as we would wish or even as is necessary for the most effective defence of India.

"Looking back at this historical incident and an important incident in the history of both our countries I feel no regret at the decisions taken by the British Government. I am convinced that they were just and we have done all we could in an admittedly difficult situation, to bring about agreement and better understanding between the two peoples of the two countries. It is in fact the

past—exercising its influence upon all parties—that have proved too strong for us, and we must now leave the leaven of better understanding to work quietly towards an ultimate satisfactory solution of the political problem. If we are to do this, let us, at all costs, forego the transient satisfaction of blaming others.

#### Door not closed

"I stated when I left India that in default of acceptance the draft Declaration must be considered as being withdrawn. But this does not and cannot close the door to that closer co-operation which we desire to see in the defence of India or to a solution of the problem of Self-Government after the war. It means that the British Government have done their best to make their contribution to a solution of the problem both in the substance of the draft Declaration and in the method of its presentation to the Indian people. For the time being, there is nothing further we can do. We must be patient, open-minded and willing to consider any proposals upon which Indian leaders can agree. But, for the moment, we must concentrate upon our duty—to do our utmost for the defence of India, a task in which our great American allies have generously come forward to offer their help which we, and Indians alike, welcome and appreciate. Many Indian leaders too will do their best to arouse the Indian peoples in their own defence and I hope by co-operation in defence we may move a step nearer to the solution of our problems

"I am certain that the members of this House and the British people and all well-wishers of Democracy, the world over, will continue to hope that, through successful resistance to brutal Japanese aggression, the Indian people will reach their goal of Self-Government and self-determination without internal strife and bitterness, and that thus India will emerge as a great equal of the free nations of the world, able to make her full contribution to the future of the new civilisation after the victory of the Allied cause"

Sis S. Cripps concluded amid loud and prolonged cheers.

## The Hur outrages in Sind

### History of Seventy Years of Crime

On the 1st. June 1942 Martial Law was proclaimed in the area of Sind afflicted by the criminal outrages of the Hurs. Over a period covering more than six months the Hurs have, by wholesale murder, sabotage and dacoity, terrorised whole districts. The means available to the civil authorities have failed to cope with the situation because of the fanaticism of these followers of the Pir Pagaro and the terror they inspire in their victims who are too cowed to bear witness against them. A special force of troops was recently despatched to aid the civil power in restoring order in the area roughly lying to the East of the Indus between Reti, Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas. The Military Commander has instructions to take all steps to restore civil security and order with all possible speed. To this end he has proclaimed martial law which will enable summary justice to be enforced by special courts against the Hurs. Complete control of the civil administration rest with the military commander who will have the advice and assistance of the civil authorities in the area concerned.

The Hurs are a criminal tribe of Sind and the neighbouring States. The history of these gangsters goes back to the last century.

Significantly, a case of the treacherous murder of a holy man is the starting point of the story of how the appellation "Hur," a name sacred among Muslim, came to be applied to these Sindhi and Baluchi tribes of criminals,

#### Murder In Mosque

About the middle of the last century, Hazbullah Shah succeeded his father as Pir of Kingri. Pir Hazbullah Shah recognised as his "Khalifa" or Deputy for a part of the Hyderabad district, one Ghulam Nabi Laghari who was destined to leave his impress on the subsequent history of the ignorant followers of the Pir.

But in another sub-division of the Hyderabad district, lived Pir Hazbullah

Shah's cousin, Pir Fazbullah Shah, famed for his piety and eloquent and impressive sermons which drew to him an ever increasing procession of devotees. This excited the jealousy of the Kingri order. Pir Fazbullah Shah was murdered in his village mosque in the holy month of Rumzan in 1865.

Pir Hazbullah Shah was charged with instigation, and his Khalifa, Ghulam Nabi Laghari, and some others were charged with murder. But the Pir and his Khalifa were acquitted, though a kinsman of the latter was sentenced to death.

#### Hur Brotherhood

The unswerving loyalty of Khalifa Ghulam Nabi Laghari to Hazbullah Shah during this episode, earned for him from the Pir the title of "Hur" after the name of the Arab General who fought on the side of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Hussain, and was killed in the holy war against Yazeed at Karbala. The Khalifa thereupon started a Hur Union which gradually embraced almost the whole ignorant section of the Pir's followers and this section came to be known as Hurs.

The tenets laid down by Ghulam Nabi Laghari for the Union emphasised the tie of brotherhood among the Hurs. They were to treat one another as brothers, never to act against one another and always to help and co-operate. Soon criminals and known offenders found membership of the Union of advantage to them. They found in it ready sympathisers and reliable co-operators. Other evils crept into the Hur tribes. "Brother" members were to be admitted to the circle of each other's family like nearest relatives. Immorality spread, so much so that in the inner circle of the Hur Union, adultery of wives, sisters and daughters with Hur "brothers" was regarded with no sense of jealousy or shame. On the contrary, it was overlooked, connived at or even facilitated.

#### Muslim Resement

But among Khalifa Ghulam Nabi's tenets, the first was the sanctity of the person of the Pir. Ghulam Nabi illustrated his doctrine by the sanctity and unity of God laid down in the Koran. The doctrine sank so deep into the minds of the ignorant followers that the Pir came to be regarded in the light of God who cannot have any relatives. Once the Pir's son was nearly slain by a Hur for going into his father's presence with his shoes on, and his life as "heir-apparent" was always in danger on the theory that he might try to murder and supplant his father. Recklessness in regard to human life became a characteristic of the sect; so that the Hurs did not hesitate to put out of the way anybody, even the Pir's relatives or Khalifas whose influence they became jealous or who, in their opinion, led the Pir to treat them with disfavour.

So low had the Hurs fallen even before the end of the last century that the general Muslim gave them the name of "Lurs," that is, unholy. The Pir was reproached for tolerating the doctrine recognising him in the place of God, etc. Indeed, some of the Hurs constructed mosques facing north, towards Kingri, instead of towards the west, that is Mecca. Later the Hur villages became conspicuous for the absence of any mosque at all.

Attempts at reform were followed by murders. Pir Hazbullah Shah's maternal uncle, Karam Ali Shah persuaded him to try to correct the Hurs. Karam Ali Shah was murdered by a band of disguised Hurs, among whom was said to be one of the Khalifas, about the year 1873. Next, one Mohammed Saleh Rajar was said to be using his influence with the Pir in an attempt to combat the tenets of the Hur Union. He was murdered in 1883 or 1884. Again in 1888, the Pir's trusted attendant, Chutal Khan Laghari, was found working against the Hurs. He, too, paid with his life.

All this time, the Hurs went their way, and the brotherhood continued to help and protect criminals. For example, one of them murdered a woman, and to avoid arrest disappeared into the forests where for years, provided in every manner by his "brothers," he lived comfortably. Several murders followed until he was captured in 1888 in a woman's house. But one charge only could be brought home to him and he was transported for life.

Another, Bachu, the murderer of Chutal Khan Laghari referred to above, was sheltered for eight years by the Hurs. But perhaps wearied of inaction as well as of the necessity occasionally to evade the police, he gathered round him a band of desperados and commenced a career of brigandage. He and his large gangs were responsible for outbreaks of crime at intervals from

September 1893 to the beginning of 1896 in parts of Sind. He committed murders, dacoities, highway robberies and other outrages. He surrendered on May 7, 1896, after all his best men had been either captured by the police or killed.

In the first two decades of this century, too, lawlessness was caused in parts of the province by Hurs (which was aggravated by a visit of the Pir to those parts).

### The Hurs Of Today

In the criminal character of the membership of their fraternity, their callous attitude towards human life and their fanatical and jealous loyalty to the person of their Pir, the Hurs are unchanged today.

There was no abatement of crimes committed by Hurs during the period 1920 to 1930. The Hurs murdered one of the Khalifas, or the Pir's deputy, in 1922, beat a brother of another in 1927, threw acid at a third in 1928, murdered a fourth in 1929, and committed obscene acts before fifth in 1929—all because the victims had caused annoyance to the Pir. Quarrels among the Hurs resulted in a murder in 1925, and another in 1926. The Hurs murdered two Hindus in 1929 at Pir-Jo-Goth, the Pir's residence, and the mother of a man confined by the Pir in the Pir's "Kot" in the same year. There were two cases of theft by the Hurs of the Pir-Jo-Goth in 1925, another case of house-breaking and theft by the Hurs in 1929, and a theft in 1930 of a gun which was afterwards found in the Pir's possession.

The Pir himself was an accused in a case of dacoity in 1927 and of murder in 1928. Sixteen personal retainers of the Pir who were Hurs, were ordered on April 4, 1930, to be deported to the Bombay Presidency for being concerned in these crimes, as no evidence could be collected to bring the crimes home to them owing to their close connexion with the Pir which prevented anybody coming forward as a witness.

Indeed, the present Pir, Sibghatulla Shah, known as Pir Pagaro was born in 1908 and he succeeded as Pir in 1922 when still a minor on the desire of his father. He grew up to be a very wild man and several murders were committed by his followers at his instance, but it was difficult to get evidence against him. Eventually in 1930 after a number of serious complaints had been made, the Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, decided to raid the "Kot", the Pir's residential quarters, a sort of fortress, in the village Pir-Jo-Goth, (an island of British territory in the Khairpur State), the population of which is about 3,000. The police seized a quantity of unlicensed arms and ammunition, found evidence of orgies of debauch and sadist practices to which the foul Pir is addicted and, most curious of all, a young Muslim boy confined in a box.

### The Boy In The Box

The story of the boy in the box, as also of some other victims of the Pir, is related in the judgments in cases against him. The boy was one Ibrahim, the elder son of an unfortunate woman Mariam, for causing whose death the Pir Pagaro had been tried and discharged earlier. Ibrahim was a comely lad of 14 or 15. About the year 1926, he went into the "Kot," the fortress in which the Pir lived, to work as a labourer. When the day was drawing to close the Pir's eyes fell on the lad and he took such a powerful fancy for him that next morning he sent Ibrahim an offer of service under him. Ibrahim joined, the duties assigned to him being to wait on the Pir and to clean the engine which he had installed within his "Kot."

Three weeks after, Ibrahim upset a glass oiling cup and broke it in the engine room. This trifling loss so much put out the Pir that he tied Ibrahim's arms behind his back and flogged him with a cane. But this did not abate the violence of his passion, and he saved Ibrahim's eyebrows, pulled out his eyelashes, blackened his face with oil and soot and commanded his servants to subject him to disgusting indignities parallel only by the treatment accorded in Nazi concentration camps. When Ibrahim had stood on his legs in this state for about an hour his arms were untied and he was given a bath, but was not allowed to leave the "Kot." On the fourth day on the excuse of going to see his wife and newly born son in the village, Ibrahim ran away to Larkana. But three of the Pir's hounds were sent after the boy who was brought back.

Then began Ibrahim's incarceration. He took up his old duties, but was not allowed to leave the gates of the "Kot" and was guarded day and night inside. Thus passed three or four months, after which Ibrahim was allowed to meet his mother in the "Kot."

## Sukkur Collector's Letter

A few days later the Pir received a letter from the Collector of Sukkur requiring him to dismiss Ibrahim and three other servants. The latter were sent away but not Ibrahim. Twelve months passed. The Pir now proceeded on his tour of areas inhabited by his followers, and Ibrahim had to travel with his master like a woman in a closed litter on camel's back! In camps he lived in the Pir's tent under guard. Seven months of tour thus passed. A fortnight after they had returned to Pir-Jo-Goth, the Pir again proceeded on a tour, visiting Sukkur, Quetta, Lahore, Delhi, Simla, Bombay, and Karachi accompanied by Ibrahim from whom he could not or would not separate himself. They were back home again after 22 days. Ibrahim was now told that the Superintendent of Police and the Collector of Sukkur and the Commissioner in Sind had all spoken to the Pir in the course of his recent tour enjoining on him to give Ibrahim his liberty, but that he had denied that Ibrahim was his prisoner and therefore did not consider it safe to restore him to freedom.

## Another Letter

Stricter surveillance was enforced over Ibrahim. Another year passed, and another letter about Ibrahim came from the Collector of Sukkur. The reply was returned that Ibrahim was not in the Pir's service. Henceforward the lad was confined under guard in a room. Some more time passed, and Ibrahim pining to see his wife and little son and other relations, threatened that he would run away. He was now put in chains with one Ghul Hussain chained to him to keep close watch on him and locked up in a room in the vicinity of the quarters, inside the "Kot," of Rahim Shah, younger brother of the Pir. This close confinement continued till Rahim Shah, his mother, sister and aunt, apprehensive of their safety owing to their strained relations with the Pir made a masterly escape from the Pir's fortress.

Soon after, the Police Superintendent's Camp at Pir-Jo-Goth necessitated a change of prison for Ibrahim, though he continued to be chained to Ghul Hussain, with two other men mounting ceaseless guard over them. After the Superintendent's Camp had been moved the Pir treated Ibrahim with less vigour. He struck all his chains but did not let him go out of his presence. But at night Ibrahim was confined in a box which used to be padlocked. This box had a circular hole at the bottom from which came the air which Ibrahim breathed. He was provided in the box with a mattress, a drinking cup and an earthen pot in which to answer the calls of nature. This manner of confinement continued till the flight from Pir-Jo-Goth of three women, Eman, Gullan and Nuran.

## Story Of Three Women

These three women were inmates of the Pir's "Kot" from the time of their girlhood, ministering at first to the pleasures of the accused or his father as the case might be, and "when whatever charm they possessed began to pall, serving as maids to their legitimate wives." The Pir Pagaro had taken malicious delight in subjecting them to "indescribable tortures and unnamable indignities." As the Judge observed in another judgment, these women had to lay bare their entire life as inmates of the Pir Pagaro's "Kot" as they were to figure as witnesses not only in their own cases against the Pir but in four other cases against him. At the dictates of an odious custom and the will of their parents, they surrendered their virtues to the Pir-in-power but, the Judge maintained, were not "abandoned wretches, lost to all sense of shame and decency, that they would give utterance to such foulness without feeling defiled."

Emboldened by the success of Rahim Shah, the younger brother of Pir Pagaro, in eluding the vigilance of the Pir's guards and unable to contemplate without acute mental suffering and overpowering distress their past experiences and the fresh terrors which they knew awaited them in the Pir's "Kot," they negotiated one of the walls of the "Kot," in the small hours of the morning of February 5, 1930 when the Pir was away. Eman and Gullan safely landed outside but the rope gave way before Nuran had completed her descent and she fell injuring her back and feet. Daylight was fast approaching and their courage born of sheer desperation was now ebbing out. They abandoned their flight and directed their steps to the residence of the Pir Pagaro's step-mother. They secured asylum and prevailed upon the lady to inform the Superintendent of Police, Sukkur. On the latter's arrival, four days later, on February 8, they begged him to take them with him and refused to go back to the Pir of Pagaro's service.

### The Larger Box And The Smaller

The women were taken by the police to Sukkur which necessitated the Pir's visit to the town. Before leaving he locked Ibrahim up in the box and instructed his servants to keep the lad immured there till he returned. The Pir's instructions were carried out to the letter and, during the seven or eight days that Pir Pagaro spent at Sukkur, the box was not opened except to give Ibrahim food and "sometimes, though rarely, to take him out for an airing." Even after the Pir Pagaro's return home, Ibrahim continued to be confined in the box except when he was taken to the engine room to work there. On such occasions he was taken in chains with Ghul Hussain chained to him.

On the arrival of the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Pir-Jo-Goth a few days later, Ibrahim was transferred to a larger box which lay in Pir Pagaro's garden. Two or three days later, however, came the news that the District Superintendent of Police was again coming to Pir-Jo-Goth. The garden was now considered unsafe and Ibrahim was removed from the larger box and locked in a smaller one which lay in a narrow passage at the back of the Pir Pagaro's "Aghusi" Bungalow. Here it was that the Superintendent of Police found him two days later, after an elaborate search in the presence of the Pir Pagaro and four others whose turn it had been to keep guard over him that month. When Ibrahim was taken out of the box, he looked like a ghost, as pale as death, and smelt like a polecat. In the box lay the drinking cup and an earthen pot which "reeked of urine, mute witness of his long immurement."

### Pir Pagaro Convicted

The Pir Pagaro was sentenced under section 344, I.P.C., to three years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default, to suffer rigorous imprisonment for six months in addition, under section 346, I.P.C. for two years; under section 19 (f) of the Arms Acts to three years and a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default, to nine months' rigorous imprisonment; under section 19 (i) of the Arms Act to two years' imprisonment. Total sentence amounted to about eight years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 2,000 for confining the boy Ibrahim and for illegal possession of twelve rifles, three guns, two revolvers and one rifle barrel, and 25,000 rounds of ammunition and apparatus for manufacturing the latter. The Pir was released from jail on November 25, 1936. The fine of Rs. 2,000 was realised in full.

### After Release

On release in 1936 the Pir Pagaro set about rehabilitating himself in the eye of the wider public. A pilgrimage to Mecca was undertaken. Of course, Mecca or no Mecca, or whether he was a worthy spiritual guide or an ex-convict, he continued to be worshipped by the large majority of his followers. Further, the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1937 setting up responsible Governments in the Indian provinces gave him some political importance. His following is large, larger than that of any other Pir in the Province. The Hurs, perhaps, total 8,000, less than 100 of them are desperados who will carry out the Pir's wishes at all cost. There is also the other section of the Pir's followers known as "Salim Jamait" who follow Islamic principles and are to a certain extent a peaceful people. The followers of the Pir are found in an area stretching from the south of Sukkur District down through the neighbouring Khairpur State into the Sind taluquas of Shahdadpur and Sinjhor of the Nawabshah District and the Sanghar taluqua of the Thar Parkar District. Thus the new Constitution placed in the Pir Pagaro's hands the priceless weapon of the thousands of votes of his followers.

### A Prophecy

Even after the release of the Pir there were a long series of crimes varying from petty thefts to murder. Besides his criminal proclivities, the Pir is imbued with the idea that, according to an old prophecy, a Pir whose face is pock-marked in a certain way, would one day become the King of Sind. He fulfils this description and is firmly convinced that he will fulfil the prophecy.

The Pir then started calling the more ardent of his followers around him and took their pledge of support even to death. Such picked persons he styled as his "Ghazis," and the number estimated to have been enrolled was 6,000. In the beginning of June 1940 he was reported to have made his headquarters in the jungles of the Khairpur State where he was said to be enrolling, training, and arming a large body of Hurs.

Learning that the Government were not unaware of his activities he caused

it to be published that he was preparing to help the Government with a body of "Civil Guards." He further presented a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the Sind War Plane's Fund. But the enrolment of the "Ghazis" continued and there were stories of attempts to organise and train them on military lines. It is of interest to recall that while on tour earlier in the Jaisalmer State, he took pains to carry out parades in the fashion of the Khaksars and also arranged "sham fights" which he personally supervised. About the same time he was reported to be renewing his contacts with terrorists who had been in prison along with him in Bengal.

#### Further Outrages

By an understanding with the Government, the Pir began to live at Karachi and was required not to leave Karachi without permission. But he left Karachi without permission, went to his bungalow at Garang in Thar Parkar district and from there to Pir-Jo-Goth which is in the Sukkur district. He was sent back to Karachi by the district authorities on instruction from the Government.

His absence from Karachi coincided with a dastardly crime. The murder was committed in Sukkur of his cousin Pir Fatehali Shah, who had been clamouring that his life was in danger from Pir Pagaro. Pir Fatehali Shah had actually been given a guard of two armed policemen at his bungalow in Sukkur. But on October 14, 1941, these Hurs descended on the bungalow early in the morning and taking the policemen unawares murdered Pir Fatehali, a servant and one of the policemen.

On the Pir Pagaro's return to Karachi, he was served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules to remain in Karachi. Now occurred some cases of sabotage of telegraph and telephone lines on the railway between Rohri and Reti. The Government decided to arrest the Pir and removed him from Sind to a place outside the province.

Fresh offences were committed by the Pir's followers. It is known that on return from his previous deportation Pir Pagaro expressed very strongly to his followers his disappointment that they had not protested against his removal and had not created trouble for Government in the way of committing offences on the railways or otherwise; and told them that if he were ever removed again from Sind, he expected they would follow such a course.

Accordingly his arrest was followed by the cutting of telegraph wires and sabotage on the railways and by more murders and dacoities. Early in February 1942, the Hurs attacked an armed police post of a Head Constable and five Constables; two policemen were killed and two injured and the police arms were taken. Other outrages and damage to telegraphs and railways continued. In February, the number of persons murdered by the Hurs was 26; 23 persons were wounded. Other outrages have been committed since in an attempt to intimidate the Government to release the Pir and bring him back to Sind.

#### The Difficulties

The suppression of the Hurs has presented difficulties. Their main hideout is somewhere in the Makhi Dhand area of the Sanghar taluqa, which area is a thickly forested area of lai, scrub and jungle with tall and thick grass over about 125 sq. miles or more.

Also, the methods adopted by them have overawed the population of the affected areas and their co-operation is difficult to obtain. The Hurs have driven the conviction into the public mind that they forget nothing; reprisals for acts unfriendly to them are known to have been taken even after the lapse of years. They are not only unforgiving but brutal in their punishment to their victims. They have an efficient intelligence service. On the other hand intelligence about their plans is difficult to obtain. They have a code of their own by which they recognise each other, and a stranger going to them generally courts certain death.

Suitable measures are being taken by the Government to deal with the trouble. Large numbers of them have been arrested. In April 1942, an Act was placed on the Statute Book conferring on Magistrates special powers for requiring from Hurs and people who assist them security for keeping the peace and good behaviour and providing for imprisonment up to three years for failure to give security; and providing for Special Judges and Special Magistrates with exceptional powers for the trial of offences committed by Hurs and people who assist them.

As the Provincial Police was found inadequate to handle the situation, the Provincial Government have secured the services of some platoons of the Frontier Constabulary and a force of the Punjab Police. A special Officer assisted by a small military force is surveying the whole problem.

It is an outbreak of crime in an attempt by fanatical and notorious gangsters to intimidate the Government into releasing their leader.

### Round up of Hurs

The proclamation on June 1, of martial law over an area in Sind did not have any immediate reaction and was in fact taken very quietly in the districts concerned. It had, however, the natural effect of causing the immediate dispersion of some of the larger gangs of Hurs who had, by reason of their aggressive behaviour and terrorisation of the people, been able in some places to operate almost with impunity. This dispersion has not prevented Hurs from continuing to perpetrate outrages against the public. Several further outrages have already been reported.

There are, however, some indications that the strong action now being taken is already tending to stiffen civilian moral. This is suggested by the incident reported from the Perumel Taluka near Sawghar. An attack by 20 Hurs was successfully repulsed by the villagers themselves, four Hurs being killed and two guns and camels captured. All the property seized by the dacoits is reported to have been recovered : one chowkidar lost his life in the action.

So far 14 men have been arrested in Hyderabad, Sind, and 9 dacoits have been apprehended in the Doro canal area of Mirpurkhas district. These dacoits were armed with hatchets, and a horse and a camel were captured with them. A member of one of the most prominent gangs has already been caught near Singhoro and 41 Hurs seized in Shahdadpur area ; 21 suspected persons have been taken into custody in the Rohri area. A patrol pursuing another gang succeeded in capturing 12 more dacoits. Operations are continuing. Armed protection has been provided for stations and running trains.

### Military Patrols

How a military patrol in pursuit of a gang of dacoits covered 122 miles in 48 hours, of which nearly 100 miles was performed on camel and foot, is related in reports from the Sind Martial Law area.

This patrol had received information that a gang was operating south-east of Sukkur and immediately set off in pursuit.

Trackers assisted the patrol and, at one stage, after travelling for about three hours, discovered that the trail had bifurcated which necessitated the patrol being split.

At last a part of the gang was traced to a small village. The force deployed and carried out a rapid search but the quarry had flown.

The track was then followed for a further ten miles and the gang overtaken.

The other section of the patrol was equally successful, and altogether 14 men and various members of their families were captured. Two guns were confiscated while amongst the baggage was discovered a silver tumbler inscribed as being presented by the Pir Pagaro.

A large military detachment has commenced a drive west of Shahdadpur towards Singh.

This widespread activity of military and police patrols has done much to spread a feeling of confidence throughout villages in the area, while the capture of the prominent Hur leader, Ahmed, a short time ago, has lessened considerably the number of organised dacoities.

During the week ending with June 23, 1942, seven dacoities occurred and two canals have been breached.

Hurs numbering 151 have been detained and are under examination. One Hur was shot when resisting arrest.

Night running on the Karachi-Lahore main line has been resumed.

Mischievous elements in one village are spreading rumours to the effect that troops search houses, rape women and loot. The headman has been ordered to trace the source of these stories and authorised to carry out arrests. The absurdity of such stories is instanced by the following extract from the *Mirpurkhas Gazette* :—

"We take pleasure in writing that the conduct of Military in Mirpurkhas and suburbs has remained so far satisfactory. No complaint of any sort has been heard of anywhere. Every merchant, hotel-keeper or fruit-vendor receives his proper dues. We express our gratefulness for this to the Military Officer-in-Charge on behalf of the public and hope that he will maintain discipline so that no occasion should arise for any complaint."



### Notorious Hur arrested

Ahmed, son of Hussain Mhar Dars, who was wanted in connection with many offences, including the murder of Pir Fatehalishah in 1936, has been arrested by a military patrol along with two of his sub-lieutenants and ten other Hurs. Another leader, Yusaf, who escaped, is being pursued. Ahmed was the most prominent Hur leader in the Sukkur area.

The Sukkur area has been the scene of much military and police activity. While a combined military and police sweep through the hills to the south-east of Sukkur searched five villages and raided another, resulting in 20 arrests, a military detachment was surprising 30 to 40 men attempting to erect an obstacle on the road between Tando Adan and Saidabad about 160 miles from Sukkur. Another detachment patrolling the area Matari arrested eight men who have been sent to Hyderabad Jail. A patrol at Sakrand has arrested 28 Hurs while a raid carried out in this area yielded a further ten prisoners. A particularly fruitful search was made of villages in the Gandoo Deh area and among articles confiscated have been a rifle, a cartridge making machine and a number of cartridges. Further bad characters armed with hatchets have been apprehended. In some cases bribes of Rs. 60 per head were vainly offered to the police.

Consequent on the murder of a P.W.D. Sub-Divisional Officer by Hurs on June 4, punitive measures have been taken against villages in the Lotko area, known to have harboured accomplices. These villages are nine miles south of Sanghar which is 60 miles north-east of Hyderabad near the Nira Canal.

Reports of dacoities continue to come in. Some have been reported from Singhor and Khirpo respectively 60 miles north-east and east of Hyderabad; in connection with them 25 arrests have been made. Deh Robo has been raided by dacoits armed with guns, two people being murdered and two houses looted. As a result of these dacoities a considerable round-up has been carried out, and arrests include one party of 260 by the military and another 30 suspects apprehended in Shahpur, and Mirpur Mathelo. Two informers have been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

### Hurs use strange Weapons

Locked away in a room at the headquarters of Upper Sind Forces, Hyderabad, are antique firing pieces, noise-makers, and axes—property of 1942 gangsters.

Powder and small shot take the place of the tommy-gun; in place of the automatic they use the pistol which was the pride of the highwaymen of old.

This odd assortment of weapons has been collected by military and police forces operating in Sind against the Hurs. These are the arms with which the Hurs ride out against villages and small communities to murder and loot. Each weapon in this museum-armoury is laid out on a table. Underneath is a label tersely telling the story.

### Boomerangs

One interesting weapon is a fairly good substitute for the Nazi-concentration camp rubber truncheon. It is a length of wire hawser with a substantial piece of lead at one end. Says the official note: "Bludgeon. This was constructed from a piece of wire hawser stolen from a telegraph pole."

With this strange collection of weapons are scales for measuring out powder and shot and a bag containing small shot—round pellets—which flatten when they strike their target and are extremely difficult to remove.

Boomerangs too, are there; but apparently the Hurs are not adept at the use of this type of weapon.

Noise-makers on view are particularly interesting. They consist of long pieces of hollow lead tubing with bowls, like pipes, at the ends. In these bowls gun-powder is fired, the tactics being to trick the local inhabitants into thinking the Hurs' armament is much heavier and more numerous than it is.

Iron rations, too, are remembered by the Hurs. A bottle is shown with herbs like tea leaves in it. This is described as a "thirst-quenching mixture of alacki and ghulkand."

But the Hurs' great weapon is the axe. Their method is to shoot a person with a gun or rifle at extremely close quarters—in the stomach—and then to drag him for a distance by the legs and finish the business with the axe.

With large numbers of Hurs being rounded up, however, it becomes increasingly clear that their mentality is almost entirely of the "stab-in-the-back" type.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

The All India Muslim League

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

The All Parties Conference

and

other Provincial Conferences

**JANUARY—JUNE 1942**

# The Indian National Congress

## Proceedings of the Working Committee

*Bardoli—December 23 to December 30, 1941*

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bardoli on December 23 to December 30, 1941, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. Members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajgopalachariar, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Saankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Khan Sahab were present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Committee throughout.

The following resolutions were passed :—

### POLITICAL SITUATION

*(For text of the resolution refer A. I. C. C. proceedings).*

### GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognise the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhiji. But the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.

*Bardoli—30-12-1941*

Dear Maulana Sahib,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all war on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill-will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will therefore please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for the speech against all war with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

### WORKING COMMITTEE INSTRUCTIONS

Recent development in the world situation have brought war near to India's frontiers. This may lead to internal dislocation in certain parts

of the country and there is a possibility of some cities being subjected to aërial attack. Whatever dangers and difficulties might arise, the real antidote to them is to remain cool and collected and on no account to give way to nervousness and excitement. Congressmen must remain at their posts and continue their service of the people; wherever necessity arises they should yield places of safety to those in greater need and be ready to render aid to those who may require it.

The Congress can help and serve the people in the difficult times ahead only if its organisation is strong and disciplined and Congressmen individually and Congress Committees are able to command confidence in their respective localities. Congress Committees and Congressmen should, therefore, address themselves immediately to the task of strengthening the organisation and maintaining contacts with the people in the villages and towns. Every village should, as far as possible, receive the message of the Congress and be prepared to face such difficulties as might arise.

The constructive programme adopted by the Congress, and explained from time to time by Gandhiji, is of particular importance at this juncture. It is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the co-operative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contacts with the people and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence. The Working Committee, therefore, call upon Congress Committees and workers to further this programme intensively, and thus exercise a steadying and strengthening influence in times of dislocation and uneasiness.

During such times there is always a possibility of trouble being created by unsocial elements in the country. To avoid the emergence of such a situation and to meet it when it arises, volunteers should be organised in both the urban and rural areas. Such organisations should be formed on the basis of strict non-violence and it should always be remembered that the Congress adheres to this principle. These volunteers may co-operate with other organisations working for similar ends. This volunteer organisation is meant for rendering service to the people both normally and in the event of possible internal commotion. It should, therefore, avoid conflict with the authorities.

Prices of commodities have already risen and are causing distress among the people and no adequate steps have so far been taken by the authorities to meet this situation. These tendencies are likely to be accentuated in the future, and dislocation of trade and transport, due to stress of war, may lead to scarcity of the necessaries of life as well as of many other things which are of every day use. Big scale industries in other countries have suffered heavily on account of the war and transport of goods has become difficult on account of military requirements. China has largely overcome these difficulties by a wide-spread development of village industries. India may have to face similar problems, and village and cottage industries afford a solution, desirable in itself, and more particularly, suited to the needs of the moment. Such industries can escape to a large extent the effects of dislocation of trade and transport. It is, therefore, necessary that this item of the constructive programme should be widely taken up and worked up with vigour and earnestness so that the countryside may be rendered, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to the necessaries of life. The Committee would especially recommend to the villagers the growing of food crops at least to cover the needs of the village and appeal to the grain dealers not to hold up stores for profit but to release them for consumption at fair prices.

In cases of emergency, when instructions are issued to the public by the authorities for the preservation of life and property and the maintenance of public order, Congressmen should avoid conflict with the authorities. They should carry out such instructions, unless they are contrary to Congress directions.

#### SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

The Soviet Union has stood for certain human, cultural and social values which are of great importance to the growth and progress of humanity. The Working Committee consider that it would be a tragedy if the cataclysm of war involved the destruction of this endeavour and achievement. They have admired

the astonishing self-sacrifice and heroic courage of the Soviet people in defence of their country and freedom, and send to them their warm sympathy.

The Committee also send their greetings to the Chinese people who, through four and a half years of devastating war and suffering, have never wavered and have set an example of unparalleled heroism.

#### INDIANS IN MALAYA AND BURMA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress record their deep sympathy with the people of Malaya, Burma and the East Indies, particularly the Indian residents in those countries, in the trials and hardships they are facing as a result of the world conflict between ambitious and grasping nations. India, absorbed in her own problems and difficulties, cannot forget her children abroad and trust that they will, in the midst of the novel perils they have to face, hold together and organise such mutual help as may be possible, and thus wrench strength out of misfortune.

#### ORISSA MINISTRY

Ever since the Congress ministry resigned in Orissa efforts have from time to time been made to set up another ministry. The Working Committee notes with regret that some members of the Congress Party have been associated with these designs and one of them has been appointed a minister. Such members have been called upon by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to resign their seats and fulfil their election pledge. Public meetings have been held in their constituencies at which their conduct has been condemned and they have been called upon by their electors to resign their seats, as they have forfeited their confidence. But they have failed to do so.

The Working Committee considers their conduct as a betrayal of their constituencies and contrary to ordinary constitutional usage and integrity and therefore, deserving of the severest condemnation.

The normal functioning of the Act of 1935 had been suspended under Section 93 of the Act and the Legislative Assembly has not met for more than two years now. When the notification under Section 93 had been withdrawn and a new ministry had been formed, it was bound to take the earliest opportunity to seek a vote of confidence from the legislature. But the Assembly has not been convened although weeks have elapsed since the formation of the ministry. The Working Committee is of opinion that the Governor's failure to convene the Assembly thus deprives its members of their rights to pronounce their verdict on the conduct of the new ministry and is deserving of condemnation, specially in the circumstances mentioned above. A vacancy caused by the death of a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly has remained unfilled for a long time and no steps have been taken even after the withdrawal of the proclamation under Section 93, to hold a bye-election in that constituency. This omission which has resulted in depriving the electorate of its right to elect a representative, in the light of recent developments, is of a piece with the other unconstitutional acts mentioned above and equally deserves condemnation.

The Working Committee approves of the action of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee in calling upon the recalcitrant members to resign their seats and authorises the President and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to take such disciplinary or other action as may be necessary.

#### A. I. C. C. MEETING AT WARDHA

The Working Committee decided that a meeting of the A. I. C. C. be held at Wardha on January 15 and subsequent days to consider the present political situation.

### Proceedings of the Working Committee

*Wardha—January 13 to January 17, 1942*

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from January 13 to 17, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Govind Ballabh Pant, Jumnalal Bajaj, Shankar Rao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Syed Mahmud, Profulla Chandra Ghose, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya was present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Committee throughout. The following resolutions were passed:—

### INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress Committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity the Independence Day on January 26, 1942. Since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence. The celebrations on the 26th must express the declaration of our national will to freedom.

The Working Committee call upon all Congressmen and women to take the Independence Pledge given under in public meetings called for the purpose. Where owing to illness or other physical disability or owing to being an out of the way place, individual Congressmen are unable to attend a public meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes individually or in groups.

### PLEDGE

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the India people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain Independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading good-will among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinction between the caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget the distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charka and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi, and so far as possible, products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress, whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."

### RE-FUNCTIONING OF CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The President's instructions dated December 27 about the refunctioning of Congress Committees are confirmed. All elective Congress Committees will, therefore, continue to function as such and will consist of Satyagrahis as decided after the Ramgarh Congress. Those members who ceased to be members of the Committee by not signing the Satyagraha pledge or after signing it did not offer Satyagraha when called upon to do so, will not be considered members of those Committees any longer, unless they were exempted from Satyagraha or were prevented by illness or other sufficient reason from offering it. Provincial executives will consider such cases and take action in accordance with the principles laid down above.

## PRIMARY MEMBERSHIP

All those who pay their subscription for the year 41 and 42 on or before the 30th June shall be deemed to have been primary members of the Congress for those years in terms of articles III and IV of the Congress Constitution.

The Working Committee also considered the non-official resolutions to be moved at the A. I. C. C. meeting.

The Committee considered the following matters.

## (1) THE PUNJAB ASSEMBLY PARTY

The Committee considered the representation from the Congress Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly requesting permission to attend the Assembly meetings. The Committee after consulting Main Ifikharuddin and some members of the Assembly decided that in the existing circumstances no useful purpose will be served by lifting the ban against Congress members attending the Punjab Assembly. The Parliamentary Board may, however, permit attendance under special circumstances for specific purposes.

## (2) ASSAM

The president reported to the Committee that he had been informed that Lakhimpur in the province of Assam had been declared by the Government as a Notified Area. As a consequence many normal activities of the Congress were banned. Congressmen in the province asked for directions. The Committee decided that Congressmen in Lakhimpur should carry on normal Congress activities as far as possible and avoid conflict with the authorities.

## (3) PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE A. I. C. C.

In view of the suspension of the normal activities of the Congress due to the inauguration of Individual Civil Disobedience movement the Committee decided that the provincial contributions to the A. I. C. C. for the year 1941 be remitted and only contributions for the year 1942 be realized.

## (4) DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that members of the Forward Bloc and the Communist Party have been carrying on for a long time anti-Congress propaganda and activities. For the Central Assembly bye-election the Forward Bloc set up a candidate of their own against the nominee. The Committee decided that it was open to any P. C. C. to take disciplinary action against members of any group if their activities were against Congress policies and if they flouted Congress discipline.

## (5) FUNDS OF THE WEST KISTNA GODAVARI DISTRICT

The Committee passed the following resolution about the funds of West Kistna Godavari district deposited in the Andhra Bank.

Read letter from Mr. A. Anjappa forwarded by the President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

Resolved that

If the suit filed by Mr. A. Anjappa in the Bezwada subcourt is withdrawn by the party as stated in the aforesaid letter, the President, A. I. C. C. is authorised to arrange with the Andhra Bank Ltd., Masulipatam and to draw at once the deposit in the Bank made in the name of Shri Rajendra Prasad as President of the A. I. C. C.

The President is further authorised to make the money available for utilisation in the following manner :—

The amount shall be spent for some item or items falling within the purview of the Constructive programme of the Congress at such centre or centres in the West Kistna District and in such manner as may be decided upon by a Board appointed by the Executive Committee of the Andhra P. C. C. in which Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and a representative chosen by the Executive Committee of the West Kistna District Congress Committee shall be included. The Andhra P. C. C. Executive may include also a member as suggested in Mr. A. Anjappa's letter. The Board so appointed shall hold the moneys and utilize them for the aforesaid purpose, the tenure of the members of the Board and the rules under which they shall function shall be settled by the Executive of the Andhra P. C. C.

## (6) LOCAL BODIES

The Committee was of opinion that it was not desirable at present for Congressmen to involve themselves in local bodies elections. The P. C. C., however

are left free to decide this question in the light of local circumstances subject to the general Congress policy of non-participation in war effort.

## Proceedings of the A. I. C. C. Meeting

*Wardha—January 15 and 16, 1942*

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held at Wardha on January 15 and 16 in a spacious pandal erected for the purpose, 219 members out of a total of 390 were present. The province-wise attendance was as follows :—

Sl. No.	Province	No. of members present	Total strength of the Province
1.	Ajmer	5	5
2.	Andhra	20	27
3.	Assam	3	8
4.	Bihar	18	41
5.	Bengal	21	51
6.	Bombay	3	5
7.	Delhi	4	4
8.	Gujarat	12	18
9.	Karnatak	8	16
10.	Kerala	4	12
11.	Mahakoshal	15	15
12.	Maharashtra	15	22
13.	Nagpur	5	5
14.	N. W. F. P.	3	7
15.	Punjab	10	29
16.	Sind	5	5
17.	Tamilnadu	18	29
18.	U. P.	27	64
19.	Utkal	14	18
20.	Vidarbha	4	5
	President	1	
	Ex-presidents	4	6
		<hr/> 219	<hr/> 390

### THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Commencing the proceedings *Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad*, the Congress President reviewed the events that led to the Bombay resolution of the A. I. C. C. in 1940 and the individual civil disobedience movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. He also explained the circumstances under which the Bardoli resolution of the Working Committee was passed.

Maulana Sahib said : "Nothing had happened to warrant a change in the country's attitude. We were today exactly where we were fifteen months ago when the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and passed the resolution on Satyagraha. We had not moved an inch forward. Not that we did not want to move. We wanted control of the Government of our country, we wanted freedom and independence whether in times of peace or war." Proceeding he said that he had no doubt that the members present would agree with the Working Committee that nothing has happened during the last fifteen months to induce Congress to change its attitude to war which was one of complete non-co-operation. That was the Congress position in 1940 and that remains the position today.

The Congress President then explained that there were two alternatives before the Congress : One was slavish submission to the autocracy that rules the country and the other declaration to the world of our attitude to the present war which was one of non-co-operation with it unless certain vital conditions were fulfilled. At Bombay, nay, earlier, the Congress turned a new leaf. It was imperative to give a fight in order to protect the honour and maintain the very existence of the Congress. The movement launched by Gandhiji in terms of the Bombay resolution was of a special kind. It was a representative and selective movement. All the previous Civil Disobedience Movements were mass movements. This one was confined to select individuals. It was not the aim of the movement to embarrass the Government in its war effort.

At Bardoli the events of the last fifteen months were reviewed and stock of the existing situation taken. The outcome of Bardoli deliberations was before the members.



The Congress president then explained wherein he and many other members of the Working Committee differed from Gandhiji leading to Gandhiji's decision to be relieved of the official leadership of the Congress. Gandhiji was opposed to participation in the war on the pure ground of non-violence whereas they were opposed to it on political grounds. Gandhiji had declared that he would not have the independence of India if secured at the cost of non-violence and on the condition that the country should participate in war. That was not his (Maulana Sahib's) position or of those who agreed with him. He was prepared to accept the independence of the country at any time it was available, whether in times of peace or under the shadow of war. He would of course make certain that the Independence got or achieved was of the genuine variety. Nothing pained him more than to have to differ from Gandhiji but he could not be false to himself. If the political demand formulated by the Congress was conceded and the country had full and genuine independence he did not think the country would reject it. Though it was a remote contingency it could not be ruled out of calculation.

People had misunderstood the Bardoli resolution, said Maulana Sahib, the reason being the simultaneous appearance of another resolution of the Working Committee by which Gandhiji was relieved of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution. The two resolutions were independent of each other. It was not correct to say that Gandhiji was relieved of the leadership of the Congress in order to enable the Working Committee to repeat its conditional offer of participation in the war. The resolution of the Working Committee was no more than restatement of the well known Congress position. The bonds between the Congress and Gandhiji were indissoluble; death alone could snap them.

#### MINUTES

After the speech of the Congress President the General Secretary placed before the Committee the minutes of the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. held at Bombay on June 19, 1940. The minutes were duly confirmed.

#### CONDOLENCE

The following condolence resolutions were passed :—

##### SRINIVASA IYENGAR

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. records its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Sri Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-president of the Congress and conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family.

##### RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

The All India Congress Committee offers its sorrowful and reverent homage to the memory of Rabindra Nath Tagore who has passed away in the fullness of his magnificent achievement, leaving an imperishable heritage to his country and the world. India thinks of him with pride and gratitude and glories in this great son of hers who came in line with her ancient sages and as an embodiment of her own rich and manifold culture. Full of the wisdom that has been India's splendid inheritance, he was a living synthesis of the old and the new, of the East and the West. To our rich inheritance he added the glowing products of his mind and imagination and created a world of song and joy and beauty which lightened the burden of the present generation and which will inspire the generations to come. True son of India, he yearned and laboured for the freedom of the motherland and the ending of her poverty and her many other ills; true citizen of the world, who knew no narrow boundaries, he sought peace and freedom and enlightenment for mankind. In Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati he created the schools and university of his dreams and it is India's privilege and duty to nurture them, so that they may grow and flower and be the monument of one whose magnificent life will ever be a challenge and an inspiration to his countrymen.

#### A. I. C. C. MEMBERS AND OTHER CONGRESSMEN

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its sense of sorrow at the death of those members of this committee and other congressmen who have passed away during the last 15 months and conveys to the bereaved families its sincere sympathy.

#### GANDHIJ'S SPEECH

After the passing of the condolence resolutions the President requested Mahatma

Gandhi to address the members. The following is a summary of Gandhiji's speech in Hindustani introducing the Bardoli Resolution.

I was not a little perturbed when the Maulana raised me sky-high. I do not live up in the air. I am of the earth, earthy. I have never seen an aeroplane. I am like you, an ordinary mortal made of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee in Bardoli. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good not bad. But before I say anything on the question, let me make one or two things clear.

I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Had that not been the case, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa with me is a creed, the breath of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India, or for the matter of that before anyone except in casual informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. It may be it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried it for the first time in South Africa—after I found that all the so-called constitutional remedies, with which Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. The question there was exclusively of the political existence of Indians who had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty hawkers, etc. It was for them a question of life and death, and it was in dealing with it that this method of non-violence came to me. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served us in the past, it has enabled us to cover many stages towards Independence, and it is as a politician that I suggest to you that it is a grave mistake to contemplate its abandonment. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is in my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is new.

The Maulana has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. I have been taunted as a Bania. I regard that as a certificate of merit. The article in my possession is an invaluable pearl. It has to be weighed in the proper scales, and those who can pay the price for it can have it. It cannot be bartered away even for Independence.

Non-violence has brought us near to Swaraj as never before. We dare not exchange it even for Swaraj. For Swaraj thus got will be no true Swaraj. The question is not what we will do after Swaraj. It is whether under given conditions we can give up non-violence to win Swaraj. Again, do you expect to win real Independence by abandoning non-violence? Independence for me means the Independence of the humblest and poorest amongst us. It cannot be obtained by joining the war. For the Congress to join any war before the attainment of Complete Independence is to undo the work of the past twenty years.

And yet why is it that I stand before you to plead with you to accept the resolution, and not even to divide the house? The reason is that the resolution reflects the Congress mind. It undoubtedly is a step backward. We have not a clean slate to write on. Our elders have taken a step which has produced world-wide reactions. To alter the resolution out of shape is to ignore these. It would be unwise to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. The world had a right to think that the Working Committee's policy would be endorsed by you. At one time I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C., but I saw that it would be a mistake. It would be almost violence. Non-violence does not act in the ordinary way.

Sometimes a step back is a prelude to a step forward. It is highly likely that our step will be of that character.

The resolution is a mirror in which all groups can see themselves. The original was Jawaharlalji's draft, but it was referred to a sub-committee at whose hands it has undergone material changes. The original had left no room for Rajaji to work. The sub-committee opened a tiny window for him to squeeze in. Jawaharlalji's opposition to participation in the effort is almost as strong as mine, though his reasons are different. Rajaji would participate, if certain conditions acceptable to the Congress were fulfilled. The non-violent non-co-operators like Rajendra Babu have certainly a place, for, until the remote event takes place, non-violence rules supreme.

It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress critics to say that the Congress has banged the door to negotiation on the impossible or unpolitical ground of non-violence. The resolution throws the burden on the Government of wooing the Congress on the basis of participation in the war effort. That nothing is to be expected from the Government is probably too true. Only the resolution puts the Congress right with the expectant world. And since there is a party in the Congress who will welcome an honourable offer that will satisfy the rigidest test it is as well that the resolution has accommodated this party. It is likely in the end to make all of one mind. Out and out believers in non-violence of the political type have the whole field open to them.

When there was a talk of the A. I. C. C. being possibly divided, several people contemplated the prospect with trepidation, lest the Congress should again listen to mad Gandhi's advice in order to retain his leadership, and become a religious organisation instead of the political organisation that it has been all these years. Let me disabuse them of their fear, and say that the Congress can do no such thing, that we have not wasted the past twenty years. All that the Congress has decided to do is that it will allow the world to deal with it in terms that the world can understand, and if the terms are good enough, it will accept them. But you may be also sure that the Congress will not be easily satisfied. It will go on repeating 'Not this', 'Not this', until it wins the real commodity it wants. You will, therefore, say exactly what you want, and I will also say all I want. That is why I have decided to issue three weeklies, and I will go on venting my views therein with the fullest freedom, as long as I am allowed to do so. In the meanwhile, if you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain, and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear. I therefore do want to cheat the world of its jubilation over the resolution. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. I do not want it to be said that in order to retain my leadership you bade good-bye to your convictions.

Some friends have complained that the resolution has no operative clause. The complaint is true so far as the resolution is concerned. The resolution had to be merely explanatory. It is addressed less to Congressmen, it is addressed to the world. It is not even addressed to the Government.

But there are the instructions about the constructive programme for Congressmen. They form the operative part. It is a substitute for civil disobedience and the parliamentary programme. Civil disobedience has been wisely reserved for me as an expert. It is good that, so long as I am alive and well in mind, it is so reserved. And so far as I am concerned, there will be none, if the Government do not interfere with *Harijan*. For this weekly will constitute enough propaganda against Germans, Italians or Japanese. I can have none against the Russians who have done great things for the proletariat. The Chinese sail in the same boat with us. I would like to think that India will, through her non-violence, be a messenger of peace to the whole world. Even political non-violence has potency of which we have no conception. *Harijan* will deliver the message of peace from week to week. But if this is not permitted, then will be the time for civil disobedience as a token. I want every worker to be out for constructive work. And if I am rendered penless, I may become the sole resister. But I have no fixed plan. Events will show the way.

So much for civil disobedience.

Though the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, in my opinion the parliamentary programme can have no place in Congress work so long as the war lasts. The Congress cannot handle it without identifying itself with the war effort. I have always held that at all times it is the least part of a nation's activity. The most important and permanent work is done outside. Legislators are not the masters but servants of their electors—the nation. The less, therefore, we look at and depend upon parliaments the better. Power resides in the people either through their arms or through their civil disobedience, more comprehensively described as non-violent non-cooperation. But the power of non-cooperation comes only through solid, incessant constructive work. Non-violent strength comes from construction, not destruction. Hence today the constructive programme is the only thing before the Congress. And in this all parties are at one.

Do not please go away with the idea that there is a rift in the Congress lute. The Working Committee has worked like members of a happy family. Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. It will require much

more than differences of opinion to estrange us. We have had differences from the moment we became co-workers, and yet I have said for some years and say now that not Rajaji but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says he does not understand my language, and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language.

Let there be no lack of understanding or zeal among Congressmen. Neither Jawaharlal nor Rajaji will let you be idle. I certainly will not. Lastly, let those who think the constructive programme is insipid know that there is nothing in the Working Committee's resolutions to prevent a Congressman at his own risk from leading civil disobedience—individual or mass. If he succeeds, he will win nothing but praise from all. But let me warn enthusiasts that they will not handle the weapon with any success. They will only damage themselves and the cause by any hasty or ignorant action. And let me say as your expert that those who regard the constructive programme as insipid do not know what non-violence is and how it works.

Some Congressmen are sorry because I have relinquished the leadership of Congress. You have not lost me. You would lose me only if I ceased to be loyal to the Congress, only if I became a visionary, only if I ceased to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that I left the Congress; I did so seven years ago at Bombay, and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. Colleagues like the Sardar and Rajendra Babu are not happy over the resolution, but I am asking them not to leave the Working Committee. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on, whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to the Congress. Those who built up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pherozeshah and Tilak are no more, but the Congress still functions. For they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. And if the passing away of these leaders has not made any difference, why should the withdrawal of other leaders make any?

#### Pt. Jawaharlal's Speech

*Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru* then moved the following resolution recommended by the Working Committee. The resolution was seconded by Rajagopalachari. The Working Committee resolution with a minor change accepted by the Committee was passed, 19 voting against it. Some members of the Committee remained neutral. All amendments moved were rejected.

#### POLITICAL SITUATION

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. The members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage when old problems assume a new significance and war approaches the frontiers of India bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially, in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endured on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the War in their statement issued on September 14, 1939, wherein they condemned Nazi and fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted upon, in so far as was possible, in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the recognition of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of

deliberate insult to Indian nationalism, of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organisations regarded as moderate has also been flouted.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled, in order to defend the honour and the elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the nationalist movement to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the satyagraha movement which he started to selected individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about twenty-five thousand Congressmen have suffered imprisonment while many thousands of others who offered satyagraha in the Frontier Province and elsewhere were not arrested. The Committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and are of opinion that this has strengthened the people.

Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Neither the professions of freedom and democracy, nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war, have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance and the circumstances attending it, and official pronouncements made make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. Large numbers of detenus, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial and whose only offence seems to be that they are ardent patriots impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, still remain in prison. Recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression *from any quarter* and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the large causes that are emerging from the storm of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promise can alter this background nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution of the A.I.C.C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, holds to-day and defines Congress policy still.

#### Babu Rajendra Prasad's Speech

In the course of the discussion on the resolution Babu *Rajendra Prasad* made the following statement clarifying the position of those members of the Working Committee who did not entirely agree with the resolution and had therefore remained neutral.

"I seek your permission to make my own position and that of some other members of the Working Committee clear regarding the resolution. This resolution opens the door, however small the opening may be, for armed help in this war particularly for the defence of the country and for the larger causes which are emerging out of it, provided that British Government accepts India's demands. Our belief is that arms have not settled any dispute in the world nor are they ever likely to do so in future. It is the universal experience of all countries that dependence on arms leads from one war to another. The defeated party starts preparing for another war so that it may defeat the victor and in this way one war lays the foundation of another war and nothing gets settled. We, therefore, believe that war has not solved any problem and nothing can be finally

Note: The amendment represented by the words in italics was accepted by the Working Committee.

settled so long as dependence on arms continues. What I am stating here is not a mere theoretical proposition. We are convinced that it is also politically necessary. The happenings in the world even in the course of the present war have shown the futility of armed resistance in the case of many countries which have had warlike traditions and had made tremendous preparations for war. It is politically wrong in our opinion to involve the country in war at this time. Having accepted the path of non-violence the country has made tremendous progress during the last twenty or twenty-two years. The benefit which the country has derived from it is obvious. We do not like to give up this tried principle at this critical time even to a limited extent. We, therefore, consider that the opening that this resolution provides for armed assistance in this war is not in the best interests of the country and we wish that India should not in this war and on the present occasion also in the least relax its hold of the principle of Ahimsa. We realise at the same time that by merely passing the resolution we are not called upon to take up arms today. That can happen only if the British Government makes a declaration in favour of Independence of India and transfers the responsibility of administration to our people. There appears to be no change of that happening today. We have not accordingly thought it necessary to resign from the Working Committee. When the British Government opens the way for armed assistance by the Congress, then will be the time for us to make our choice."

#### INSTRUCTIONS

The following 'Instructions' recommended by the Working Committee were passed by the A. I. C. C. :—

"This meeting of the A. I. C. C. endorses the following instructions issued by the Working Committee and calls upon all Provincial and other Subordinate Congress Committees to give effect to them within their respective areas. The Provincial Congress Committees are authorised to supplement them wherever necessary. The Committee expects every member of an elective Congress Committee to devote himself actively to the execution of some item of this programme, and to send periodical reports of the work done by him to his committee :—

*For text of the instructions see page 274.*

#### A. I. C. C. Circulars

The following circulars were issued by Sj. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary to all Provincial and District Congress Committees :—

*Circular No. 1.—January 21, 1942*

Now that the Bardoli resolution has been accepted by the A. I. C. C. all controversies created in its wake must cease. Congressmen and Congress Committees must forget the remote contingency of an understanding with the authorities, in which the mover of the resolution did not himself believe. They must direct their energies to the task before the country in the present emergency when the war has approached the borders of India. In this connection the Working Committee at Bardoli issued certain instructions for the guidance of Congressmen and Congress Committees which have since been embodied in a resolution of the A. I. C. C. A copy of these instructions was forwarded to you from our camp office at Bardoli. Copy of the resolution based upon the Bardoli instructions is sent herewith for your information and necessary action thereon.

The resolution rightly points out that the Congress can help and serve the people "only if its organisation is strong and disciplined." For then alone can congressmen command the confidence of the people. We must, therefore, address ourselves immediately "to the task of strengthening the organisation and reviving and maintaining contact with the people in the villages and towns". To this end it is essential that every village "should receive the message of the Congress." But this alone is not enough. The Congress message must be accompanied by concrete day to day activity. The present resolution states that the "constructive programme adopted by the Congress and explained from time to time by Gandhiji is of particular importance at this juncture." Worked in the spirit of its author, it means no harm whatsoever to any legitimate party or interest. In the words of the present resolution "it is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the cooperative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contact with the people and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence." In fact the constructive programme represents duties

neglected heretofore, the non-performance of which has principally resulted in our present state of helplessness and slavery. In the circumstances existing today, on account of war, when prices of commodities have already risen and are rising and causing distress and no adequate steps have been so far taken by the authorities to meet the situation "the constructive programme presents unique opportunities not only to steady the people but to serve and organise them." The high prices and scarcity due to dislocation of trade and transport are likely to increase than diminish in the near future, due to the increasing stress of war. At such a time it is not big industry, the target of the war machine, but small decentralised industry carried on in the villages, that is likely to help and serve us.

To secure effective and speedy working of the constructive programme following directions may be noted and carried out as far as possible.

(1) The P. C. Cs should get from all the districts lists of workers with their names and addresses and record of work. Such lists may also be sent to the A. I. C. C. office.

(2) Chief provincial workers should visit various districts and call meetings of workers and explain to them the steps that have to be taken for carrying out the various items of the programme. The names of such workers as consent to participate in any item or items of the programme must be recorded and suitable work organised for them.

(3) A Provincial member-in-charge or a sub-committee for constructive work be appointed. The person in charge or in the case of the committee its members must have full faith in the economic and political efficacy of the programme to be worked out. There may be similar members-in-charge or committees in the districts. Such members-in charge or committees will keep themselves in constant touch with workers in the district, understand and meet their difficulties, raise funds and do such other work as may be necessary for the efficient working of the programme.

(4) Training centres may be opened, if possible, in every district where workers will receive necessary training in the different departments of work undertaken. The P. C. Cs must also try to have the services of agricultural experts, who would advise village cultivators about the best food crops that can be grown and their substitutes in the present emergency.

(5) Days may be observed throughout the province to popularise different items of the constructive programme. For instance, there may be a Khadi Day, a Hindu-Muslim Unity Day, a Harijan Day, a rural uplift day and the like. These days should not be merely for show. They should serve to focus people's attention on the various aspects of our nation—building activity.

During these times of stress and strain, owing to the great poverty, unemployment and scarcity prevalent in the land, there are possibilities of food riots and consequent looting of grain shops, etc. We have reports of such looting and rioting from several places. Advantage may also be taken by anti-social forces of the prevalent uncertainty and scarcity to create internal confusion. If the constructive programme is worked in the proper spirit the possibilities of looting and rioting will be minimised. To that extent the anti-social forces can also be kept in check. But this may not be enough. Therefore, wherever possible volunteer corps may be formed. They must be principally in rural areas, for self-reliance, mutual cooperation and to face any emergency that may arise. Though a uniform and some sort of drill increase the efficiency of a volunteer corps, yet in the present circumstances, wherever there is any possibility of conflict with authorities or with rival organisations, such aids may be dispensed with. The external help derived from uniform, drill etc. can be more than compensated by the patriotic zeal and enthusiasm of the organisation and its members. Wherever possible the Congress volunteers should cooperate with like organisations of other parties with similar aims. It is needless to remind you that non-violence must be the basic principle of our volunteer organisation.

In short "To the villages" must be slogan of Congressmen. Every member of a Congress executive or of an elective Committee, if not every Primary Member, should make himself responsible for some one or more items of constructive programme. He must keep a careful day to day diary of his work. Such diaries must be inspected by the authorities from time to time and suggestions made and instructions issued in the light of what is recorded.

The A. I. C. C. office, must be kept fully informed of the organisational

now introduced and the progress of the work undertaken. The head office will always be happy and ready to cooperate in the effort.

Please acknowledge.

*Circular No. 2.—January 27, 1942*

(1) We are sending you herewith copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee at its last meeting held at Wardha about the enrolment of Primary members.

Those who want to continue their membership have to get themselves enrolled for the current as well as the preceding year and pay a consolidated fee of eight annas. Continuity of membership will entitle them to participate in elections as laid down in Art. VII Sub-clauses (a) and (c). Those who want to enrol themselves for this year have to pay the usual membership fee of four annas.

(2) The office has been receiving enquiries about matters connected with Local bodies. For the guidance of Congressmen and Congress Committees the Congress policy about local bodies is stated here afresh :—

The Congress policy of non-cooperation in war effort still continues. In accordance with that policy Congress parties must withdraw from such local bodies as have participated in the war effort in the past or do so now or in the future. Wherever Congressmen have withdrawn from such bodies they cannot contest bye-elections. An exception to this rule was made only in the case of Madras Corporation. It must be clearly understood that the act of cooperation in war effort is continuous. It lasts at least as long as the particular local body that cooperated in the war effort continues in existence.

In deciding whether Congress Committees should participate in any fresh elections to local bodies regard should be had to the circumstances prevailing in the province or localities concerned. There is no ban against contesting these elections. The Provincial Congress Committees are left free to decide the matter in the light of the effect such contests would have on the policy of non-participation in the war effort and the working of the general programme of the Congress.

*Circular No. 3.—February 3, 1942*

Several questions regarding the interpretation of the Working Committee resolution on 'refunctioning of Congress Committees' have been referred to us for decision. Since these questions affect a large number of congressmen, the position is made clear here.

A too rigid interpretation of the resolution should be avoided. It should be enough for the purpose of the resolution, if congressmen broadly conformed to the condition laid down therein. For example, those who went to jail once but could not repeat satyagraha on release should be allowed to remain on the elective committees. Also those intending satyagrahis who sent their names to Gandhiji for approval but were not accepted may be allowed to remain on the committees. Those who were arrested before the C. Disobedience movement started or those who were arrested under the Defence of India Rules during the pendency of the movement should be considered qualified for holding offices and remaining members of elective committees. In doubtful cases full advantage of the doubt must be given to the members concerned.

The policy to be followed should be liberal. No party prejudices must be allowed to vitiate a just and equitable decision. If yet there are complicated cases they must be referred to some impartial tribunal.

The expression 'elective committees' occurring in the resolution covers all Committees from the A. I. C. C. and the P. C. C. downward.

The vacancies created should be filled up. In the bye-elections nobody can stand as a candidate who is disqualified in terms of the resolution.

You will please send copy of this circular to your subordinate committees.

## Proceedings of the Working Committee

*Wardha—March 17-18, 1942*

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha on March 17 and 18, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhanlabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghose, Asaf Ali, Khan Sahib and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jairamdas Daulatram attended the meeting by special invitation. Gandhiji was present at the afternoon sitting of the Committee.



## MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha on January 13-17, 1942 were confirmed.

## LATE SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The Committee passed the following resolution on the death of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

The Working Committee record their deepest sorrow at the sudden and premature death of their colleague Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, who for twenty years was a member of the Committee and treasurer of the Congress, and who had set an example of selfless and silent sacrifice for the public good. In particular he had devoted himself to constructive national activities and built up numerous institutions which are today the living symbols of his great ability, self-sacrifice and capacity for organisation. In his death the country has lost a great true servant and a leader and Congressmen have been deprived of a dear comrade whose counsel was always precious, and who was as a brother to the many who worked with him. The Committee send their sincerest sympathy to Srimati Janki Bai Bajaj and to the other members of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's family.

## CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee considered the steps taken by the P. C. C. C.'s to carry out the programme of self-protection and self-sufficiency laid down by the A. I. C. C. in January last and the progress made so far. The Committee were of the opinion that while work was being organised in some provinces there was not sufficient stir in others. It decided that (i) the A. I. C. C. office should send out inspectors to the provinces often. (ii) The provinces should seek greater co-operation from the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. (iii) The A. I. C. C. office should send further instructions to the P. C. C.'s.

## PUNJAB

The President placed before the Committee a letter from the leader of the Congress Assembly Party in the Punjab asking for premission to attend the Assembly. The Committee was of opinion that nothing had happened which called for change in its previous decision. The parliamentary Sub-Committee was free to permit attendance on special occasions for specific purposes.

## Proceedings of the Working Committee

*Delhi—March 29 to April 11, 1942*

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Delhi from March 29 to April 11, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali, Khan Sahib and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya was present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Working Committee meetings till April 4th.

## DRAFT DECLARATION

The Committee considered the draft declaration issued by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government. The resolution of the Working Committee on this declaration as also the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps are given in full in page 224 and following.

## NATIONAL WEEK

The Committee passed the following resolution for the observance of the National Week.

"The National week this year has been upon us at a time of great crisis and peril to the nation. It is incumbent upon us all to prepare ourselves in every way to face this crisis and, whatever the larger policies that may be followed in an ever-changing situation, is clear that the present Congress Programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection is the essential foundation of every other policy and activity that might be undertaken. To this programme and to the constructive activities included in it, therefore, Congressmen must address themselves intensively during this week."

### TREASURER

The Congress President nominated Sardar Vallabhbhai Patil as treasurer of the A. I. C. C. in the vacancy caused by the death of Seth Jammalal Bajaj.

### WORKING COMMITTEE

The President nominated Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya a member of the Working Committee in the vacancy caused on that committee by the death of Seth Jammalal Bajaj.

## Proceedings of the Working Committee

*Allahabad—April 27 to May 1, 1942*

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Allahabad from April 27 to May 1, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. Members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Jairamdas Daulatram, Naiendradev, Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Achyut Patwardhan, S. Satyamurti, Vishwanath Das, Gopinath Bardoli, were present by special invitation.

### DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE A. I. C. C.

The Committee passed the following draft resolutions for the A.I.C.C. (For text of the resolutions see proceedings of the A.I.C.C. page 291).

The Committee approved of the following Draft resolution on the political situation in the country, to be placed before the A.I.C.C. (For text of the resolution see proceedings of the A.I.C.C. page 293).

### THE MADRAS RESOLUTIONS\*

The Committee considered the two resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature party under the presidency of Shri Rajagopalachariar. The President observed that the resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature were at variance with the declared policy of the Congress. As a responsible member of the Working Committee Shri Rajagopalachariar should have avoided all association with the two resolutions. If he felt strongly on the subject he should have discussed the matter with his colleagues of the Working Committee before giving expression to his views. In the event of his being unable to carry the Working Committee with him, it was open to him to resign and then propagate his views. Shri Rajagopalachariar admitted that knowing as he did the views of his colleagues of the Working Committee on the subject, he should have first talked the matter over with them before moving the two resolutions at the Congress Assembly Party in Madras. He was, however, unable to withdraw the two resolutions as they represented his considered views. In his letter of resignation addressed to the President, he expressed his regret for publicly ventilating his views on a highly controversial question before consulting the President. Following is the full text of his letter to the President, dated Allahabad, 30th. April 1942 :—

Dear Maulana Sahib,

With reference to your observations on the resolutions passed on my motion by the Madras Congress Legislative Party, I admit that I should have talked the matter over with you and other colleagues of the Working Committee before moving the resolutions, knowing as I did their disagreement on the subject. I write this to express my regret.

I have explained to you already how strongly I feel. I believe that I should be failing in my duty if I do not endeavour to get people to think and act in the direction which my conviction leads to. I feel that in the public interest I should move the resolutions already notified by Mr. Santanam. I desire, therefore, to request you to permit me to resign my place in the Working Committee.

Let me tender my grateful thanks for the unqualified trust and affection bestowed on me by you and the other colleagues during all these many years that I have served in the Committee.

Yours sincerely  
C. Rajagopalachariar

The President regretfully accepted the resignation of Shri Rajagopalachariar from the Working Committee.

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\*Passed on the 23rd. April 1942. For text see Chronicle of Events.

## Proceedings of the All India Congress Committee

*Allahabad—April 29 to May 2, 1942*

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Allahabad on April 29-30 and May 1-2, 1942 in the special pandal erected for the purpose. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. One hundred and seventy members were present.

The provincewise attendance was as follows :—

Ex-Presidents	..	...	...	...	4
Ajmer	...	...	...	...	2
Andhra	...	...	...	...	12
Assam	.	...	...	...	2
Bihar	.	...	...	...	16
Bengal	.	...	...	...	22
Bombay	...	...	...	...	4
Delhi	..	...	...	...	4
(Gujrat	...	...	...	...	9
Karnatak	...	...	...	...	0
Kerala	...	...	...	...	1
Mahakoshal	...	...	...	...	9
Maharashtra	...	...	...	...	8
Nagpur	...	...	...	...	4
N. W. F. P.	...	...	...	...	4
Punjab	...	...	...	...	13
Sind	.	...	...	...	4
Tamil Nadu	...	...	...	...	10
United Provinces	.	...	...	...	36
Utkal	...	...	...	...	4
Vidarbha	...	...	...	...	2

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170

### MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the A.I.C.C. held at Wardha on January 15-16 were confirmed.

### THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Commencing the proceedings the *President* traced the course of Congress-Cripps' negotiations. He said that a month and a half back they met at Wardha. At that time it was known that the British Government had decided to make a new approach to the Indian problem. It was announced that Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the War-Cabinet, would proceed to India with fresh proposals for the settlement of the Indian problem. The Working Committee at Wardha decided that he (the Congress President) should meet him on behalf of the Congress. After meeting him, if he thought necessary, a meeting of the Working Committee may be called.

He had, he said, a series of interviews with Sir Stafford Cripps. He told Sir Stafford Cripps that the draft declaration as he read it was disappointing. It gave nothing. The bulk of it referred to an uncertain future. The proposals about the present were not vague yielded nothing to popular control. Defence was to be the sole responsibility of His Majesty's Government in England. This reservation reduced to nullity the supposed transfer of power from British to Indian hands. In war time defence covered every sphere of civil administration and if defence was reserved everything was reserved.

Sir Stafford in his earlier talks, had assured the Maulana Sahib that what was contemplated in the draft was a national Government. The position of the Viceroy vis-a-vis the government would be the same as that of a constitutional monarch in relation to his Cabinet. Maulana Sahib pointed out that the way the communal and the Indian States' problems were sought to be settled was highly objectionable. In any case these problems should have been left to be settled by Indians themselves. As time passed the picture he (Sir Stafford) had conjured up at the beginning of the negotiations began to fade away. What was left was not worth looking at.

The British attitude, continued the Maulana Sahib, had been helpful ever since the outbreak of War. While the Congress had made it clear to the country and to the world that if ever an accommodating spirit was necessary for a

settlement, it was there in their resolutions. They had gone far to secure a settlement but it was clear that the British Government had no trust in them. The Government was not prepared to entrust defence to Indians. The stand taken up by the Working Committee with regard to the Cripps proposals would have involved them in active participation in the war. It was well known that some members of the Working Committee were with Mahatma Gandhi in their support of out and out non-violence. But he was happy to say that throughout the two weeks of the Delhi negotiations these members viewed every proposal from the point of view of those colleagues of theirs who believed in the defence of their country by other than non-violent means. They made it clear that consistently with their firm belief in non-violence they would do their best to assist any national Government that was formed as a result of the negotiations. The president had nothing but praise for them. Whatever decisions they made were unanimous. It would be wrong to say that they considered the Cripps proposals without having in their minds a clear idea as to the lines on which the communal and other problems should be solved. But so far as Sir Stafford Cripps' mission was concerned the only question they were considering at the time was that of transfer of power from British to Indian hands. He had no doubt that they would have produced a satisfactory solution of the communal problem if the question of transfer of political power had been satisfactorily settled.

It was said in some quarters that the Cripps' mission though it did not produce a settlement had succeeded in changing the attitude of the people towards the war. This was absolutely wrong and misleading. If anything, the mission had done almost irreparable injury. It must be understood that a slave India will have nothing to do with the war. Only a free India can defend itself. Sir Stafford Cripps was now saying that the initiative in dealing with the Indian situation must henceforth lie with the leaders of the Indian people and not the British Government. The Maulana made it plain that the Congress would take no further initiative in the matter.

The Maulana then referred to the imminent peril of invasion by Japan. Only a slave mind could imagine that Japan would give India freedom. National self-respect demanded that they should not think in terms of a change of masters. They would resist the Japanese aggression, their differences with Britain notwithstanding. There could be no welcome for Japan, whether active or passive. Had they been a free country they would have resorted to armed resistance, if any country attacked them. But armed resistance was denied to them. The weapon of non-violence was, however, with them for the last twenty-two years. No one could take away this weapon from them, and they were determined to use it.

#### Resolutions—LATE SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The following condolence resolution was moved from the chair and passed, all standing :—

The All India Congress Committee recorded their deepest sorrow at the sudden death of their colleague, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj who for twenty years was a member of this Committee, the Working Committee and was also the treasurer of the Congress, and who had set an example of selfless and silent sacrifice for the public good. In particular, he had devoted himself to constructive national activities and built up numerous institutions which are today the living symbols of his great ability, self-sacrifice and capacity for organisation. In his death the country has lost a great and true servant and a leader, and Congressmen have been deprived of a dear comrade whose counsel was always precious, and who was as a brother to the many who worked with him. The Committee send their sincerest sympathy to Srimati Janki Bai Bajaj and to the other members of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's family.

#### REJECTION OF CRIPPS' PROPOSALS

Shri Rajendra Prasad then moved the following resolution on the draft proposals of the British government. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Asaf Ali :—

"The All India Congress Committee having considered the resolution of the Working Committee in regard to the proposals of the British Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps and the correspondence between him and the Congress President endorses and approves the decision of the Working Committee."

The resolution was passed with only four members dissenting.

Two members from the Punjab, *Sardar Pratap Singh* and *Gopal Singh Gauri* sought permission to move an amendment to that part of the resolution on Cripps' proposals that dealt with the point of non-accession of the provinces to the Indian union. The President held the amendment out of order. He said that the Working Committee resolution should be either accepted or rejected as a whole.

#### BANNED RESOLUTIONS

The Committee passed two resolutions as recommended by the Working Committee.

(1) The lesson of Rangoon and lower Burma. (II) Evacuated lands and the behaviour of soldiers.

The Government of India issued the following notification banning the publication of these two resolutions by the Press :—

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication, by any printer, publisher or editor in British India, of the whole or any portion of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on the 28th April, 1942, beginning with the words :—“The Committee has noted the recent extraordinary happenings in Burma and notably in the city of Rangoon” and ending with the words : “In particular all panic should be avoided even though those in authority give way to it”.

In exercise of the powers provided by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of the whole or any part of that portion of the second Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on April 28th which begins with the words “the Committee has also noted with dismay” and ends with the words “must be resisted by the people at all costs.”

#### EVACUEES AND REFUGEES FROM MALAYA AND BURMA

The Committee passed the following resolution on ‘Evacuees and Refugees from Malaya and Burma :—

The All India Congress Committee has noted with indignation the arrangements made for and the treatment accorded to evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma to India. The officials whose business and duty it was to protect the lives and interests of the people in their respective areas, utterly failed to discharge that responsibility and, running away from their post of duty, sought safety for themselves, leaving the vast majority of the people wholly uncared and unprovided for. Such arrangements for evacuation as were made were meant principally for the European population and at every step racial discrimination was in evidence. Because of this and also because of the utter incompetence, callousness and selfishness of those in authority, vast numbers of Indians in Malaya and Burma have not only lost all they possessed but have also undergone unimaginable sufferings, many dying on the way from lack of the necessities of life, from disease, or from attacks from anti-social elements.

Racial discrimination was shown at the base camps in Burma where special arrangements were made for Europeans and Anglo-Burmans while Indians were left almost uncared for ; in the according of special facilities for transport and travel to the Europeans and Eurasians ; and in the general treatment given to Indians and non-Indians along the routes and at the various camps. In particular, this was in evidence in the scandal of a safer and more convenient route being practically reserved for non-Indians, while Indians were forced to travel by a longer, more difficult and more dangerous route.

The Committee is aware that recently some alterations have been made in these arrangements and that Indians are now being brought over by air from Myitkyina, and can also avail themselves of the safer land route in limited numbers. The treatment of the evacuees and refugees on the Indian side of the border though somewhat better now is still far from satisfactory. But from all reports the conditions at the base camps for evacuees in Burma are highly unsatisfactory and the worst sufferers there are Indians. The Committee calls upon the Government of India to make all necessary arrangements

for the speedy evacuation from the unoccupied zone in Burma of all Indians who wish to be so evacuated. Suitable Indians, official and non-official, should be appointed to supervise and look after the interests of Indians in the base and other evacuation camps and routes used by evacuees. The Committee trusts that non-official relief agencies will be permitted to send workers and doctors all along the Manipur route from Dimapur to Tamu and beyond to the base camp on the Burma side, as well as to Myitkyina, which is the air base for refugees.

The problem of the evacuees and refugees from Burma is not solved by merely bringing them to India. Every effort should be made to find suitable work for them in existing establishments or on the land, or regular semi-permanent camps should be started where productive work for races is organised.

The Committee expresses its appreciation of the fine service rendered to the evacuees by various non-official relief organisations and by their voluntary workers. The Committee calls upon the Indian public to extend all possible help to the evacuees, and particularly all employers to provide employment for as many of them as possible. The Committee also extends its warm welcome to all those Indians who have returned to the homeland in these distressing circumstances and assures them of its deep sympathy and anxious interest in their cause.

#### NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

*Shri Govind Ballabh Pant* moved the following main resolution of the Session. The resolution was seconded by *Shri Rajendra Prasad*:—

In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India, and the attitude of the British Government, as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposals of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown. They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger, not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations, the British Government functions as an imperialist government and refuses to recognise the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country, she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to nazism and fascism as to imperialism. If India were free she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war, though her sympathies would, in any event, have been with the victims of aggression. If, however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom, and her defence would have been organised on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership, and with intimate contacts with the people. A free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her. The present Indian army is in fact an offshoot of the British army and has been maintained till now mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population, who can in no sense regard it as their own.

The essential difference between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast man-power of India herself is not utilised for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interests and dangerous to the cause of her freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible man-power should remain untapped, while India develops into a battleground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or on her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control. India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The A. I. C. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis, as well as the experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain, even in a partial measure, British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety, and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon

her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of the nation may be. In case an invasion takes place, it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has prevented the organisation of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist them. In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. *They desire our help only as slaves, a position which we can never accept.*

The success of such a policy of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme, and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

#### AMENDMENTS MOVED

Several amendments were moved to the resolution. Most of them were, however, withdrawn before voting. The two amendments moved by Dr. Ashraf and Sajjad Zaheer were voted upon and rejected by an overwhelming majority. Only four votes were recorded in their favour.

The two amendments are as follows:—

Add in paragraph 3 after India's participation in the 'imperialist phase of'.

Delete in para 3 line 6 after 'her own policy' the words "and might have kept out of the war though" and substitute "she would join with the people of China, U. S. S. R., America and Britain etc., to fight the menace of Fascism."

K. M. Ashraf

Delete in paragraph 6 the words "expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation" and substitute "an all-out national resistance by every possible means."

Delete in para 6 from "such resistance..... any other way."

Sajjad Zaheer

Dr. Choitram Gidwani's amendment that in para 6 last line delete the words "beyond our non-interference" and substitute "except as slaves" was adopted by the Working Committee with a variation in phrasing. The words in italics represent the amendment adopted by the Working Committee. The resolution was passed by the Committee.

#### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The A. I. C. C. office received notice of six non-official resolutions to be moved at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. The resolutions were arranged according to ballot.

The President received a requisition signed by fifty-one members of the A. I. C. C. requesting that special permission be given for the following resolution to be moved at the A. I. C. C.

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

The President in view of the importance of the subject as also the number of signatories to the requisition permitted the resolution to be moved when the non-official resolution on the same subject notified by Shri K. Santanam came up for consideration before the Committee. The President observed that the two resolutions will be voted upon separately, but the debate will be a joint one. The non-official resolution given notice of by Shri K. Santanam was as follows:—

#### CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

"The All India Congress Committee notes with deep regret that the attempts

to establish a National Government for India to enable her to face the problems arising out of the present grave situation have failed and that as a result of this, Nationalist India has been placed in a dilemma. It is impossible for the people to think in terms of neutrality or passivity during an invasion by an enemy power. Neither is it practicable to organise an effective defence, independently and unco-ordinated with the defence measures of the Government. It is absolutely and urgently necessary in the best interests of the country at this hour of peril to do all that Congress can possibly do to remove every obstacle in the way of establishment of a national administration to face the present situation; and, therefore, inasmuch as the Muslim League has insisted on the recognition of the right of separation of certain areas from United India upon the ascertainment of the wishes of the people of such areas, as a condition precedent for united national action at this moment of grave national danger, the A. I. C. C. is of opinion that to sacrifice the chances of the formation of a National Government at this grave crisis for the doubtful advantage of maintaining a controversy over the unity of India is a most unwise policy and that it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation, should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing a constitution for India and thereby remove all doubts and fears in this regard, and to invite the Muslim League for a consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency."

Considering the circumstances in which the resolution came up before the A. I. C. C. the president allowed Shri *Rajagopalachariar* to move the resolution. Shri *K. Santanam* seconded it. The debate on the two resolutions lasted for three hours at the end of which they were voted upon. The resolution moved by *Rajagopalachariar* was defeated, 120 members voting against it and 15 members voting for it. The resolution given notice of by the 59 requisitionists and moved by Shri *Jagat Narayan Lal* was passed, 92 voting for and 17 voting against it.

Giving permission for the resolution moved by Shri *Jagat Narayan Lal*, the President gave it as his opinion that the resolution in no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals.

The other non-official resolution notified by Shri *K. Santanam* and to be moved by Shri *Rajagopalachariar*, which could not be taken up for consideration owing to lack of time is as follows :

#### FORMATION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MADRAS

"Whereas the Presidency of Madras has been seriously affected by the conditions resulting from the Japanese aggression and the lives of the people are subjected to growing dislocation and it is suicidal for the present and disastrous for the future, for the people's representatives to remain passive and allow the present authoritarian administration to function under such circumstances, and whereas it is desirable to make every effort to secure such conditions as may enable the people effectively to offer resistance to the aggressor and inspire them for all the sacrifice involved in the defence of the mother-land, the All India Congress Committee authorises the Congress Legislative Party in Madras to accept responsibility of Government if invited to do so, and further advises them to invite the Muslim League to participate in such responsibility and assist in the formation of a popular government for the province."

### A. I. C. C. Circulars

The following Circulars were issued by *Sj. J. B. Kripalani*, General Secretary to all Provincial and District Congress Committees :—

*Circular No. 5.—February 7, 1942*

Please send us the following information :

I (1) The total number of satyagrahis still in jail in your province. The satyagrahis are (i) Those who offered satyagraha and were arrested (ii) Those who were approved by Gandhiji but did not offer satyagraha and were arrested under some section of the D. I. R.

(2) The total number of other political prisoners in jail in your province.

If possible please send us the names and other particulars of these prisoners. In what prisons are they at present? If there is any alleged reason for their non-release from any source that also may be mentioned.

II. I hope our circular No. 1 in which certain suggestions for the speedy



working of the constructive programme were made is under your active consideration. Please let us know what steps have been taken so far to implement the A. I. C. C. instructions. To enable you and us to record the progress of work from month to month you will do well to make a survey of the existing Congress organisation and the constructive work going on now in the province. You may get statistics from each district under (to suggest only a few) the following heads:—

(1) The number and strength of Congress Committees working in each district. (2) Constructive centres organised by Congressmen in rural or urban areas. (3) Villages where there are no Congress Committees functioning or are without active Congressmen. (4) The number of spinners, (apart from professionals). (5) The special difficulties that the district is experiencing in organising spinning, carding, weaving etc. Is cotton locally cultivated? (6) The crops sown in the district. The proportion of food crops to money crops. (7) The general economic condition of the people especially the peasantry. (8) Any special facilities in the district or part of the district for any handicraft. (9) The social and economic condition of Harijans. Any Harijan Congress worker in the district? (10) Hindu-Muslim relations. (11) Other minorities such as Christians, Sikhs etc. (12) Any volunteers uniformed or otherwise in the district and their work. (13) The part our women-folk are taking in the various constructive activities of the Congress.

You will find that the collection of this data will enable you to carry on more effectively and systematically the work that we have undertaken to face the present emergency. Millions have to participate in this work. To secure the intelligent co-operation of the millions, our workers have to have a clearer and wider perspective than they have shown hitherto. Work carried on in a perfunctory and haphazard manner will not produce lasting results. The times that we are passing through will brook neither sloth nor inefficiency. All Congressmen have to bestir themselves and accept responsibility for some definite, solid piece of work. If we all do our duty, we need have no uneasy fears as to the future. The Congress today and for that matter every Congressman is faced with a crucial choice. The organisation and its component parts have to live up to their faith and affect the future or perish.

We can, if we keep alert and vigilant, wrench strength and unity out of the dangers encompassing us today. Danger infuses fresh life and vigour in the brave. All our Congress committees have to be compact, business-like bodies and their members active Congressmen. Where necessary individuals should be put in charge of sections of work.

No changes in the Congress constitution are necessary for activating Congressmen and Congress Committees. What is needed is a change in our outlook, in our way of doing things. Those who cannot adapt themselves to the call of the time will best serve the Congress by resigning from the Committees. Let our committees consist exclusively of active Congressmen.

III. It is my considered view that every P. C. C. executive should invite the secretaries of allied Congress organisation in the province such as the secretaries of the Provincial branch of the A. I. S. A., and A. I. V. A., and A. I. Harijan Sangh, the A. I. Talimi Sangh etc., to their meetings. The P. C. C.'s will find the presence of those secretaries helpful in chalking out their own schemes of constructive activity. The secretaries of these organisations when invited must be considered members of the P. C. C. executive. Maulana Sahib is in agreement with this suggestion of mine. The U. P. P. C. C. has already adopted it.

You are requested to send us the information that we have asked for in this circular and in our circular No. 1 as soon as possible.

Please send copy of this circular to all District Congress Committees.

Please acknowledge receipt.

*Circular No. 6—February 23, 1942.*

Inter-provincial consultation and co-ordination are necessary and helpful in normal times. They are more so during these anxious times. Various problems face us today. Each P. C. C. has got a plan of its own to meet the common problems and problems peculiar to itself. Under these circumstances it would be of advantage if select active workers from provinces could meet together, compare notes and benefit by mutual experience. This will not only give them valuable information but enable them where possible to pool their resources.

Periodical meetings of representatives of all provinces, some of them very far-flung, in one place though desirable would not be possible, especially in these days of travel difficulties. The expenses involved would also be considerable. It is,

therefore, suggested that the following Regions of contiguous provinces may be formed for inter-provincial consultation and collaboration.

- (1) Assam, Bengal, Utkal.
- (2) Bihar, United Provinces, Mahakoshal, Ajmer-Merwara.
- (3) Punjab, Sind, Frontier, Delhi.
- (4) Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra, Karnatak, C. P. (Marathi) Vidarbha.
- (5) Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala.

It would be desirable to hold one meeting a month of each of these Regions. If that is not possible, at least one meeting in two months should be held. Each province may send anywhere from one to three representatives to the meeting of its Region. I may add that the purpose of these Regional meetings can be served only if the representatives selected are the provincial presidents, secretaries or active field workers who have a personal knowledge of the difficulties, resources and methods of work in their respective provinces.

I should like you in collaboration with the provinces in your Region to arrange the first Regional meeting as soon as possible. I or some other representative of the A. I. C. C. would like to be present to facilitate work. I would, therefore, request you to inform me as soon as possible of the dates during which it may be possible for you to settle in consultation with each other a meeting of your Region.

I suggest that the following provinces may in each of the five Regions take initiative and set the machinery of consultation in motion to the end that the first meetings may be called as soon as possible. Subsequent meetings need not be held in the same province in the Region. The meeting place may be changed from time to time.

- |        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| Region | 1. Bengal.           |
| "      | 2. United Provinces. |
| "      | 3. Punjab.           |
| "      | 4. Bombay.           |
| "      | 5. Tamil Nadu.       |

If any of the provinces suggested here for taking the initiative in the matter is for any reasons not in a position to do so this office may immediately be informed so that arrangements may be made with some other provinces in the Region, to do the needful.

After these first meetings have been held, it will be possible for us to work out co-ordination among the regions themselves.

*Circular No. 7—March 6, 1942*

You must have read Gandhiji's leading article in the last issue of Harijan dated March 1st under the caption 'Criminal Assaults' dealing with danger of women being molested by soldiers. Gandhiji has advised our sisters to be fearless and self-reliant. This advice has come none too early.

Whenever there is danger to women's honour the tendency in our country is to segregate them or to remove them to places of safety. This under the present circumstances is scarcely a remedy. The danger is daily increasing and very soon there may be no place of safety anywhere. If for any reasons those in authority now are unable to check soldiers from molesting women, the position will be much worse, when unfortunately there is an invasion from outside. Moreover, segregation is no remedy. It is likely to make our women more timid and helpless than they already are.

The only way, therefore, is to ask them to be brave and self-reliant. This can best be done by organising them. They may be invited to participate fully in the present programme of the Congress. Fortunately our programme is such that in working it there can be no difference between men and women. It can be carried out as efficiently by men as by women.

Congress Committees are, therefore, requested to progressively associate more and more women with their activities. This may be done by creating in the provinces, where they do not already exist, women's departments or appointing women organisers. The work of these departments and organisers will not be different from the general Congress work. It must also be carried on under the general supervision and direction of the Congress Committees; but the special charge of the Women's Department or Organisers will be to approach women, to induce them to take interest in Congress work and generally to organise them. Every Congress activity must be helped by an auxiliary force of women. They must fully participate both in the programme of national

self-sufficiency and self-protection. They must have a volunteer organisation of their own. This is the only effective way of making them fearless and self-reliant.

Every circular issued from this office must, therefore, be taken to include men and women whatever may be the expression used. Specific mention will be made if any instructions from this office are meant for men only.

*Circular No. 8.—March 24, 1942*

The Working Committee which met in Wardha on March 17 considered the reports of the working of the constructive programme received from provinces. The reports revealed that while the work was making steady progress in some provinces no serious beginnings were yet made in others. Constructive programme being the only programme before Congressmen today, the strength and efficiency of our organisation will be judged by the extent to which Congress committees are able to mobilise their resources for carrying it out. A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who are guiding and controlling affairs in the provinces. Things happen or are made to happen in the country which tend to distract our attention from our task but we must be on our guard.

The programme placed by the A. I. C. C. before the country, is two-fold : (1) self-protection and (2) self-sufficiency. Fairly detailed instructions with regard to both have been issued by this office. It is now up to you to act and supplement and amplify them to meet local requirements. What is needed is not mere instructions but further and more intensive effort.

Self-protection has a double aspect : (i) protection from air raids and (ii) protection from internal disorder. Government and semi-government agencies are at work for organising protection against possible air raids. It is common knowledge that in spite of considerable expenditure government efforts lack popular appeal and support. The results achieved, therefore, bear little relation to the effort and money spent. For this and other reasons Congressmen cannot associate themselves with government-controlled bodies. But it would be folly to impede their effort unless what they do is against the A. I. C. C. instructions. The instructions that the official A. R. P. organisations broadcast to the people should be studied and such of them as are sound and reasonable should be commended to the people for adoption. These instructions may be added to by the local Congress committees according to the needs of the local situation.

The Congress has for the last two months been carrying on propaganda against fear and panic with considerable effect. Naturally the panic is greatest in areas which are in danger by Sea and Air. The situation in these areas has to be closely and constantly studied by local Congressmen and advice given to people. The problem of evacuation must be carefully considered. As pointed out by Gandhiji the military authorities would not like at critical times to be encumbered with the problems of such of the civil population as is not needed in a particular locality. Therefore, those whose everyday business does not require them to be in cities that are liable to attack from air and sea and those who are afraid, should leave such localities without creating confusion and panic. Before they leave they must make sure that they will not create problems for themselves and for those with whom they take refuge. There is time enough for regulated evacuation. Afterwards when actual bombing takes place, if the timid and those not wanted begin evacuation in hurry they will create problems as in other countries of which we are familiar through papers.

As to protection from internal civil disorder, we have already issued necessary instructions. The volunteer organisation that we contemplate for meeting the needs of the present situation is broad-based. Our previous volunteer organisations were subject to many rules and a fairly severe disciplinary code and were confined to Congressmen. This time we have thrown open the doors of the organisation to all our countrymen irrespective of political affiliations, the only condition being adherence to peaceful methods. Maintenance of peace and security is the chief aim of the volunteer organisation. It should not, therefore, be difficult to realise that this can be achieved only through peaceful means. No countryman of ours can have any reasonable objection to subscribing to this perfectly obvious and necessary condition. We are happy to note that the response to Congress call in this direction has been ample and spontaneous.

The drive, therefore, to enlist members of all communities and all political parties for the volunteer organisation should be further intensified. The organisation should be split up into units of ten or twenty, each in charge of a mohalla in the city or of a village or part thereof in rural areas. The units should mainly confine themselves to the service and protection of their respective localities. They should be in constant touch with the people. They should try to serve them in every way. They should help in organising mohalla meetings and otherwise carrying on the constructive programme. Their chief duty, of course, will be the maintenance of peace in the mohalla, prevention of disorder, and in the event of any disorder breaking out, protecting the people. Volunteers should be animated by community of feeling and unity of purpose. At night they should learn to watch and guard their respective localities. All this will give our people a sense of security, a common purpose and common action. It will give us and the people necessary training for co-operation and self-help.

The programme of self-sufficiency has been explained time and again by Gandhiji. Each passing day emphasises the urgency of carrying out this programme with speed and thoroughness. Conditions approaching starvation and nakedness, semi-starvation and unemployment have been the lot of many for a long time past. But the war lengthening out, many more have been thrown out of work and the earnings of many others have considerably diminished. Conditions will go on progressively deteriorating. The new taxation imposed by the central and provincial governments has added to the already great misery of the masses and hit hard the lower middle classes. Therefore, if the situation is not controlled, it will lead to all manner of highly undesirable consequences. It can be controlled only by the programme of 'self-sufficiency'. Many items in the programme require technical ability. Happily we have organisations carrying on this work for the past many years. They are technically equipped for the tasks they have undertaken. The All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association may be drawn upon for whatever technical advice and assistance is needed. Their co-operation and supervision should be sought. This will impose new duties and new tasks upon these organisations. The existing staff may not be able to cope with these. But if Congress Committees take up the self-sufficiency programme in earnest we have no doubt the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. would willingly do their part. We had complaints from Congressmen and Congress Committees that the A. I. S. A. is half-hearted in its response to their needs. Many of these complaints are based on ignorance. The A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. branches are subject to definite rules and work under serious financial and other limitations. They cannot be as swift in their response to our demands as Congressmen would wish them to be. While we are putting ourselves in touch with the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. headquarters, you will please get into touch with the provincial branches and devise a technique of mutual co-operation. I hope you have carried out the suggestion I made in one of my previous circulars that provincial secretaries of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., Harijan Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and the Women's Department should be associated with your provincial executive. This should greatly facilitate mutual co-operation.

There is great paucity of trained workers in Khadi village industry and village work. The best thing under the circumstances for you will be to send some intelligent young men to Wardha to join the institutions started by the A. I. V. I. A. and A. I. S. A. for training workers. The expenses at Wardha for a student do not exceed Rs. 15/- per month, all told. The A. I. V. I. A. secretary, Sri Kumarappa has assured us that he will be willing to accept responsibility for the training of all those who are sent to the central institution of the association at Wardha. I have no doubt that the A. I. S. A. secretary will allow similar facilities. The expenses of course will have to be met by the P. C. C. sending out workers for training. For particulars of the training you will please correspond with the secretaries of the two associations at Wardha. Whenever there are provincial centres for training I am sure those in charge of them will welcome workers selected by the P. C. C. for receiving training.

Please note the following directions for your office :

(1) Send us a detailed report of the work done in your province every month, if not every fortnight.

(2) Send a report of your work to all provinces. Other provinces will send you theirs. This exchange of reports will keep the provinces in touch with one another and give you valuable suggestions.

(3) Send us copies of the circulars that you issue from time to time. If the circulars are written in languages other than Hindustani or English please send us their Hindustani or English renderings.

(4) You should appoint inspectors who will go round, see the work and submit reports.

(5) Send copies of our circulars, unless they concern you exclusively, to district Congress committees in your province. We have complaints from some districts that they are in ignorance of the instructions that we send to the province. Please acknowledge receipt.

## National Week—April 6—13

*The General Secretary, A. I. C. C., issued the following appeal in connection with the 'National Week' on the 26th. March 1942 :—*

The National Week will be soon on us. It has been observed every year since 1919. It commences on April 6 when the nation inaugurated a non-violent mass struggle for the redress of its many and grievous wrongs and the attainment of Purna Swaraj. From this day the nation looked to itself, it looked inward. It renounced the enervating idea of salvation achieved through the help and goodwill of outside agencies. It inaugurated the era of self-reliance and national purification through work, suffering and sacrifice. The giant rose from its agelong slumber and determined to cast off the cobweb accumulation of centuries of social superstition and economic and political slavery. It determined to cast off disease, squalor, inequity, poverty, and slavery in one vast united effort of an awakened people.

This day also witnessed the ghastly massacre of the Jallianwalla Bagh wherein Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood mingled to cement unity in common calamity. From the blood-soaked earth of Jallianwalla Bagh, began a struggle which has been ever since widening in depth and volume. The country has witnessed the rise of the masses of Indian humanity to the realisation of their inherent strength.

The National Week has always been marked by the renewal of our general determination to achieve the goal of complete independence and self-purification through the intensive carrying on of the constructive programme. In the words of the sage at Sevagram the fulfilment of this programme is the sure key to Swaraj. Let the week, therefore, witness a fresh determination by all Congressmen and Congress Committees to do their utmost to carry out the manifold items of this programme. Let this week be dedicated to the double need of the hour, the need for self-protection and self-sufficiency. It is not enough today, as in the past, to organise sales of Khadi. It is more necessary that we lay emphasis on the production of Khadi through spinning carried on in each locality and in every house. Let people in their thousands determine to learn all the processes of cloth making leading up to spinning. Let a day in the week be set apart to the sacred task of Hindu-Muslim unity. Let another day be consecrated to the purge of the sin of untouchability. Let every day see the intensification of the life-giving national constructive activity.

We may also not forget that the message of Swaraj through our own effort and not through outside agencies, is carried to every hamlet and home in India. Let, therefore, everyday of the week dawn with Prabhat Pheris. Let every day end with national songs, processions and mass meetings where our determination to achieve Purna Swaraj is ever renewed. In this hour of temptation and trial let us rely upon ourselves and on the guiding Deity that rules the destinies of men and nations. Thus shall we dispel the clouds of despondency that darken the Indian horizon today. Thus shall we drive away the craven fear and panic. Thus shall we assert our manhood and our right to live as free and honoured nation.

## Work for Women in the Emergency Period

*The women's department of the A. I. C. C. has since January last issued a series of circulars to the P. C. C.'s women's department about work by and among women. The latest circular is given here under the signature of Sm. Suchita Devi, Secretary, Women's Dept., A. I. C. C. :—*

With the approach of war nearer India, new problems are arising every day. It is becoming increasingly difficult to lead normal lives and carry on normal activities. The Congress Committees have been asked to readjust their activities to new conditions. I have been approached by women from several provinces to suggest ways and means to meet the present difficulties. The greatest need of the hour is to take stock of the situation and organise. The recently published article of Mahatmaji in 'Harijan' on 'Criminal assault' draws our attention to a sinister side of the dangers that threaten us. We have to prepare ourselves to meet such and other emergencies with wisdom, courage and fortitude. It is not possible for individual and isolated women to do anything effective. The need of the hour, therefore, is for men and women to organise themselves and work in co-operation with each other and to help to allay panic, preserve peace and order, arrange for the safety of women and children, meet the economic situation arising out of the shortage of grains and other commodities.

The following are some of the suggestions for organising women.

#### THE PROBLEM OF PANIC

A vast majority of them being illiterate, women are prone to believe false and fantastic rumours afloat. They are, therefore, likely to suffer from exaggerated fears. Nervous and panic stricken women upset the whole household. They destroy its morale. Therefore, it is essential to arrange for the spread of correct information. Alarming rumours must be promptly denied. This can best be done by holding at regular intervals, mohalla meetings of women where they should be given the correct available information. Whenever necessary information may be given through hand bills and periodical bulletins.

#### (2) VOLUNTEER CORPS

A strong volunteer corps of women should be organised. They should be taught simple drill, first aid, the art of self-protection in an emergency etc. Much of the work of organising women can be done through this volunteer corps. It should render whatever help it can to women and children leaving the town or refugees coming in.

#### (3) COMMITTEES

In the case of towns there should be a central town Committee with branches in each mohalla. This committee through its branches should (a) convey to each home the day-to-day instructions of the local Congress Committee, (b) collect information regarding the difficulties of the mohalla and convey them to the Congress Committee, (c) arrange to teach spinning to the mohalla women, (d) arrange lectures on useful general information, (e) organise a short course of physical culture with special emphasis on how to ward off personal assaults, (f) find out cases of assaults and oppression on women, explain to the victims that such incidents are not to be kept secret under false ideas of modesty and honour, give publicity to such incidents and render help in bringing the criminals to book, be they civil or military, (g) keep in touch with men volunteer corps to be able to ask for assistance in any emergency.

#### (4) PROBLEM OF GRAIN SHORTAGE

Through the mohalla committees women must be given information about different substitutes when one kind of grain is running short. They must be warned against evils of individual hoarding. They should be taught the value of simple yet wholesome and nourishing meals and advised to give up wasteful habits in food.

#### (5) PROBLEM OF CLOTHING

The shortage of clothing which may come in the near future has to be tackled from now. Women can do a great deal in this direction. The mohalla committees should make arrangements to teach carding, spinning, sliver making. It can arrange to supply charkhas and cotton, take the yarn spun and arrange for the weaving of cloth. Unemployed local weavers are found everywhere today. These can be set up in their trade again, by means of the yarn supplied by the women's committees.

It is quite possible that all these activities may be beyond the scope of a particular organisation. In that case particular items may be taken up by the different committees. It must be understood that organisation and work means strength, care should be taken to see that women's organisations work in co-operation with the other branches of the Congress organisation. In all that we do we should be ready and willing to have help from men.

## Medical unit for Relief of Evacuees

### President's Appeal

*The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued the following statement on the 28th. April 1942 :—*

"The Government of India have accepted our offer to organise and send a full medical unit with helpers and volunteers and equipment along the Manipur Road to Sittang in Burma to give help to the evacuees and refugees coming to India. We are, therefore, taking immediate steps to organise such a unit and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chairman, Civil Protection Sub-committee, has been requested to organise it in co-operation with the non-official relief organisations. This unit will consist of 8 doctors, 8 compounders, 2 sanitary inspectors, 40 sweepers and personal attendants with medical stores and equipment. The sending of this unit will cost a considerable sum of money but the object is such that I am sure sufficient funds will be forthcoming. The need is immediate. I appeal, therefore, for donations for this medical unit and for relief work among the evacuees coming from Burma. Donations should be sent to the A. I. C. C. Office, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad, or to Messrs. Bachhraj & Co., Ltd, 5, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, or to Shri Brij Mohan Birla, Treasurer, Civil Protection Sub-committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, Birla Park, Ballygunje, Calcutta.

## The All Parties Leaders' Conference

*Third Session—New Delhi—21st. & 22nd. FEBRUARY 1942*

### The Presidential Address

The third session of the All Parties Leaders' Conference was held at New Delhi on the 21st. February 1942 under the presidency of *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*. Those present included Mr. M. S. Aney, Sir Mohamed Yakub, Dr. B. C. Moonje, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir R. P. Paranjpye, Sir C. B. Mehta and members of the Central Legislature, including officials and Europeans.

After *Sardar Sobha Singh*, Chairman of the Reception Committee had welcomed the delegates, Sir Jagadish Prasad read messages from Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Sir P. S. Nivaswami Aiyar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and others wishing the Conference success. *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* then delivered his presidential address in the course of which he said :—

I desire to thank you for asking me once again to preside over this session which I look upon as a continuation of the sessions of the Conferences held at Bombay in March last and at Poona four months later. Since July when we met at Poona, events have happened both inside the country and outside, the meaning and significance of which cannot be ignored by any thinking person, though I admit that their interpretations may be different in different quarters.

When this Conference met for the first time in Bombay, it did not profess to advocate any scheme of a permanent constitution for India. We recognised that that should be left over to the verdict of the country under more peaceful times and that meanwhile we should direct our energy by pressing for changes in the system of administration during the interim period so as to enable the country to do its best in support of war-efforts. All our recommendations and demands were inspired by that feeling. I have naturally followed the course of criticism with close attention. I believe I may fairly say that in India we received a very substantial measure of support from the press generally. It is true that in some quarters we were represented—or shall I say misrepresented—as the agents of the Congress or the Hindu Sabha or possibly both. I repudiated this charge at once: I do repudiate this charge and this insinuation once again. We have not sailed under false colours. We did not profess, and do not profess, to represent any of the political organisations which are occupying the stage of public affairs in India. As a collection of individuals entitled to hold and express opinion on the present situation in India and the future, we deemed it our duty at the previous Conference, and we deem it our duty at this Conference, to say what in our opinion is best

calculated to serve the immediate object in view, to save this country from those disasters which I think will be the inevitable consequence of that prolonged and deplorable disunity which has disfigured our public life during the last few years and which in my opinion is threatening the integrity and the present safety of the country as well as the fruition of its aspirations in the future. I was also glad to notice that our recommendations received a considerable measure of support in the English press and in Parliament, but I shall be untrue to myself if I were to disguise my feeling of disappointment at the inability of those in power in England to understand our point of view or to make an adequate and timely response to our recommendations and demands which have always been conceived in a spirit of true service to the country and true friendship to England.

#### EXPANSION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

There was tardy and partial recognition of our demands. Between April and July last year we knew nothing as to whether any part of our demands was going to be accepted. It was shortly before we met at Poona that the announcement was made that eight Indian members would be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. I am free to confess—and I said so then—that the selection was excellent, and I do not see any reason why we should condemn these good men and true, merely because they do not happen to belong to the two major political parties. Our demand has been that during the period of the war the Executive Government shall be responsible to the Crown, that is to say, not removable by an adverse vote of the Legislature. Technically it may be open to the objection that the National Government to be national, must be responsible to the Legislature, but two considerations have always weighed with me, namely (1) that these are war times when normal constitutional ideas have got to be adjusted to the urgencies of the occasion, and (2) that we do not want it to be said that in the guise of establishing National Government, we have sought to concentrate all political power in the hands of any particular community or set of politicians. The Crown as a beneficent institution unidentified with any political party or section of the community, can be, at a juncture like this, a great uniting force, and we can wait until more propitious times before seeking to allocate power into different hands. Meanwhile, without being legally responsible to the Legislature, the National Government can, in actual practice, hold itself morally responsible to the country at large. For all these reasons, I think that these eight gentlemen who joined the Executive Council deserved every support even though the Executive Council still falls far short of our conception of a National Government.

And here let me express to you my own regret and sorrow—and I am sure I am expressing the collective sense of this gathering—at the death of my revered friend, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari. He was with me at Allahabad on the 22nd of December last and met a large number of Hindus and Muslims at my house. I had also a long private talk with him, and I can tell you that I was deeply impressed by his earnestness and anxiety to do something to bring about peace between the different communities and different parties. In his death we have lost a wise and sage counsellor. He was a true servant of India—not Muslim India or Hindu India but India as a whole—a man of great and varied culture and toleration, and altogether a person of great moral influence, and we mourn his death very sincerely. His name will be associated for ever with his great achievements in the premier state of Hyderabad. If unkind Fate had not taken him away from the scene of his earthly labours, I have no doubt that he would have rendered enduring services to the Motherland at this juncture.

Speaking for myself, I think it would not be fair on our part to dismiss men like Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. Aney, Sir Homi Mody, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Mr. N. R. Sarker, and Sir Feroze Khan Noon as men who have had no experience or who do not know what the country wants and what is best suited to the interests of the country. None of them can be described as a job hunter. Some of them, to my knowledge, have joined the Executive Council at great personal sacrifice and only out of a sheer sense of duty to the country. And I am sure that if others belonging to the major political parties had been ready to take upon their shoulders the responsibility which have fallen on theirs, they would have been only too glad. It is for this reason that in the special circumstances existing at present, we should do everything to strengthen their hands, and to treat them, not in any technical constitutional sense, but in a larger sense, as if they were our representatives, the custodians of our welfare and our honour, and the exponents of our aspirations and ambitions. I have been told that



in some high quarters the expansion of the Viceroy's Council has been described as having been futile and as having led to no results of an appreciable character. I shall not pit my humble opinion as against these persons, but I believe His Excellency the Viceroy himself paid them a very high tribute in one of his recent speeches at Calcutta. That should at any rate silence criticism on the part of those who, living in 1942, are still thinking as if they were living in 1929. We all know that the limited release of political prisoners was due to their effort and initiative. I wish that effort had succeeded in a larger measure and a more graceful manner. Speaking for myself. I have no sympathy for revolutionaries of any kind—Communist or Fascist, but so long as the crown of martyrdom is put on their forehead, they will continue to deflect public opinion from things that matter.

#### ALL PORTFOLIOS MUST BE HELD BY INDIANS

It must not however, be understood from what I have said above that this expansion of the Executive Council meets completely our point of view. No, it does not. For I think a truly National Government has yet to be formed—and that cannot be formed until the portfolios which are still withheld from Indians are transferred to Indian hands. This is an occasion when blunt truth must be spoken even though it may wound certain susceptibilities or come as a shock to some people. I cannot believe that out of four hundred million people in this country not one man can be found who can administer the finances of the country. Nor can I believe that if an Indian Defence Member were appointed at the juncture, he could have committed graver mistakes than those which have admittedly been committed by the men in power. The fact of the matter is that under the present system you may collect money, you may enlist men in the Army, but you do not touch the pride of the country or evoke that enthusiasm for common service or those sentiments of national pride or that sense of concern for the safety and freedom of the country which can only be created when the country knows that the men at the top are its own men.

I wish to speak with some reserve on these delicate questions in view of the situation, but I do wish to say that what is wanted at the present moment is an act of courage and faith—and this is wanted as much on the part of England as on the part of India. At the back of our minds is undoubtedly the feeling that the old policy of distrust of Indians, on the part of England, still survives. Similarly there is also a feeling among us that mere pledges, however repeatedly they may be given, will not carry us very far when they are hedged in by so many preliminary and indefinite conditions. England has got yet to make up its mind as to its future relations with this country and to express it in unambiguous language as to our future—a future in which India shall not be treated as a dependency but occupy internally and in the councils of the Empire and at International and Peace Conferences, a position of honourable equality with England and the Dominions. It is my firm conviction that until such a declaration is forthcoming, our mental outlook will not change. It is equally my strong conviction that until then we shall not be in a mood to settle our mutual differences. That we have our differences I do not for one moment deny, but that is more or less true of other parts of the world—and this war bears ample testimony to it. It will not do for the British to say: "We are ready to hand over power to you, but we do not know to which hands we should commit that power." The position is, indeed, very curious. Some of us are dismissed as amiable, well meaning people, but persons without any following. Others are dismissed because they have got too numerous, too intransigent, and too quarrelsome followings. The recent speech of the Duke of Devonshire who happens to be the Under-Secretary of State for India convinces me that whoever may have learnt or unlearnt from the present trend of events in India and outside, the Duke has not. I sincerely hope that he does not represent the settled convictions of Whitehall. Lord Hailey has already given a warning against the dangers of manoeuvring for position which must be deplored under normal conditions and still more deplored under present conditions. If the India Office stands discredited to-day in India, it is because of such speeches. They do not help the solution of our internal difficulties; they only tend to inflame party or communal tension and to shake our faith in their good intentions. If people in authority in England in charge of our affairs cannot utter the right word at the right moment, let them at least cultivate the virtue of silence. Meanwhile the deadlock continues and the big political parties are sulking in their tents, relieving the tension at times by flinging mutual recriminations against

each other or indulging in dreams of world federation or at least a federation of Asiatic powers or building up other castles in the air. I am bound to say that I have never in my forty-five years of experience seen the average Indian being more critical of Government than at present. This may hurt the pride of the Government or the officials, but I think they ill serve India and England at this juncture who, whether they are Indians or Englishmen, delude themselves into a false sense of security or overrate their powers to ride the storm or tell the British that it is only the disaffected politicians of one party or another, who are withholding their co-operation or are critical of the government. I wish my friends in England to know—and I have many friends in England who, I am sure, will not misunderstand me—that England must lose no time in taking a bold and courageous step as much in her interests as in the interests of India. To put it shortly, my conviction is that the time has come when the British Government must recognise that in so far as political power is concerned, the centre of political gravity should not be Whitehall any longer but Delhi.

#### WHITEHALL REGIME MUST END

This is not an occasion for indulging in constitutional quibbling, or to use the words of Lord Hailey, for manoeuvring over punctilios. I had at one time the honour and privilege of being associated with Lord Hailey in the Government of India, and I can say with knowledge that if ever there was a man in the Indian Civil Service who, with all his faults and shortcomings, had a touch of statesmanship in him, it was Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey. And his recent speech in the House of Lords has once again confirmed my belief. I had also the privilege of knowing Lord Catto and coming into touch with him when he was a Member of the Incheape Committee. Even at that time he struck me as a man of very broad views, and I can say that the two speeches which seemed to me to have some idea of the situation in India and of the needs of the country, were the speeches of these two noble Lords. I should not be surprised if they were repudiated by those who affect to know the Indian situation more directly and more immediately. It is, however, in the spirit of these two speeches that I would like the Indian question to be approached immediately, and if it is approached in that spirit and if Delhi can come into its own as against Whitehall, I believe we may look forward to the future with greater confidence. I confess I have never been fond of Whitehall. At the Round Table Conference I described the Secretary of State for India as the Great Moghul. The Great Moghul of Whitehall at that time was Mr. (now Lord) Bann. There is another Great Moghul now in Whitehall—and Indian history proves that we have got to make distinctions between one Moghul and another Great Moghul. In the twentieth century, however, any Great Moghul, living six thousand miles away from us, is an anachronism. It is therefore that I earnestly press that the big constitutional question should not oppress the mind of any one at the present moment and that the immediate situation should be dealt with bravely, courageously and in a spirit of confidence—and this can only be done by an act of self-abdication on the part of the Great Moghul at Whitehall. It will not do for anybody in England to tell us that political power now is concentrated in the hands of men in authority at Delhi. Local administration and authority may be exercised by them, but at every step we see the benumbing hand of Whitehall.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL RULE IN THE PROVINCES

If this is the position at the Centre, what about the Provinces? We have the fact which cannot be denied that six Provinces—some of them bigger than some of the countries in Europe—are being administered by Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The fact that Congress Ministers had no justification to throw up their offices can be no justification for the prolonged continuation of the rule of these Provinces autocratically by Governors under Section 93. We may assume Governors mean well and are doing the best according to their lights to meet the day-to-day situation, but they are greatly mistaken if they think that their rule is widely or generally appreciated or that their lights are not sometimes dim. We saw something of that dimness at Bhagalpur. I believe the time has come when constitutional form of government in the Provinces should be restored. Speaking for myself, I hold very strongly that in the interests of the Provinces themselves, people should be asked to accept coalition Ministries during the period of the war. I would make an

earnest appeal to our legislators who are theoretically still *in esse* to accept the system with all its faults and shortcomings as a temporary expedient necessitated by war conditions. And I would also make an earnest appeal to them and to their leaders to rise superior to petty communal or party or personal jealousies, not to bargain at this juncture for the quantity of representation of each community or party, not to place their own community or party above the country, to remember that they are Indians first and everything else next, and that India is as much the home and concern of one party or community as of the other. It almost looks ridiculous that we should be talking of permanent constitutional issues—Dominion Status or Independence or Pakistan—or representation of this community or that community in the legislatures and cabinets, when the enemy is knocking at our doors. The significance of Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon should not be lost upon us, and the siren voices of those who broadcast to us from enemy countries, sometimes abusing some of us, sometimes encouraging all of us with hopes of freedom and independence, ought not to delude us. The unfolded tale of Europe—of France, Poland, Belgium, Denmark, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, countries which were independent until a year and a half ago—should be a warning to us. On the other hand, the courage and the power of resistance shown by China whose honoured and inspiring head has just been in our midst and whom, in common with others, we welcome, ought to inspire us with hope. Speaking for myself, I can tell you that while I do want freedom for this country and a position of honourable equality in international affairs, I do not think we need dissipate our energies in talking of the revolution that is to come or of the world federation and so forth, as if it were round the corner. Howsoever much we may blame the British for this thing or that, for their shortcomings, for their want of pre-vision in starting heavy industries in good time, in building up the military strength of the country according to modern standards, in training our youngmen before the war for eventualities which have overtaken us, and howsoever much we may blame each other for our own shortcomings, the hour has struck when we should recognise that regrets for the past and mutual recriminations will carry us nowhere. On the other hand, they may infect us with a deplorable spirit of defeatism. We are not at the present moment concerned with the past; we are at the present moment concerned, and ought to be concerned with the immediate present. My advice, therefore, is that we must coalesce together—and if we cannot compose our differences for ever, we must at least call a truce. It may be that the common enemy of us all may be the common inspirer of common effort between Indian and Indian and between Indians and Englishmen. Let England see things clearly and let India also see things clearly. Let England touch our pride and let India rise equal to the occasion.

#### PREMIER'S REPLY TO LEADERS' APPEAL

At the conclusion of his written speech, Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* read out Mr. Churchill's reply to his appeal and said :

" I recognise the courtesy of the Prime Minister in sending this reply. I also recognise the force of the observations that during the stirring times through which we have been passing since I sent my cable, probably he required sometime before he could make up his mind to devote his attention to the Indian question. I also think that it would be discourteous to prejudice his final conclusions on the other matters which I raised in the telegram which, along with my colleagues, I sent to him early in January last. He has said that he would let me have a reply later on. But I desire to make just a few observations. The situation as it has developed during the last two months is so urgent that a long delay in coming to final conclusions will be disastrous in my humble judgment to the interests of this country as well as England. Frankly, we have been pressing most of these ideas at this conference since March last and although I should be the last person to advocate precipitate action, yet the urgency of the occasion requires that there should be no unnecessary delay. In March 1941 when we met at Bombay, the Japanese aggression towards the east was at best a matter of speculation. To-day, you have the fact that the Japanese have overrun Malaya and Singapore and are threatening Burma very seriously, and God only knows what will happen to the whole coastline from Chittagong to Travancore and Cochin. It is for this reason that we have urged and do urge now that some definite steps should be taken by His Majesty's Government to

put heart and courage into the people of the country, so that if the war has to be conducted as the people's war, it should be conducted on those lines and a people's war cannot be conducted with an immobile bureaucracy at the top.

#### HOME MEMBER'S REMARKS CONDEMNED

"Since my arrival this morning, a friend of mine handed over to me a copy of the speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell in the Assembly. I wondered whether he is in the true line of descent of Home Members represented by men like Sir William Vincent. He waxed eloquent in the Assembly about the dangers of "fifth columnist" and defeatists. Let him know that he is after all a bird of passage in this country (cheers). This is our country. We have got to live here; we have got to die here; our interests are far more vital than those of Sir Reginald Maxwell (renewed cheers). I am not a defeatist; but I should like to put the last ounce of energy resisting the foreign aggressor, whether Japan or Germany. I wonder Sir Reginald Maxwell ever thought that with a speech like the one he delivered he would serve the interests of our country or the enemy by encouraging the enemy to believe that India is seething with disaffection and ready to fall a prey to the enemy.

"Frankly, speeches like this do not serve any useful purpose at this juncture. I have said with regard to the Duke of Devonshire's speech that he had better practise the virtue of silence. May I ask this honourable member of the Government of India, this relic of ancient times unsuited to the present conditions, to change his point of view, to adjust himself to present conditions, to come out in the midst of the people. I say as a confirmed supporter of the British connection: Do not divide India into two or more watertight compartments. official and non-official. We meet at homes, at dinners, we talk small things; but we never get near to the rock bottom of things. Frankly, speeches like this are my despair. The Government of India may feel proud. I certainly do not, I only hope and trust that the Indian representative in the Government of India, will not take that speech lightly (cheers).

"Sir Reginald has asked us to look upon this Government as our own Government, but speeches like this do not justify us in hoping that this so-called Government deserves our confidence and it is for this that we have asked for a National Government. I wonder whether Sir Reginald Maxwell knows that a great countryman of his, Sir Stafford Cripps put forward views which we have been putting forward and what would have been his fate if he had been in India instead of in England. He might have found himself in an internment camp (renewed cheers).

#### PLEA FOR ABOLITION OF INDIA OFFICE

"The next thing to which I shall refer is the changes brought about by Mr. Churchill in the Cabinet. During the last ten years I have been a severe critic of Mr. Churchill's Indian policy; but at the same time with all his faults and shortcomings, with all his failures, I have admired him as very few people have admired him, and I admire him for the courage he has shown on this occasion. I should have been sorry indeed if he had been thrown out of harness. He has done the wisest thing in including Sir Stafford Cripps in the Cabinet. But do not overrate the influence of Sir Stafford Cripps. As against him there may be half a dozen men in England who may still be thinking in terms of the times beyond recall. I also hope that there will be substantial changes in the India Office (applause). It stands discredited. I do not think since 1858 when the Office was created, any other Secretary of State has done greater harm to India than Mr. Amery has done (cheers). He has practically destroyed our faith in the good intentions of England. Instead of bringing peace and harmony in the country, and while professing love for the minorities,—and there is no greater friend of the minorities than myself—he has done everything he can to keep them apart. Therefore, I sincerely hope and trust that the advice given even by the Conservative paper, *The Daily Mail*, will be accepted by Mr. Churchill and a new spirit introduced in the India Office. Frankly, there is no need for the India Office to exist.

#### SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

##### Proceedings & Resolutions

##### POPULAR GOVERNMENTS IN PROVINCES

When the Conference resumed its session on the second day, the 22nd. February 1942, Sir Maharaj Singh moved a resolution expressing the opinion "that in the

Provinces the rule of Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act should forthwith cease and that popular governments enjoying public confidence should be established."

Sir Maharaj Singh, after recalling amid laughter his days at school in England with both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, said that Mr. Amery had not risen so far as India was concerned to the high expectations raised by his school days. Sir Maharaj Singh commented on the present condition in seven provinces, where, he said, they had gone back to the year 1860 from the constitutional point of view and where some sixty or seventy crores of rupees were being spent without any popular control. The present rule in these provinces was coming to an end in October, 1942, and after that, it would have to be continued by parliamentary legislation or some change would have to be introduced. "We ask that a change should be introduced now." "Any reform", he went on, "is better than no change. We recommend Executive Councils in the provinces, not as an alternative in which we had great confidence but because we felt it was better than nothing and the Executive Councils which we had in mind were not Executive Councils of the old days but those in which a majority of the members had, subject to certain exceptions, full power over Government as is the case with the Executive Councillors in the Government of India." He appealed to the Congress, even implored them, to restore parliamentary government: they could do so in those provinces. "Where there is a will there is a way, if not, necessity often finds a way", he concluded.

Sir Jagdish Prasad asked how many Provincial Governors now regretted the disappearance of parliamentary government and had any government made an authoritative declaration that they would be glad to have popular Ministries back again. All that had been said was that until certain parties came to terms it was impossible to have National Government, the assumption being that while you could not force democracy down the throats of certain section of the people, autocracy could be forced down the throat of all sections.

Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna declared that the resolution raised not a peace-time issue but a war-time issue.

Sir R. P. Paranjpye pointed out that when people like him who had not always seen eye to eye with the Congress Governments were coming forward to advocate responsible governments in the provinces, it was clear they were doing so not with any selfish motive but because they were democratically minded and sincerely desired that democratic government should be established as early as possible. (Hear, hear). The resolution was adopted.

#### DEMAND FOR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The main resolution was moved by the *Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar*. It expressed "profound dissatisfaction" that all real power in the Central Government is still concentrated in British hands inasmuch as the key portfolios of Defence, Finance, Home and Communications continue to be withheld from Indians," the resolution called for abandonment at this critical stage of the existing policy of the British Government and urged the immediate adoption of the following measures by His Majesty's Government:

"1. A declaration that India shall no longer be treated as a dependency to be ruled from Whitehall and that henceforth her constitutional position and powers will be identical with those of the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth

"2. During the period of the war the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be reconstructed as a truly National Government functioning on the basis of joint and collective responsibility and consisting entirely of non-officials enjoying public confidence and in charge of all portfolios subject to responsibility to the Crown, and in regard to defence without prejudice to the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the executive head of the defence forces;

"3. The British Government should recognise the right of India to direct representation through persons chosen by the National Government in Allied War Councils wherever established and at the peace conference;

"4. The National Government should be consulted in all matters precisely on the same footing and to the same extent as His Majesty's Government consult the Dominions."

#### MR. JAYAKAR'S SPEECH

Mr. Jayakar commented caustically on the circumstance that a man of the status of Mr. Amey, who for 25 years had been working alongside Lokmanya Tilak,

was given charge of "Indians Overseas" as if other departments could not be administered by him or by other Indians. Referring to the Duke of Devonshire's claim that there was no impediment in India to the war effort, Mr. Jayakar narrated the Mahabharat story of the choices which Arjuna and Duryodhana made when Krishna offered them the alternative of his own spiritual and moral support or the support of his armed men. Arjuna chose Krishna's own individual moral support and Duryodhana the support of his armed men. And Arjuna won. "I hope", said Mr. Jayakar, "that history will not repeat itself. The moral support of this country, if obtained, will be a greater support than the support of hired soldiers and money. What could be greater than the moral support of a country like India which for centuries has put its whole faith in non-violence?"

Regarding General Chiang Kai-shek's visit, Mr. Jayakar referred to the belief in India that to see a great man was itself an inspiration and quoted an Englishman who had watched the Generalissimo from a distance at the ceremonial parade in Delhi. That Englishman had told him, said Mr. Jayakar, that the Generalissimo looked on with a sardonic smile as he watched the few tanks that passed before him. What he thought to himself nobody would know. Looking at the austere face of the Generalissimo mellowed by human sympathy, said the Englishman, he felt that if he was in his presence for three years, he would follow him to the ends of the testimony of a young Englishman.

General Chiang Kai-shek's own words, Mr. Jayakar proceeded, contained a note of admonition of the Indian Government, when he said that the united people of China were fighting this great fight for freedom and millions of Chinese had risen to heights of philosophy and patriotism, courage and endurance, sacrifice and resignation. Was the Government of India's policy likely to create any of these qualities in the Indian fighter, asked Mr. Jayakar.

For 150 years the Government had been telling the people of the country that they need not worry about the country's defences, the British Government was there to look after it. What was the position now? In a small place like Singapore, which had been declared once to be immune to all attack, they made the confession that there was no food, no water and no munitions. What guarantee did the Government give to the people? asked Mr. Jayakar, that these "three no's" would not be repeated in this country? "This Government", he declared, "has proved itself absolutely incompetent to conduct the war without the co-operation of the people. We want to tell this Government: 'Move aside We shall take charge of the conduct of the war, before it is too late.'" Mr. Jayakar went on to recall that Lord Bryce, after seeing India under official leading strings, said while leaving the country that he "smelt of gunpowder every where." A similar admonition was contained in General Chiang Kai-shek's farewell message in which he said he hoped that the British Government without waiting for demands from the Indian people would forthwith grant them real power. The General must have seen, commented Mr. Jayakar, that what had been given was only the semblance of power. The General wanted this real power to be given in order that Indians might develop their spiritual and temporal resources more and more. The General also declared that there was no possibility of world peace unless freedom was given to China and India. That again was an admonition and a warning to the British Government. "I do not know," said Mr. Jayakar, "whether the stories of niggardly treatment given to the General are true. But it is certain that India did not give him the reception which a free India would have given."

Sir B. P. Singh Roy, supporting Mr. Jayakar's resolution, said that they wanted attainment of Dominion Status through evolutionary processes as it had been done in the dominions. This was no novel proposal. Let them begin with a convention and after the war, let the convention be incorporated in the constitution. All were agreed that transfer of power to representatives of the people would alone rouse popular enthusiasm for participation in war. He concluded that the unitary form of Government in the centre should take the place of the present diarchic system of Government.

Sir Jogendra Singh complained that nothing had been done to awaken the patriotic fervour of Indians. He added that unless people were made to feel it was their war there would not be sufficient response.

Mr. Jammadas Mehta held that the August Declaration was hedged in with impossible conditions that would indefinitely postpone India's self-government. Britishers, he declared, had created vested interests to sustain which they were putting up all sorts of excuses to repudiate India's rights. He appealed to Britain to make a gesture which would heal the wounded feeling of Indians.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru saw no reason why the British Government should not put the Federation scheme into operation straightway. He opined if the trusted leaders of the country appealed to the people it would have electric effect. He declared that the authorities in India were acting in such a way as if they were concerned more in maintaining their domination over the country intact than in winning the war. Sardar Ujjal Singh expressed the opinion that Britain had done little to prepare them for the defence of the country. He added that the resources of the country were so vast that if they were properly tapped and harnessed, India would be turned into a great arsenal for democratic countries. Dr. Moonje asked Britain to touch the soul and heart of India and give up her mentality of distrust. Sardar Sant Singh hoped that better counsels would prevail with Britain at this critical hour. The resolution was passed.

#### PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in his concluding remarks, said, "It was eleven months ago we conceived the idea of the fight against the solid rock of obstinacy, prejudice and shortage of statesmanship. Nevertheless, our record is not so poor as some imagine. We have not been altogether unsuccessful. From the moment the idea of the Conference was mooted, I was strongly of the opinion that there were enough parties in the country and that it would be fatal to bring one more into existence. I had resolutely refused to walk into the trap which Mr. Amery would have wished us to walk into, namely, the formation of a middle party. If it should have been necessary for me to appear on the platform of any party you would not find me wanting. We must steer clear of all political and communal labels. Some of us have been dismissed because we have no following. Others have been dismissed because they have a large following,

'It was the clear duty of the Government to have brought the different parties together. Frankly the Government must identify itself with the national sentiments but it has miserably failed in this. Are there no disagreements between the political parties in England? What about Sir Stafford Cripps, a left-wing Labour leader? He rendered signal service to Britain in Russia. But for him Russia and England would not have joined. So demoralised is the condition of the British people here that they challenge our wisdom and our good intentions and we are disturbed. I wish my voice reaches them. I wish to declare that the first thing England has to do is to tell her agents here to identify themselves with us and to get over their present mentality which is responsible for the cleavage between the various communities.

"Let Mr. Churchill know that the present Government is existing as a Government because it is independent of our votes. The situation is such that I am bound to use blunt language. I will not subscribe to the view that all wisdom is confined to the Britishers and all unwisdom to us. The Britisher knows much more to destroy by criticism than to construct by helpful suggestions. We shall be untrue to England if we do not ask her to realise the danger lying ahead. Why should it be assumed we are not alive to the perils of the war? What is the result of our helping them all these months? We have been reminded time out of time—as if it is the Bible of Indian politics and it will be heresy to depart from it—of the August Declaration of 1940. Whom has Mr. Amery pleased by this Declaration? The Congress? The answer is, 'No'. The Muslim League? The answer is, 'No'. The Hindu Maha Sabha? The answer is again 'No'. Mr. Amery is bereft of all moral support of India. If we have declined to accept the August Declaration it was for very good reasons. Technical objections are one thing and statesmanship is another thing. If amendments of the constitution are required to bring about the necessary adjustments, why not do it? It is stated that the August Declaration anticipated the wisdom of the Atlantic Charter. When we ask if the Charter applied to India, the reply is 'No'. Surely the English people ought to be able to say a simple thing in plain English language. I want England to make up her mind at once that India is no more to remain as a dependency. It does not involve a radical change of the constitution. Filling up of the gaps is all that is required. Did Mr. Churchill require a change of constitution for signing the Atlantic Charter? We want this declaration at once. This needs no change of constitution. We do not want to be handed over as bales of goods to others. We want to defend ourselves; hence our demand.

"In substance our demand is sound, just and honourable. I am not interested in the controversial question as to which party's views should prevail as

regards the exact form of the constitution. Already communalism has played havoc with us. I do not think it can be exorcised until England declares India a self-governing country. I, therefore, think it is the essence of the situation that Mr. Churchill should make up his mind at an early date. If Mr. Churchill should fail, then woe betide India and England. Mr. Churchill alone can answer clearly, bravely and courageously the call of statesmanship.

The situation is fraught with great danger. It will be wrong on my part to ask for details of the Government's strategy and details of the steps they are taking but we do not want the fate which overtook Malaya to overtake India. The situation is serious. I pay a tribute to Mr. Arthur Moore for the bold stand he has taken up. I wish there were half a dozen Moores and half a dozen less of persons who shall be unnamed. I endorse Mr. Moore's suggestions to broaden the basis of the Indian Army. I do not share the complacency of certain Governments on the efficiency of A. R. P. organisations and Civic Guards. I want these organisations to be brought more and more under non-official control. I feel strongly because the very life of our children and women is involved. We are very vividly conscious of the dangers and we, therefore, ask that all organisations for the defence of the country must be brought under popular control.

I earnestly appeal to all leaders of big national parties. This is not the occasion when any one can stand on personal prestige. The time has come when they should meet together and stand up against the foul enemy and prevent him from soiling sacred India. If they come to a working arrangement among themselves, they will have earned the lasting gratitude of the country. It serves no useful purpose to trace the history of communal questions. We must rigorously suppress communal feeling and work for India as a whole. Let all realise they are equally children of India. Let them save the country. In this calamity we shall have to stand or sink together. The occasion demands we must cease to think in terms of communalism. I pray my appeal will not go in vain. It would do you no dishonour if you bend before your countrymen. You have been bending before others. For once learn to bend before your countrymen. When we shall have passed the ordeal of fire, we shall then be able to solve our differences".

## The C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference

FIRST SESSION—NAGPUR—7th. FEBRUARY 1942

### The Presidential Address

The first session of the C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference was held at Nagpur on the 7th. February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member of the Government of India was present. Sir S. Radhakrishnan also addressed the Conference which was attended by representatives from all over the province.

Condemning the "deliberate policy of repression" followed by the British Government regarding the defence of India, Mr. T. J. Kedar said that injury to India from British occupation had been most grievous in the matter of Defence, and added that notwithstanding persistent urgings of Indian statesmen, the British Government had refused to give adequate opportunities to Indians to be trained in all arms and rise to the highest posts of Command. The cup of Indian humiliation had been filled to the brim by the importation of Australian officers to command Indian troops. Australia excluded Indians as undesirable. But Australian officers might soon be not available, because Australia was recalling her troops from overseas and officers for the Indian Army might perhaps be brought from South Africa or South America.

Referring to Mr. Amery's repeated utterances that Britain was willing to concede self-government the moment there was an agreement between the major elements in India, Mr. Kedar said : "We refuse to accept the *bona fides* of Britain in this respect. Britain has not professed that internal dissensions stood by way of Burma's political advance. Nevertheless, England refused Burma's plea for self-government. The conclusion is inescapable that England is making communal divisions in India as a pretext for refusal to part with power, and give up her exploitation of India." The Duke of Devonshire's utterance in the Lords, Mr. Kedar said, was positively mischievous, and it was nothing short of instigating recalcitrant minorities to greater intransigence. The British Government, Mr. Kedar urged, should forthwith declare that India was no longer a dependency of England and British



Dominions but was an equal in status and functions, that India would have equal representation in all Imperial and International Councils and that her representatives would be selected by the National Government of India and take instructions from that Government only.

Concluding, Mr. Kedar said: "At the very moment that Indians are being invited to defend the Empire and the democracies of the world, the White races flaunt their arrogant claim to a privileged status, on the sole ground of colour. The colour bar is bad enough at all times; is it wicked in war time. It undermines the hesitant loyalty of the coloured races in the British Empire and makes them prone to listen to Japanese propaganda for emancipation of the coloured races from White domination, and to the cry of 'Asia for Asiatics.' Dependent and discontented India is a liability; a free and friendly India will be an asset—an incomparable asset to England. I venture to suggest that, if England will even at this stage do the right thing and act according to our recommendations, there are good days ahead both for India and England and the future of democracies will be ensured". Mr. Kedar held that the Conference was a non-party one and their only concern was to suggest ways and means by which the political progress and integrity of India might be secured and the present dangers of external invasion and internal commotion might be effectively met. They had met to support the recommendation of the Sapru Conference. Referring to Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Kedar said that the fact that Mr. Sarat Bose, whom the Bengal Premier had selected as Minister, was imprisoned and removed from Calcutta under the orders of the Central Government without the knowledge and consent of the Bengal Premier, who was responsible for Law and Order in the province, was enough to prove that Provincial Autonomy had considerably been attenuated if not abolished. Provincial Autonomy at its highest was never adequate or genuine. To-day it had practically ceased to be.

#### SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S SPEECH

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that the Indian National Congress had expressed its sympathy with Britain, Russia America and China, and it was no more pledged to the creed of non-violence. Yet, there was not nation-wide enthusiasm and effort for this war. The Congress was demanding that if this struggle was to be an inspired struggle, it was essential for the British to put their professions into practice and let India feel that the war was being waged not for vague terms like international democracy or freedom of nations, but for the freedom and independence of India as well. Only that feeling could rouse the enthusiasm of the Indian people.

Referring to the British Government's insistence that a Hindu-Muslim agreement must first be reached, Sir S. Radhakrishnan admitted that the people of India were to blame, but asked if the British had been helpful in enabling the people to solve this problem. He recalled the past history of India and the steps taken by the Government to keep the communities apart. The existence of Coalition Governments in the Muslim majority Provinces was evidence that sufficient understanding existed between the communities, and if the Government were sincere, they could proceed on that assumption. If the British Government were harping on the differences between the communities, the world could not help feeling that the war was being fought for maintaining the ramshackle structure called the British Empire.

Concluding, he said: "No nation has the right to oppress or conquer or even prosper by play of force. Every nation, weak or strong, must be granted freedom. It is therefore essential in the interest of world peace and the British Empire to grant the minimum demands of India."

#### RESOLUTIONS

The Subjects Committee of the Conference passed five resolutions. One demanded that the Government of India should immediately be nationalised and all portfolios including Defence, Finance and Communications be transferred to Indians who command the confidence of the country, though technically responsible to the Crown during the war.

Another resolution related to the international status of India, and the third urged abandonment of racial discrimination.

One resolution relating to the Provinces urged that Adviser Regimes must be ended, and popular governments should be brought in failing which at least non-official Executive Councillors should be appointed.

# The All India Muslim League

WORKING COMMITTEE—DELHI—21st. FEBRUARY 1942

## Resolutions

Meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League were held at Delhi on Saturday and Sunday respectively, the 21st. and 22nd. February 1942.

Fifteen out of 23 members of the W. C. attended the first meeting, with Mr. Jinnah presiding. Three resolutions were passed.

### DANGER OF WAR TO INDIA

By one resolution the Working Committee drew the attention of the Muslims of India in general and of provincial and other League branches throughout the country in particular "to the growing danger of war to India and the sufferings which people may have to go through under such conditions," and called upon them to be vigilant and ready to face any dangers if and when they come, with equanimity, courage and fortitude.

The Working Committee had full confidence that, in the event of grave developments or emergency, the Muslims would stand united and extend all assistance to the suffering and helpless and called upon the provincial Leagues to strengthen the Muslim National Guard organisation so that it might be able to render effective assistance in maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country and help the suffering humanity.

### SUFFERINGS OF MUSLIMS IN FAR EAST

By the second resolution the Working Committee expressed its deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Muslims and other Indians in Malaya, Singapore and others places in the Far East, and called upon Muslims all over India to do all they could to give relief to evacuees and to those who were at present stranded in the various parts of India. The Committee further required the British Government to help them in every possible way.

### SAPRU CONFERENCE DEMAND

The third resolution ran thus :—"The Working Committee have carefully considered the proposals formulated by the so-called Non-Party Conference presided over by Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* and are definitely of the opinion that if the British Government are misled into accepting them, Muslim India will without doubt revolt against any such decision, for these proposals clearly mean the virtual transfer of all power and authority to the Central Government to be set up as indicated in these proposals on the basis of India being a single national unit and enjoying Dominion Status in action, thereby establishing Congress or Hindu Raj for all practical purposes. Muslim India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders, who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organisations in the country, under the guise of interim changes during the period of the war but in reality the object behind is to coerce the British Government at this critical moment to surrender and compel them to prejudice and torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. This will be a clear breach of pledges given by His Majesty's Government and recently reaffirmed by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. *Amery*, in his speech at Leeds on February 4, in the following words : We shall stand by pledges, both by our general pledges as to India's future freedom, and also by our pledge to the different main elements in India's national life, that they shall not be coerced under a system of government which they are not prepared to accept."

"The Working Committee deplore the method adopted by the Non-Party Conference and its President, Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*, in levelling an attack against Mr. *Amery* who, as spokesman of His Majesty's Government, has refused to renege from the solemn pledges given to Mussalmans. The Working Committee trust that the British Government, inspite of present difficult war situation, will not submit to coercive methods adopted by Hindu India and will remain true to their pledges."

### COUNCIL MEETING—DELHI—22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

The resolutions were confirmed by the Council of the League which met on the next day, the 22nd February 1942.

At the outset, *Maulana Zafar Ali* sought the permission of the Chair to move the adjournment of the House to discuss a definite matter of public interest, namely, the critical situation created in the Punjab by the regrettable attitude of the Unionist Muslim League in regard to the promulgation of the General Sales Act, affecting as it adversely does the commercial interests of the Muslims of the Punjab, who are deeply resenting the measure and are being sent to jails along with thousands of traders of other communities."

The chair ruled out the motion. Mr. *Jinnah* said that the *Maulana* had sufficient time to give notice of a regular resolution on the subject or in the alternative, bring the matter to the notice of the Working Committee.

The Council re-elected Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah as president of the League for the year, his being the only name recommended by all the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The announcement of his re-election was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers.

#### CIVIL DEFENCE WORK

The Council confirmed resolutions, passed by the Working Committee of the League at its meetings held on November 16, December 26 and 27 and February 21. There was some discussion in regard to the resolution relating to emergency work if war were to spread to India. Sir *Yamin Khan* wanted the League to give a lead whether the Muslims should co-operate with other organisations in the civil defence work.

Mr. *Jinnah* said that the League had never declared that it would non-co-operate with any organisation. The resolution had left the matter to the discretion of the Provincial Leagues, who, in the interests of humanity, would carve out the best policy suited to the local needs.

*Maulana Zafar Ali* said that the Congress had already started work in connection with civil defence and the League should do likewise. He urged that the Provincial Governments should be asked not to interfere with the Muslim National Guard organisations.

Mr. *Jinnah* : It is for the leaders of the Provincial Muslim Leagues to make preparations to face all dangers, which are not at our door.

*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali-Khan* : A conference of the President and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues is being held here to-morrow afternoon, when this question will be carefully considered and a proper plan would be chalked out.

#### MR. FAZLUL HUQ CONDEMNED

The council adopted three non-official resolutions. One resolution strongly condemned Mr. Fazlul Huq for "becoming a mere puppet in the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha and adopting a policy of ruthless repression against the workers of the Muslim League which is the only popular representative organisation of the Muslims of India and also against the Muslim students of Bengal, who have undergone great suffering in the Muslim cause." The Council expressed "its sympathy with the Muslim League workers and the Muslim students of Bengal, who have thus served the best interests of the Muslim India."

#### SYMPATHY FOR MUSLIM KAZAKS

The second resolution expressed great concern and sympathy with the Muslim Kazaks "who have come into India from Soviet Russia and the great hardships and privations they have suffered owing to lack of food, shelter and sympathy. "This Council requests the Government of India to make proper arrangement and provision for the welfare of these Kazaks and find ways and means to allow them to settle peacefully in some part of north west India."

During discussion it was disclosed that the Government of India had sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for the relief of Kazaks and had also decided to permit them to settle temporarily in Hazara district of North-West Frontier Province. Mr. *Jinnah* told the council that the question had been carefully examined by the Working Committee yesterday and they had decided to depute *Sardar Aurengzeb Khan* to make personal enquiries and submit a report on Kazaks. He suggested that *Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan* could be associated with the enquiry.

Mr. *Jinnah* also sought to disabuse Muslims of the idea that the League had large funds. He said that their only income amounted to about Rs. 14,000 a year, solely derived from gate money and membership subscriptions. In spite of these handicaps, they were doing their best to serve the Muslims. He assured the Council that he and the Working Committee would not rest till proper

arrangements for the Kazaks had been made. Mr. Jinnah's suggestion was approved by the Council. Lastly, the Council, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in releasing Allama Mashhuni resented the ban placed upon his movements outside Madras and urged upon the Government the need for immediate removal of those restrictions.

#### LEAGUE AND MINISTRIES

The Council rejected a resolution, appreciating "the exemplary sense of discipline" shown by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Saadullah Khan in resigning from the National Defence Council.

During discussion, Mr. Jinnah made a statement. He said that it was wrong to describe the Punjab Ministry as a League Ministry. In Bengal, he said the Legislative Assembly consisted of 250 members of which 123 were Muslims. Similarly in the Punjab, Muslims were in a minority in the Legislature. In Sind Muslims had a majority of 10 but that majority could be reduced to minority whenever seven Muslims joined the non-Muslim minority, as had been done at present. It was true that in the North West Frontier Province Muslims had a clear majority, but the League did not function at the time of the last elections. He was confident that the League will have a majority after the next elections. Mr. Jinnah said that under the existing constitution, which was an *ex-parte* constitution, as far as the League was concerned, the League in the nature of things could not form a Ministry and it was wrong to say that there was a League Ministry in any province, or the League was not representative of Muslims because it could not form a Ministry in any province.

The resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

#### REFERENCE OF HOLY PROPHET IN TEXT BOOKS

A resolution relating to references to the Holy Prophet and other Muslim saints in the basic school text-books evoked some discussion. It was pointed out that unreverential language was used in regard to the Prophet of Islam in some of the United Provinces schools. Mr. Jinnah felt that the matter, although very important, was the primary concern of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. They had similar difficulty in Bombay and after the Congress Government had gone out of office, the objectionable textbooks were withdrawn by the Government. The best remedy would be to have committees to scrutinise all text-books for denominational schools so that nothing was included in the books by which the religious sentiments of any community were injured. He suggested that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should examine the whole problem and bring up the question, if necessary, before the annual session of the League at Allahabad in April next. This suggestion was accepted by the House and the resolution was withdrawn. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

#### ANNUAL SESSION—ALLAHABAD—3rd. to 6th. APRIL 1942

##### The Welcome Address

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Allahabad on the 3rd. April 1942 in the Jinnah Chaman amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Jinnah "Chaman" was beautifully illuminated and the huge pandal was packed to its full capacity.

Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, the President, arrived in the pandal exactly at 9-40 p.m. and was given a vociferous ovation by the crowd amidst shouts of "Jinnah Zindabad," "Muslim League Zindabad" and "Pakistan Zindabad."

The chief "Salar" of the national guard with a drawn sword led the procession. The President was accompanied by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Mr. Ghaznafarullah and Mr. Rizwanullah.

On the dais were seated members of the Muslim League Working Committee, the Muslim League Council, the members of the Reception Committee, a number of ladies and guests. Separate arrangements were made for purdah ladies on either side the dais.

After the recital of prayers, Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address in English. The Nawab in his address, explained at length the Muslim demand for Pakistan, which he claimed had "an immeasurable dynamic and potential value for the creation of a united India on the basis of treaties and engagements in co-operation with the British Government, which is undoubtedly giving a lead in transforming

the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations." A united India, he added, would be an asset to any federation or comity of nations and that unity could be achieved only if all the four parties interested in India, namely, the Muslim nation, the Hindu nation, the British nation and the Indian States combined together to so adjust their differences as to draw up a scheme of united independent sovereign states in India which could easily merge themselves into a Federation or Commonwealth of Nations for the purpose of solving India's economic and defence problems irrespective of what form the political system of the country would take according to its genius and requirements of circumstances and situation.

Dealing with Muslim objections to a strong Central Government, the Nawab said that the Mussalmans as a nation deemed it highly detrimental to their vital interests to accept any such Government at the Centre based upon the parliamentary democratic form of Government as this would mean that even in those provinces where they happened to be in majority, they could not have an independent sovereign state without being subordinate to the Government at the Centre, where the Hindus would be in permanent minority.

Considering the question to whom power should be transferred, the Chairman observed: "Obviously the power cannot be handed over to the Hindus, although they happen to be in a majority, because the Mussalmans do not agree to it. Similarly, power cannot be handed over to the Mussalmans simply because the British Government snatched away the empire from them. If the power must necessarily devolve, it must devolve on the Mussalmans and the Hindus both, and if it is to be given to both it must be according to an agreed solution of the constitutional problems arrived at by the Hindus and the Muslims. If no agreement could be reached, then it is possible that some form of constitution may have to be imposed from above, namely, by the British Commonwealth of Nations and that obviously must be based upon fairplay and justice to both the nations, not to mention the classes and communities."

Continuing, Sir Mahommed Yusuf said: "If the English-speaking peoples with the same religion and same language could belong to a group of nations, there is no reason why the Hindus and the Mussalmans should not be treated as two nations on the basis of incontrovertible historical facts. The Congress demand for immediate independence and transfer of power while the enemy is reaching the approaches to India, and in the absence of any understanding between the Hindus and Mussalmans, seems to be fantastic and selfish in the extreme, and savours of coercion of the British Government in the hour of its trial. The Sapru demand, while it may be practicable as an interim arrangement, fundamentally prejudices the basic demands of the Mussalmans and hence cannot achieve the main purpose of an "all-out war effort" against the invaders of India. It has been rightly appreciated in the statement made by Mr. Churchill that a hurried statement may lead to a great confusion and hamper even the present war efforts which all classes and communities are making against the Axis nation. Sir Stafford Cripps has come out to India to discuss the tentative terms of the declaration which has to be made by the British Government based on the recommendations of a committee of distinguished members of Parliament. Let us hope that some solution will be found for a re-adjustment of the differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans and some scheme would be evolved which will be in consonance with the two nations theory of the Hindus and the Mussalmans apart from other nations that exist on this continent."

#### Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also thank the All-India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as president for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all these preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength we are growing in our power of organising and managing our affairs better and better every day.

Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to every one of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it—not only study it but I appeal every one of you to make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to that programme and the policy that we have laid down. I

don't want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us to understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our Press and even our opponents' Press has enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us. (Hear, Hear).

Now let us talk less and work more. Not only that but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders and almost at our gates—that must force us to realise how grave the danger is in front of us and we do not know what is going to happen. *But ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you, Musalmans, organise yourself to meet all eventualities whatever may happen.* (Hear, Hear). These are obvious truths that I am telling you and I really don't think that now I should go on labouring and labouring because I think you have in my judgment to pick up the analogy: you are no longer infants but you have reached the age of discretion, and can act as men and women. On that point I shall say no more.

#### CRIPPS PROPOSALS

I know that the uppermost subject which is today not only engaging the attention of all India but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of His Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you, as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can, this draft declaration of proposals which have emanated from His Majesty's Government and they have come to the conclusion that they are just and final. Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details, I am going to pick up the main points. The main points that emerge from this document are, first the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the functions. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one Dominion or two Dominions or more.

The next point that emerges is this. Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed. Third, there is a provision for the participation of the Indian States. Fourth, His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitutions so framed. But subject to this there are exceptions. The first exception is the right of any British Indian Province that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decided. That is to say, the constitution-making body when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that constitution so framed emerges from the deliberations of the constitution-making body which will be, remember, a sovereign body, then it would be open for any province or provinces to say: "We are not in agreement with this constitution and therefore we are not prepared to accede to this constitution".

#### VITAL FACTOR FOR MUSLIMS

But the most vital point and the most important of all the points so far as we are concerned particularly is as to how a province or provinces will express their will and exercise their right. But that is not in the document. A suggestion, however, has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps and the suggestion is that if the province, the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by 60 votes, then it will be an end of it. It means that the province is bound to accede. But if they get 59 and the minority happens to be 41 then there will be a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then of course the non-acceding provinces can among themselves by the same process form another union or a Dominion or any single province may stand by itself as a Dominion. That is the corollary.

Then comes the provision for treaty, the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the Dominion or Dominions that may be set up as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding. I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the constitution-making body will be

set up or formed and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the constitution-making body will be composed by this method. Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections it would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower houses of all provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the constitution-making body by a system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one tenth of the number of the electoral-college. *Therefore, I think you understand that all the members of the assemblies of eleven provinces will meet together as one single electoral college and they will be roughly 1600 members and they will be entitled to elect one tenth, which means in all 160 members by means of proportional representation.* That is the constitution-making body.

After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives and the number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document—whether by nomination or some method of election. Now, gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

#### THE PRESENT

But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India. They desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian peoples in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentleman, are that the responsibility for the defence of India will be that of His Majesty's Government and the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people will be invited in the counsels of their country. This was the original wording but later on it was modified in this way. During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution might be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort. But this is the change in wording—"The task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India." Then they say that His Majesty's Government desire to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the counsels of their country.

#### PREFERENCE FOR ALL-INDIA UNION

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document and let us put it in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implication of the status and the powers of the Dominion or the Dominions that may be set up, that the main objective is the creation of a new Indian Union. We start with that. For that purpose a constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. A sovereign body will start—and to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripps—"with a preference for an All-India Union." Think what will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven assemblies meeting together as one college and by means of proportional representation, not separate electorates. *When that body is formed, I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union, and that is why it is so composed.* But after the constitution-making body has framed its constitution by a bare majority it is true that any single province or provinces who do not approve of that constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain here-after. But remember that at the most Musalmans even by separate electorates will not be more than 25 percent but by the system of proportional representation they might be less in number in the constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and therefore the probabilities are contemplated that the constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, the other point which is not there is, will the decision of this constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not? Reading that

document as I do, clearly, it cannot be anything else because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do not state so, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance, in our own constitution we have the clause that our constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is the constitution-making body. *If I may make a comment on this a little, Mr. Gandhi will come to this constitution-making body with a dead certainty of getting a constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union. Now when that is done, the province or provinces who would feel that it has been done, they are given the consultation: "no, no, you have yet another chance before you are killed."* (Laughter.) And what is that chance? The chance is this; it is not in the document. The suggestion of Sir Stafford Cripps—of course various suggestions have been made, we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes but at present he has made a suggestion—he says look here, if 41 are against it then a plebiscite. That is not the end of it. Plebiscite—so we shall have one more chance before we are dead. Whose plebiscite? Of course the plebiscite of the province. Whose self-determination do you want to ascertain? Self determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone? (Hear, Hear.) The answer is: "of course of both together". *That is another chance and if you get the plebiscite in your favour, then at least you will escape the slaughter house before our Kurbanī is made.* (laughter). This is the point of a most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

#### SLAUGHTER OF MUSLIM NATION

Then with regard to the present, gentleman, I can tell you nothing except this document because it entirely depends as to what will be the final picture. I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Sir Stafford Cripps or any body else. After explaining the draft declaration of the proposals *I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that the Musalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised.* (Hear, Hear.) *Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by overemphasising the territorial entity of the provinces which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions is fundamentally wrong.* (Hear, Hear.) *Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised.* (Hear, Hear.) *It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is inter-national in this sub-continent and differences, cultural, social, political and economic are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused but must be handled by all as realists. The alleged power of the minority in the matter of cessation suggested in the document is illusory as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one All-India Union in all the provinces and the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the Hindu minority in those provinces who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping Musalmans tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Musalmans will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces.* (Hear, Hear.) We cannot barter away with our consent the future for the present while fully realising the danger of foreign aggression and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of war. To do so will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundred millions of Muslim India to come (Hear Hear.)

As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the central and provincial governments which we are told must be considered within the framework of the existing constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document anything definite and concrete, for it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed and it is not known to us, not is it before us as yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable and it is one of these cases when the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles. *It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions specially with reference to the Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India* (Hear Hear.) *We will therefore endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Musalmans to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction, we do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war* (Hear Hear.), *after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material.* The document shows that Pakistan is trea-



ted as a remote possibility and that a definite preference for a new Indian Union which is the main objective and suggestion and the rule of procedure and the process indicated in the document and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps so far are against us *and we are called upon to play the game with a loaded dice*. Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know since the 27th of March in the task of most careful and searching examination of these proposals. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination, His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate and make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and finally acceptable to all. (Loud applause.)

#### Resolutions—2nd. Day—Allahabad—5th. April 1942

The second sitting of the open session of the League began on the 5th. April in the League Pandal at "Jinnah Chaman" under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

#### Condolence

At the outset, a condolence resolution was moved from the chair placing on record "the Conference's deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir *Shah Nawaz Khan* of Mamdot, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular."

Mr. Jinnah, in moving the resolution, referred to the late Nawab of Mamdot as a loyal and sincere worker and a great champion of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah offered his sincere sympathy to Nawab *Iftikhar Hussain*, the son of the late Nawab, who was present on the dais. The resolution was passed all standing.

#### Emergency Power for Mr. Jinnah

Mr. *Ispahani*, Deputy Mayor of Calcutta, moved a resolution authorising the President "till the next session, to take any step or action he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper, provided it is consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League."

Mr. *Ispahani*, referring to the present international situation and the approach of the enemy within the striking distance of India, said that it was necessary to give such powers to Mr. Jinnah, because he might have to take during any emergency momentous decisions, when it might not be possible for him to consult the Working Committee or the Council. He said that the Muslims had confidence and implicit faith in Mr. Jinnah, and no one would feel reluctant to give him this authority, which would be used by him in the best interests of the Muslims and the country.

Maulana *Jamal Mian* of Lucknow seconded the resolution.

#### MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI'S AMENDMENT RULED OUT

Maulana *Hasrat Mohani* wanted to move an amendment at this stage to the following effect: "As the object of this resolution, which is to appoint the Qaid-e-Azam dictator for one year, is to prevent the Muslim League from expressing any opinion about the Cripps Proposals, I give notice of my intention to move my resolution as an amendment to this resolution."

Mr. *Jinnah* ruled the amendment out of order. He said that Maulana *Hasrat Mohani* had moved a resolution in the Subjects Committee, but it had been rejected by an overwhelming majority after full discussion. According to the League constitution, a resolution which had been negatived in the Subjects Committee could not be moved in the open session, and it appeared that the Maulana wanted to evade this rule. Mr. *Jinnah* said that the first part of the Maulana's amendment was entirely incorrect and the object of the resolution was not to appoint him (Mr. *Jinnah*) a dictator. He said that a similar resolution was passed at Madras. The main object of the resolution, he pointed out, was to give certain specific powers to the President to be exercised in case of emergency. He said that neither the Working Committee nor the President of the League was a dictator. He added that many questions arose which required immediate attention. He explained that it had been specifically made clear in the resolution that the step or action taken by the President should be in furtherance of the objects of the Muslim League and should be consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League. Thus, concluded Mr. *Jinnah*, the preamble of Maulana *Hasrat Mohani's* amendment was

incorrect and the object was to manoeuvre to evade the League constitution. The amendment was ruled out of order.

[It was learnt that the resolution of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, which had been negatived by the Subjects Committee, and which he wanted to move as an amendment to Mr. Ispahani's resolution before the open session, suggested that the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps.]

*Maulana Hasrat Mohani* opposed Mr. Ispahani's resolution. As he rose to oppose it, there were continuous and insistent shouts from the crowd of "sit down" and "we don't want to hear you." Mr. Jinnah, intervening, said that everyone had the right to freedom of speech and the Maulana should be allowed to have his say.

*Maulana Hasrat Mohani* said that he never disowned Mr. Jinnah as the Qaid-e-Assam and had always recognised him as a great leader, but it was possible that at this critical juncture, Mr. Jinnah, if he was given unfettered powers, might take a wrong decision, namely, accept the Cripps Proposals. *Maulana Hasrat Mohani* said that according to the established creed of the Muslim League, the object of the Muslims of India was to establish completely independent zonal States, whose constituent units should also be autonomous and sovereign, and the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps. The proposals could only lead to the establishment of a single Dominion or two or more Dominions, possibly including a Pakistan Dominion, but the proposals would certainly not give completely independent and sovereign States as envisaged in the League creed. Mr. Jinnah, he reiterated, might take the wrong decision and accept the proposals.

*Chaudhury Khaliquzaman* supported the resolution

The main resolution as proposed by Mr. Ispahani when put to vote was carried by the House with the single dissentient vote of *Maulana Hasrat Mohani*.

#### MUSLIMS & THE WAR EMERGENCY

*Chaudhury Khaliquzaman* next moved the following resolution: "This session resolves that a Committee be appointed by the President to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of the life, honour and property of Mussalmans in consultation with the Provincial Leagues and to submit a weekly report to the President of the steps taken to carry out the above mentioned objects".

The mover emphasised the need on the part of the Muslim population to eschew panic in the present situation. He said that it would not do to start running away. The need of the hour was for them to organise themselves and have volunteers and nurses and organise relief work, etc., under local branches of the League to meet all emergencies and eventualities.

*Maulana Akram Khan* of Bengal, a member of the Working Committee of the League, seconded the resolution and Sir Abdullah Haroon supported it. They also emphasised the points mentioned by the mover. Discussion on the resolution was not finished when the session adjourned to meet again on the next day.

Mr. Jinnah decorated a national guard volunteer from Qanauj, Mohammad Yaqub, with the gold medal, which had been awarded to him by the Reception Committee, for pluck and promptness in putting out a fire in a portion of the main pandal last evening at risk to his person.

#### RESOLUTIONS—3rd. Day—ALLAHABAD—6th. APRIL 1942

The open session of the Muslim League, on resumption on the 6th. April 1942, continued discussion on *Chaudhury Khaliquzaman's* resolution authorising the President, Mr. Jinnah, to appoint a Committee to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Mussalmans.

The resolution was further supported by *Haji Sattar* (for the Madras Province), Mr. G. M. Syed (for Sind), Mr. Chundrigar (for Bombay), all members of the Muslim League Working Committee, and Mr. Mohd. Ismail (for Bihar), Mr. Mustafa Shah Gilani (for the Punjab), Khan Bahadur Mohd. Momin, Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League (for Bengal), Syed Abdul Rauf Shah (for C. P.), *Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni*, and Mr. Karimul Reza, M.L.A. They all stressed the need for organising the District and City Muslim Leagues throughout the country to meet any eventualities that might arise due to the approach of war to the very doors of India.

*Begum Aizaz Rasool* (United provinces), supporting the resolution, stressed the part which women could play in cases of emergency. She made special men-

tion of nursing, first aid and other relief work, which could be taken up by women.

*Begum Mohammad Ali* entered a strong plea for educating women, so that they could effectively share the responsibilities of men in these critical times. She exhorted Muslim women to join the League and organise themselves.

*Mr. Jinnah*, explaining the resolution, referred to the "grave internal and external dangers at this juncture" and the needs to save life, honour and property of 100 million Mussalmans. He said that it did not mean that they did not also have the concern and care of other fellowmen belonging to different communities, castes and creeds. He emphasised that the Muslims should organise themselves in a systematic and planned manner without any loss of time.

On the Committee, *Mr. Jinnah* continued, should be the right sort of men, capable and selfless, who could command confidence and respect of the people. The function of the Committee will be to deal with the situations as they might arise in different provinces and keep in touch with the various Provincial District and Primary Leagues, and guide them to put into effect measures suggested by the Committee.

*Mr. Jinnah* made a special reference to emergencies like shortage of food-stuffs and other necessities of life and the rise in prices, and said that they must be dealt with. He said that there may be villages or towns in which Muslims were in a handful minority, and he had grave apprehensions about them in case of any disorder. He suggested that they should be in cases of emergency brought at any cost or sacrifice to places where there were a larger number of Muslims.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

#### EXPULSION OF MR. FAZLUL HUQ

A resolution moved by *Maulana Jamal Mian*, and unanimously adopted by the session placed on record "its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from membership of the Muslim League *Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq*, who has completely forfeited the confidence of Mussalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal".

The mover said that this resolution would show that Muslims throughout India were behind *Mr. Jinnah* in the action he took against *Mr. Fazlul Huq*.

#### ASSISTANCE TO EVACUEES

Another resolution adopted unanimously by the session expressed heart-felt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore, and who have had to lose their all and sail homewards in most tragic circumstances in over-crowded and under-provisioned ships or trail backwords across forests and mountains foodless and without shelter for weeks on.

The resolution "condemned the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route, facilities, food and water" and demanded of the Government of India to take immediate and effective steps to evacuate other compatriots still in Burma by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and to place at their disposal available means of transportation and every possible facility.

The resolution drew the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate arrangements made for giving relief and succour to Indian evacuees who are reaching Chittagong and Madras Coastal ports amongst other places.

The resolution further called upon the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues to render every possible assistance to evacuees.

The resolution was moved by *Sir Nazimuddin* and supported by the hon. *Mr. Pasha*, Member of the Council of State.

#### STATUS OF BALUCHISTAN

The League, by a resolution moved by *Qazi Mohammad Isa* of Baluchistan. Member of the Working Committee, and unanimously adopted, demanded that "the Province of Baluchistan be forthwith raised to the same constitutional level as the other provinces."

#### ALARMING GRAIN SHORTAGE

A resolution put from the Chair drew "the attention of the Government of India to the grave situation that has been created in the country due to grain shortage, particularly of wheat, paddy and 'dal' and requested the Government to

take immediate steps for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs for the peoples of India."

An amendment in the Constitution adopted by the session increased the representation from Baluchistan on the Council of the Muslim League from five to ten.

#### RESTRICTIONS ON ALLAMA MASHRIQI

The following resolution was put from the Chair and unanimously adopted by the session :—"This session of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to remove all restrictions imposed upon Allama Mashriqi and also to lift the ban on the Khaksar movement and release unconditionally all the Khaksar prisoners."

Another resolution urged upon the Government of India "to review and rescind the order of internment in a distant province, passed against *Nawabzada Abdul Rehman Khan Bugti* of Baluchistan, because, the resolution said, there had been no judicial enquiry or finding establishing the justification of the said order, and in the absence of such a position, the step taken against him seemed to be arbitrary, unjust and one capable of terrorising and demoralising the general Muslim population of the province.

### The Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference

PLENARY SESSION—SERAJGUNJ—15th. FEBRUARY 1942

#### President's<sup>1</sup> Address

The plenary session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference was held at Serajgunj (Bengal) on the 15th. February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. *Mohomed Ali Jinnah*, who in the course of his address said :—

So far as the British Government is concerned, up to the present moment their position is that of 'nothing doing.' The August proposal still stands. We have accepted the principles of this proposal, but as they have come to translate that proposal, they have destroyed its principles by whittling these down by making us an offer which no decent, self-respecting organisation can accept."

Criticising the Congress, he referred to the observation made by Mr. *Rajagopalachariar* in the course of a recent speech that "there are two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims," and said: "this is the first time one of the foremost leaders of the Congress has had the frankness to declare that the Congress is a Hindu organisation, and I declare that the Congress does not represent anybody except Hindus and that the Muslim League represents Muslim India. I think there is hope for both of them to meet on equal terms, and on any other terms."

Coming to the problems of Bengal, he made a review of the incidents that led to the expulsion of Mr. *A. K. Fazl-ul-Huq* from the League and to the formation of the new Ministry in the province. He pointed out: "With all this generous survey, I ask you what is your verdict? Is this not a case of gross betrayal and treachery, not only to the Muslim League, but to Muslim India?"

#### GOVERNOR'S ACTION

Criticising the action of the Governor of Bengal during the last ministerial crisis, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Governor, instead of following the ordinary course which was being followed even in the British Parliament, instead of calling the leader of the largest party, he encouraged a man to canvass, before being commissioned, to form a Ministry, which practice was, to his mind, highly "improper and derogatory to the honour of any leader who claimed to be so." He maintained that the Coalition Party being dissolved, the Governor should have called the leader of the largest party, which was the Muslim League Party, to form a Ministry.

In this connection, Mr. *Jinnah* referred to the recent announcement of the Government of Bengal regarding the appointment of Whips in the Legislature, and inquired of the Governor, whether in his own country in a Parliament of 615 members, there were 17 Whips. Had they ever heard anywhere in this world that a Legislature of 250 members required 17 men to whip them.

The number of Parliamentary Secretaries to be appointed by the Government would also not be less than 17, and thus the total number of officials and Ministers and others came to something like 45 or 50. Out of 119 members, which he believed was wrong and getting shakier now, at least 50 had been kept by providing jobs. This was the position of the Ministry of Bengal.

Explaining the position of the Muslim League and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly after the formation of the new Ministry, Mr. Jinnah said that the Opposition was entitled and had every right to go and appeal to the electorates that Mr. *Fazl-ul-Haq* and those who were with him were elected by them and that they were now doing the greatest possible harm to the interest of Bengal Muslims and Muslim India. But the position is this that every step is resorted to not to come forward openly and appeal to the people. Who prevents them from doing that? They do not do that because almost 99 per cent of Bengal Muslims are against them."

#### DEFENCE ACT MEASURES

He strongly criticised the action of the Government in taking measures against League members under the Defence of India Act, and said: "Let me say from this platform that if His Excellency the Governor of Bengal does not stop this without delay, in Bengal there will arise a situation for which there is no parallel in the history of Bengal during the British Raj. We are not going to be suppressed and oppressed or tyrannised by this wretched Ministry which does not represent the Muslims.

"I hope that the eyes of the Viceroy will also open with regard to this issue. If they want to be constitutional and if they want to have this issue to be tested constitutionally, let us have fresh elections, let us go to our people, and let us take their verdict, to which we are willing to bow down."

Speaking about the Congress, Mr. *Jinnah* said that it was found from the speeches of Congress leaders, at any rate in their language, in their talking, that there was less aggressiveness and arrogance. In his recent speech at Madras, Mr. *Rajagopalachariar* frankly admitted that the President of the Muslim League had got a true following of the Muslims and that there were two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims.

"This," he said, "is the first time that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress had the frankness to admit that the Congress is a Hindu organisation. This is the truth, and I appeal to Mr. *Gandhi* to bow before the truth, and I declare that the Congress does not represent anybody except the Hindus and that the Muslim League represents Muslim India. If this is admitted, then I think there is hope for both of them to meet on equal terms and on no other terms."

#### DIVISION OF INDIA

Discussing the question of partitioning India as demanded by the League, Mr. *Jinnah* made a reference to the "latest pronouncement of the great international statesman, Pandit *Jawahar Lall Nehru*, who always thinks in terms of international problems, and for whom India does not exist," and said that in this pronouncement, Pandit *Nehru* expressed astonishment how the Muslim League could talk of partitioning India and of forming a separate Muslim bloc when some Islamic countries, who were separate Muslim blocs, had lost their freedom, etc.

"Well," said Mr. *Jinnah*, "I can say to Pandit *Nehru*, my dear friend, let us look after ourselves and see how we can stand by ourselves. May I know from him when, now that big and powerful nations could not stand alone, how the whole of India could stand by itself alone?" Mr. *Jinnah* maintained that the scheme of partitioning India, as envisaged in "Pakistan," was so simple that all educated men and even a large body of educated people, had understood what it meant.

#### A PRACTICAL ISSUE

Discussing the question of interim and future constitution of India, Mr. *Jinnah* said that it was a practical issue of immediate importance. It was being emphasised what was to be done immediately and, with regard to that, he only wanted them to understand how matters now stood.

"On the one hand," he went on, "the British Government are holding fast to the August Offer, which consists of two parts—one part is the declaration of His Majesty's Government's policy with regard to the future constitution of India and the other part is that in the interim period the British Government propose to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General and associate the major political parties by allowing them to send their representatives in the Council.

The Congress had definitely and clearly taken up the position that they are not prepared to have anything to do with any kind of change, or changes, or expansion of the Government in the Centre, or in any provinces, within the framework of the present constitution. Therefore, the Congress did not accept the basic principle underlying this proposal of His Majesty's Government of August 8.

Then there are other parties who are doing reconnaissance or patrol work of the Congress, such as, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and the Non-party Conference, who are one and the same and who are ready to tumble in. All of them have the same objective, that is, to corner the British Government.

"What they cannot achieve by friendly talks, they want to achieve by backdoor policy, and they call it the national Government. But to whom the national Government will be responsible? Not to the nation which does not exist of course, nor to the nations which do exist, but to the Crown, which means the Governor-General and the Viceroy because the Crown is merely a symbol.

"They think that if they can entrap the British Government by this method, their next cry will be: 'The Viceroy is a tyrant, the Viceroy is unconstitutional, he is overriding the majority decision of his Cabinet every time. Therefore, it must now be made responsible to the Legislature.' These all are not words, but a game through which I think, even a blind man can see. Why do not they, instead of putting the cart before the horse, put the horse before the cart, and say this is our complete scheme.

"Well, that is the position so far as the Hindu leadership is concerned. So far as the British Government are concerned, up to the present moment their position is that of 'nothing done'. The August proposal stands.

#### LEAGUE POSITION

"So far as we are concerned, our position is this that while we have accepted the principle of the August proposal, when they have come to translate it they had destroyed the principles by whittling them down, by making us an offer which no decent self-respecting organisation can accept. Therefore, our position is this that we are willing, provided we get a real share not only in the authority in the government of the Centre, but in all the provinces.

"Once the other side accepts that principle, namely, the Congress—and it is no use really saying that the Congress does not represent a solid body of Hindu opinion—there will be something to discuss. The Congress certainly to-day represents a solid body of Hindu opinion. The bodies other than the Congress have really no claim to speak on behalf of the Hindus, except for themselves. Let the Congress accept that principle, let them also say that they also want the real share, then we will sit down and consider."

In conclusion Mr. *Jinnah* said: "Let us stand firm, united, consolidated. Harness and prepare yourselves, the Muslims of Bengal, under this flag, and I assure you that we shall win, and let me declare as your President of the All-India Muslim League, with all the responsibility of what I am saying, that no amount of repression, no amount of persecution, will make us budge an inch from the right position which we believe we are in, and that Muslim India is to-day strong enough to resist; and that if you coerce us and if you force us, there will be a situation not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, for which there is no parallel. We are prepared, we are earnest, and we are not merely talking. Do not force the issue upon us. You will ruin yourselves if you do that.

#### Resolutions

The conference demanded the dissolution of the provincial Legislature and the issue of an order by the Governor of Bengal for a fresh election. It expressed its complete want of confidence in the present Ministry, formed by Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Huq in defiance of the policy and principle of the All-India Muslim League, and demanded the resignation of the representatives of the Muslim constituencies who had joined the Progressive Party and the Progressive Coalition Party from the Assembly and the Council, as they had lost the confidence of their voters and of the Muslim public, and challenged them to seek re-election on their new ticket.

The conference condemned the "repressive policy of the present Government which aims at the suppression of the Muslim League organisation and the legitimate civil rights of the people, particularly its ill-conceived campaign, against Muslim students and the gross misuse of the extraordinary powers assumed by Government on account of the war situation, by employing the Defence of India Rules for the furtherance of personal ends and party tactics."

It endorsed and reiterated its whole-hearted faith in the ideal of Pakistan, and expressed the firm determination of Muslim Bengal to make every sacrifice necessary for its early attainment.

By another resolution the conference requested the Governor of Bengal to "drive Dr. *Syamaprasad Mookerjee* from office as Minister of the Crown, as he,

while in office, offered himself for arrest by defying the orders of another provincial Government in British India namely, the Bihar Government, established by the Government of India Act and deriving its authority from His Majesty the King Emperor."

Resolutions, expressing satisfaction at "the country-wide allegiance of the Muslim of Bengal to the ideals, policy and programme of the Muslim League; demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all conditions under which Allama Mashriqi has been released; calling upon all Muslim organisations to form defence guards for the maintenance of order and discipline among the populace in the event of air raids and other possible armed attacks; and recording the heartfelt sympathy of the conference with the Muslims of Bhagalpur, who are alleged to have been subjected to oppressions at the hands of Hindu Mahasabhaitees, were also adopted at the conference."

## The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

### General Secretary's Report

The history of the Muslim Students' Federation can be traced back to the year 1937 when some Muslim students of Bengal seceded from the A. I. Students' Federation and organised themselves separately. The reason for the step was the same which had compelled Muslims in general to leave as a body the A. I. National Congress and resuscitate the Muslim League. And just as the Muslim League met with strong opposition from the Congress, Muslim students of Bengal met with immediate opposition to their efforts to form a separate organisation of their own. Various were the reasons advanced against the step and many were the obstacles put in their way. It was said that students should be above communal considerations and that interests of all students, Muslim and non-Muslim, were the same. Many Muslim students themselves were set to oppose the formation of the new organisation. But realising that the A. I. Students' Federation was a thoroughly Congress-minded organisation and that the Congress itself had become an anti-Muslim body, Muslim students in Bengal, and presently in other provinces also, persevered in their purpose of breaking away from hostile influences.

To Mr. Mohd. Noman of Aligarh goes the credit of laying the foundation of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. With commendable energy and singular devotion he took up the task of the organisation of the Muslim student community into one body. Presently *Qaid-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah* extended his blessing to the Federation and the *Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad* shouldered the heavy responsibility of action as the president of the organisation.

Since then the Federation has continued to grow in strength and popularity and now has branches in all the provinces. The most important and active branches affiliated with the parent body are in:—Bengal, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P., Delhi, Mysore and at Aligarh. The Federation undoubtedly is a force in the country to-day.

To Bengal again goes the credit of giving the lead in the matter of active participation in politics and to make sacrifices in the cause of Islam. The recent developments in the province and the part played by the Muslim Students' Federation has shown that the Muslim youth can give a good account of itself in the struggle in which the Muslim League is involved.

### PUNJAB ORGANISATION

At the time when the A. I. M. S. F. was in its infancy Muslim students in the province realised their duty of forming their own Federation. Messrs. Hamid Nizami, Khurshid Alam took up the task. An extensive tour of the province was undertaken by them in the year 1937-38 and the message of unity and organisation preached. Next year some of the workers of the Federation, particularly *Khan Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi*, took up the propagation of the Khilafat Pakistan ideal and this gave an impetus to the youth movement and it began to attract attention of the people at large. *Mirza Abdul Hamid* then took charge of the Federation and till last year continued to strengthen it vigorously.

### PAKISTAN CONFERENCE

The Pakistan Conference, organised by the Federation last year, under the presidency of the *Qaid-e-Azam*, created history. It was as a result of the untiring work of Ch. *Nasrullah Khan*, General Secretary, and Ch. *Mahd Sadiq*, Treasurer, that the Conference was such a success. *Mirza Abdul Hamid*, President, and his co-workers all worked day and night to make the Conference the success

that it was. It was the first such enterprise of its kind. Those who deserve mention were: *Z. K. Malik, Ashfaq Bokhari, Manzur ul-Haq, Mohd Ashraf and Malik Sadiq.*

It would be unfair not to mention some of those outsiders who helped us generously by money and advice. The *Nawab Sahib of Mamdot*, President, P. P. M. L., comes first without whose generosity the Conference could not be held indeed. The Federation is also indebted to the *Himayat-e-Islam* for granting us the use of the *Islamia College* ground, and its President, *Sheikh Sir Abdul Qadir*, for guidance in the matter and advice. We are also thankful to Principal *Khawaja Dil Mohammad* for the help and encouragement he gave us.

#### MUSLIM GIRLS' FEDERATION

The need of a girl's section of the P. M. S. F. was keenly felt, but without the help of *Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum Sahiba* and *Miss M. Qureshi*, it could have scarcely been possible to do so successfully. We are thankful to them and for their help in the arrangements for ladies in the Conference. We also thank the Press, specially the "*Eastern Times*" and the "*Orient Press*" for giving wide publicity to our endeavours.

Soon after the Conference it was decided that the Federation should have a non-student president. Accordingly *Mian Bashir Ahmed, Bar-at-Law*, editor, the "*Humayun*" was elected president. The choice was widely approved on all sides. The Federation is at present working under the guidance of the *Mian Sahib*.

On election, the immediate task before the President was the implementing of the two main resolutions passed at the open session of the *Pakistan Conference*, viz., the drafting of the constitution of the Federation and carrying the message of the League to the masses through a rural propaganda sub-committee which was formed for the purpose.

The first task was completed by the President with the help of Messrs *Hamid Nizami, Mohd Shafi and Hamid Ali*. The constitution is a model of democratic idealism.

#### PRIMARY ORGANISATION

As there were no properly constituted primary branches of the Federation it was decided that general elections should be foregone and that *Mian Bashir Ahmad* should nominate a Working Committee and office-bearers and that when the work of organisation is completed, election should be held in the month of November. The organisation work was taken up in earnest and very soon we had properly constituted and active branches at *Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Campbellpur, Peshawar, Wazirabad, Gujranwala, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal, Ferozpur, Sialkot, Malerkotla, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan* and elsewhere.

The Muslim Girls' Federation did not lag behind and established branches at various places. *Miss M. Qureshi* deserves special credit for her work in going from college to college for the establishment of the branches. Now the students of the *Jinnah College for girls* have consolidated the organisation and enrolled about 1,000 members.

The organisational work was completed within three months of the *Pakistan Conference* and before the summer vacations, even though our annual examinations intervened soon after the Conference. During this period *Raja Ahmed Khan* and *Malik Mohd. Sadik* also carried on work in the Government and *Islamia Colleges* in connection with the Adult Education Scheme.

#### RURAL PROPAGANDA

During the summer the Federation worked along with the League in Lahore and conducted a number of public meetings in condemnation of those who had joined the so-called National-Defence Council in defiance of the A. I. M. L. mandate. Happily the incident was soon closed so far as the Punjab was concerned. During the summer vacations the Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee of the Federation undertook an extensive tour of the mofussil in order to take the message of the League to the masses in rural areas. Districts thus visited were: *Sheikhupura, Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Sialkot, Gujrat and Lyallpur.*

The workers among whom Messrs. *Z. K. Malik, Nasrullah Khan, Md. Sadiq, Ilyas Qureshi* and *Zahur Alam* deserve special mention, delivered numerous speeches and explained the Pakistan ideal to the villagers. They also established branches of the League and the Federation at the various places. The Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee has issued a separate report on the subject.



As soon as the colleges reopened, preparations were set afoot to hold the general elections according to the new constitution. Primary branches were properly constituted by the Organising Secretary and a Council was set up. Owing to certain difficulties which then arose Mr. Mohd. Noman, Deputy President, A. I. M. S. F., had to visit Lahore to guide the elections. The Federation established 13 different departments, each with their conveners and office-bearers. These are: Education (Raja Ahmad Khan), Political Propaganda (*Zahur Alam Shaheed*), Lectures and Debates (*Gulzar Hussain*), Constitution Committee (*Iftikhar Ullah*), Library (Raja Ahmad Khan), Volunteers (Raja Sher Ali), Propaganda (*Ilyas Qureshi*) Urdu (*Hamid Ali Khan*) and Funds (*Mohd. Ashraf*). These departments are functioning properly.

The Lyallpur branch of the Federation undertook, during the period under review, to hold two conferences, which proved eminently successful. The first was the Educational Conference held under the presidency of *Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon* and the second was the Pakistan Conference under the presidency of *Malik Barkat Ali*, M.L.A. The success of these conferences under difficult circumstances has brought laurels to the Lyallpur Muslim students. And now the Rawalpindi branch is taking upon itself the arduous task of holding the 2nd Annual Session of the Federation.

## Second Session—Rawalpindi—7th. & 8th. March 1942

### Presidential Address

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was held on the 7th. & 8th. March 1942 at Rawalpindi in a specially erected pandal in the Islamia High School grounds. The session proved highly successful and on both days the audience, which included many non-Muslims, was at least 25,000 souls. A special feature was the presence of a large number of Muslim girl students from all over the province.

In the course of his presidential address, *Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman* reviewed the history of Hindu-Muslim relations in India during the last 25 years. The Congress, he said, was throughout chary of recognising the rights and demands of Muslims, which ultimately led the Muslim League to formulate its demand for separate homelands for Muslims in zones where they are in a preponderant majority. Referring to his own and the late *Maulana Mohd. Ali's* experiences in the Congress during the Khilafat agitation days, the speaker explained how the Muslim leaders were disillusioned and how they were at last compelled to adopt the ideology propounded by Allama Iqbal. The Chaudhri Sahib next referred to the Congress regime in the provinces which had further convinced them of the enmity of the Congress towards the Muslims. *Panulit Nehru*, he said, was anxious to form a federation of India with China but would not think of Muslim provinces forming a federation of their own. He also referred to the alleged fears of the Sikhs and the Hindus from Pakistan coming into operation.

Referring to the proposed statement by Mr. *Churchill* he said: "If any constitution, prejudicial to Muslim interests, is proposed by the British Government we shall resist it with our blood." He appealed to the Hindus to come to terms with the Muslims and form a united front.

### Resolutions—WARNING TO BR. GOVERNMENT

Mr. *Hamid Nizami* next moved the main resolution which is as follows:—

Resolved (a) that this Conference of the Muslim Students' Federation declare unanimously and in unequivocal terms that no constitution shall be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is based on the principle that the Muslims in India form by themselves a separate nation and the North-Western and North-Eastern Muslim Blocs are their homelands wherein they shall be entitled to the right of self determination unhampered. (b) that this Conference of the Muslim Students' Federation strongly protest against the mischievous attempts and machinations of certain Hindus to frame a constitution without the consultation and to the detriment of the Muslims; warns the British Government that any attempt on their part to go back on the declaration of Aug. 8, 1940, shall be stoutly resisted by the Muslim nation all over India and (c) assures the Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah*, that the Muslim nation under his able leadership shall, in a thoroughly organized and disciplined manner, strongly resist any such attempt of the British Government and shall readily make all sacrifices required of them in this connection.

The mover in an impassioned speech explained the present critical situation in the country, the expected declaration by the British Government regarding the

constitutional problem and the efforts of the Hindus to stampede it into acceding to the Hindu demands made by the *Sapru* Conference, and going back on the pledges repeatedly to the Muslim nation regarding their position.

*Raja Iftakhar Ullah*, who ably seconded the resolution, further explained the Muslim position and stated that if the British Government makes a bargain with the Congress at the expense of the Muslims, it will cost it dear. *Suraiya Rashid* of the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, further supported the resolution and assured the Qaid-e-Azam that Muslim women shall fight shoulder to shoulder with their men both in the Congress and in the Government if Mr. *Churchill* betray Muslim India. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Thereafter Maulana Jamal Mian Farangi Mahalli addressed the session on Pakistan and gave reasons for the Muslim political creed. It was a very impressive speech and the audience was visibly moved. The session terminated after a poem by Mr. Nafis Khalili

#### Resolutions—2nd. Day—8th. March 1942

On the next day, the 8th. March, *Pirzada Ghulzar Husain*, General Secretary read his annual report. The following resolutions were then moved and passed unanimously :—

1. Resolved that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation in their second annual session strongly affirms that "Pakistan" is their goal.

2. The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation reiterate their faith in the able leadership of Qaid-e-Azam Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah* and fully endorse the programme and policy of the All-India Muslim League.

3. Resolved that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation request the authorities of the Punjab University to create a chair for Islamic History in the University.

4. Resolved that this session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation demands of the Punjab University that Urdu should be taught up to the M. A. classes and it should be made the medium of instruction for teaching various subjects in schools up to the Matriculation standard.

*Raja Iftakhar Ullah*, *Shaikh Misbah-ud-Din Arif*, *Miss Farkhanda Akhtar*, *Mahk Mohd*, *Sadiq*, *Nasim Rizwi*, *Pirzada Gulzar Husain*, *Mr. Mohd. Sadiq* respectively spoke in support of the resolutions. A resolution demanding that the restrictions imposed on Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Mashriqi should be removed and the Khaksar leader should be allowed to return to the Punjab was also passed. By another resolution it was decided to continue the work done by the Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee of the Federation for the next year.

## The All India Momin Conference

Working Comm. Resolutions—Delhi—6th. April 1942

#### AMERY'S FIGURES CHALLENGED

The Working Committee of the All India Momin Conference, which after its meeting at Cawnpore, on April 3, 4 and 5, under the chairmanship of Mr. *Sheikh Zahir-uddin*, President, resumed its session at Delhi on the 6th. April 1942 and passed a resolution expressing surprise and regret at the recent statements of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons with regard to the status of the All-India Momin Conference, as also the population of the Momin community and characterising them as unworthy of an authority of the rank and position of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

The Committee asserts "that the population of the Momin community is, under no circumstances less than 45 millions, and that it comprises not only weavers and agricultural labourers, as stated by Mr. Amery, but like other communities of India, also of lawyers, legislators, Government servants, businessmen, cultivators, artisans and factory workers."

The Committee considers it vitally necessary to point out that the figures given in the Census Report of 1931, on which Mr. Amery has based his statements, are incomplete, misleading and unreliable in as much as,

Firstly, the writer of the Census Report of 1931 has made it abundantly clear that the castes shown in the said Census Report are representative only and not exhaustive and that a complete tabulation of the whole population has not been

given, the total numbers covered by the Castes Census table being only 220 million out of India's 335 million people. Secondly, the census figures classify as Momins only those who are actually engaged in the weaving profession, to the exclusion of all other Momins, who, since after the decay of the handloom industry, have taken to various other occupations and whose number is enormously large. Thirdly, the figures of the vast numbers of the Momins residing in Assam, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar as also in Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore States have been totally left off and do not find place in the Census Report of 1931. Fourthly, the figures of the Momin population were adversely affected by the campaign which, according to the writer of the Census Report, was attempted against any record of caste in 1931, and lastly in the Census of 1931 large numbers of Momins have themselves recorded as Sheiks and under other denominations, to conceal their Momin identity, with a view to save themselves from the social humiliation attached to the Momins as a class, as also to escape the disability of getting into the Police, Military and other Government Services, with which the Momins suffer as a community upto this day.

The Committee, while vehemently repudiating the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and strongly condemning the unwarranted pretensions of the Muslim League to represent Muslim India, emphatically asserts that the All-India Momin Conference alone represents the 45 million Momins and their interests.

## The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference

Thirteenth Session—Lahore—20th. March 1942

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivering his presidential address at the thirteenth session of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* at Lahore on the 20th. March 1942, *Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani* discussed at some length the Islamic ideal of peace in the national and international spheres.

The Maulana said that the Jamiat stood for the practical realisation of this ideal, and it had always rightly guided the Muslim community in India in all religious, cultural, economic and political matters. He strongly refuted the allegation that the Jamiat was a satellite of the Indian National Congress.

### BRITAIN TO BLAME FOR THE DEADLOCK

Dealing with the political problems of India, the Maulana recounted the various declarations of His Majesty's Government and criticised the British Government's attitude in declaring war on behalf of India without consulting the representatives of the Indian people. It was natural for India, he said, to demand a declaration of the war aims of the British Government. The declarations which were made in this connection indicated practically nothing about the fate of India in the post-war world. The result was that the various political parties in India decided their own policies, ending in a constitutional deadlock in eight out of the eleven provinces of British India.

*Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani* then referred to the Atlantic Charter and deplored Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons that, due to certain difficulties, India could not be allowed to enjoy that freedom and democracy which the Charter held out to the smaller nations of Europe. The Maulana expressed great concern at the dark shadows of war that were being cast over India both from the East and the West.

The Maulana hoped that at this critical hour at least the British Government would change their attitude. "The whole world should know and realise that we cannot forget our aim of freedom and self-government even to the end of our lives." He added, "We refuse to bow before an oppressive conception which is antagonistic to our ideals."

The Maulana, proceeding, said that a politically conscious group among the Muslims thought that the system of separate electorates was detrimental to the interests of that inter-communal harmony and goodwill which was so essential for a country like India. The Jamiat, he added, had, after long deliberations, adopted the principle of joint electorates with reservations for safeguarding Muslim rights. This question, he said, was still open, and the different political parties of the Indian

Muslims, should after mutual consultations, arrive at a desirable conclusion in this regard.

#### POSITION OF MUSLIMS IN A FREE INDIA

The Maulana then proceeded to discuss the position of the Muslim community in a free India. In this connection he divided the political thinkers of India into three groups, namely, those who were after establishing a strong Central Government of the majority community to whose sweet will all the interest of the Muslim community should be subordinate. This was a conception which, the Maulana added, would never be realised in actual practice.

The second group, according to the Maulana, was one which, impressed by the aims of the first group, tried, by breaking up the unity of India, to create a separate political sphere for itself and to attach itself to the British Crown directly. It was evident, the Maulana continued, that the supporters of the theory of separation knew that the form of government that could be introduced in these areas would not be based on the sovereignty of the Islamic law, but on modern democratic lines. If the view of this group were to prevail, the problem of safeguarding the rights of minorities would be transferred to the provinces, with greater complications than that exist at the centre. He pointed out that one of the complications that would arise was that, while in the provinces or zones with a Hindu majority, the Musalmans would be insignificant minorities which could not have any effective say in the administration, the provinces or zones with a Muslim majority would have very strong Hindu minorities which could interfere effectively with the administration.

#### " ONLY PRACTICABLE SOLUTION "

The third group was the one in favour of a Federal constitution for India, in which all the component parts would be independent and autonomous and free from intervention from the Centre. According to this group, the Centre would be invested with the powers which the autonomous parts would willingly and unanimously part with. Each part of the Federation would provide the necessary safeguard for the cultural, political and religious rights of the minorities. The far-sighted among the leaders of India considered this last proposal the only practicable solution of the constitutional tangle of India, in the existing circumstances.

Maulana *Hussain Ahmad Madani* proposed the inauguration of a separate department of Religious Affairs to look after the religious, cultural, economic and social problems of the Muslims of India whatever the ultimate form of Government may be. This department would be run on purely religious lines, and should possess the power to legislate with a view to brining about social and economic reform among the followers of Islam in this country without the fear of interference from the Federal Government.

#### DIFFERENCES AMONG MUSLIMS DEPLORED

Concluding, the Maulana deplored the internal differences among the various Muslim political bodies and said that their differences had eliminated the possibility of co-operation in matters which were of common interest for all. The Jamiat, he said, was always in favour of full co-operation in all such matters, and had always been ready to extend the hand of friendship towards other bodies. A false sense of pride should not stand in the way of different political bodies among the Muslims co-operating with one another in matters of common interest and welfare. If such an attitude were not adopted, the Maulana was afraid, the interests of the Community would be fatally injured in the coming struggle.

#### DISTURBANCE AT THE CONFERENCE

Several persons sustained injuries when missiles were flung towards the dais by a section of the audience. This occurred when the President of the Conference, *Matulana Hussain Ahmed Madani*, referred to the Pakistan scheme in the course of his presidential address, and remarked that it would strengthen the hands of imperialism. A section of the audience took exception to these remarks, and raised full-throated cries of "Pakistan Zindabad". This was the signal for uproar and confusion, in which missiles were flung at the dais, resulting in injuries to about a dozen persons. An attempt was also made by certain persons to set fire to the camps of the delegates, but Ahrar volunteers promptly arrived and controlled the situation.

A posse of police rushed to the scene, but the President warned that no policeman could enter the pandal. The President resumed his address, while the police threw a cordon round the pandal.

## Resolutions—Lahore—22nd. March 1942

## MAULANA AZAD'S ADVICE TO MUSLIMS

Advice to the Muslims not to stand in the way of freedom by presenting different schemes and to stand on their own legs and work for the independence of their country was given by *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, Congress President, addressing the concluding session of the Conference on the 22nd. March 1942.

The Maulana said that India should take a lesson from the experience of various European countries. India was no longer a spectator; the time for her trial had arrived. The question of the future of Muslims in India was a vital question and it had been worrying him for the last thirty-eight years. During this period, there had been no change in his attitude towards this question. He had been trying to find out the root cause and had come to the conclusion that, unless they were free from British imperialism, no other question should be raised. Muslims should not ask for any safeguards but should try to attain the country's freedom first. He was confident that no earthly power could efface nine crores of Muslims in this country nor any constitution or safeguards could save them if they had no confidence in themselves and did not attempt to stand on their own legs.

## RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted several resolutions.

While reserving the right to express its opinion on the proposed constitutional reforms, the Conference in a resolution, called upon all Muslims and Muslim organisations in India to sit together and formulate a common formula, agreeable to all schools of thought, to be presented to *Sir Stafford Cripps*.

*Maulana Nuruddin Bihari*, moving the resolution, warned the political leaders not to accept a scheme which might be detrimental to the interests of the country.

By another resolution, the Conference viewed with great concern the detention of political workers in India without trial and urged the Government either to place them on trial in a court of law or release them forthwith. Failing this, the Conference requested the Government to grant maintenance allowance to the families of the detenus.

The other resolutions *inter alia* urged the abolition of distinction of castes or creed, high and low, amongst the Muslims, demanded the introduction of reforms in Baluchistan, advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and urged the removal of restrictions placed on the Kazaks.

## The All India Ahrar Conference

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—21st. & 22nd. Feb. 1942

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TABOOED

No annual session of the Ahrar Conference was held in 1942 and none since the war began; for the all India Ahrar Working Committee passed a resolution on the 11th Sept 1939 at Amritsar refusing to help the Government in their war effort. In pursuance of that resolution speeches were made in different places and arrest courted which resulted in a large number of people going to jail in 1939, 1940 and 1941. In 1942, on the 21st. and 22nd. of February, the All India Ahrar Committee while adhering to the decision of the 11th of Sept, 1939, tabooed civil disobedience and so all speeches against recruitment etc. were prohibited. The resolution in fact prohibited all form of civil disobedience on any account whatsoever. This decision was taken in view of the tense situation in the country arising out of the nearness of war theatres. The resolution runs as follows:—

(1) This meeting of the all India Ahrar Committee informs all provincial committees and their respective branches that no subordinate committee is permitted under any circumstances to embark on, or join in, any civil disobedience movement or other aggressive action. If any situation arises anywhere, the central office should be appraised of its details and no step should be taken without the previous written sanction of the centre.

(2) In view of the present situation in the country, the central office is instructed to issue a circular letter to all subordinate branches inviting their attention towards the following matters:—

(a) Enrolment of members, (b) organising of volunteer corps, (c) contradicting false rumours, (d) prevention of panic among the general public, (e) cooperation

with all non-official organisations in the country for social service according to local conditions and irrespective of political differences.

**Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—15th. March 1942**

**CONNECTION WITH AZAD MUSLIMS SEVERED**

On March 15, 1942, a meeting of the all India Ahrar Working Committee was held at Lahore in which the decision was taken dissociating the party from the Azad Muslim Conference. The reasons are embodied in the resolution which runs :

"In view of the fact that so far no circumstances have arisen to urge for a reconsideration of the policy adopted by the Ahrar organisation about the war in September 1939,

"And in view of the fact that the Azad Muslim Conference in April 1940 by its resolution No. 12 adopted the same policy about the war as had been adopted by the Ahrar organisation in 1939,

"And in view of the fact that several parties joining the Azad Muslim Conference or their great and responsible leaders have acted against the war policy decided by the conference in April, 1940, and when doing so they did not consider it advisable even to hold mutual consultations, and have thus acted very irresponsibly,

"And in view of the fact that the Board appointed by the Conference to formulate Muslim demands within two months has not done anything in the matter even after nearly two years of its constitution, and now it has been proclaimed that the present is no time to formulate such demands,

"This working committee considers it necessary to sever its connection with the Azad Muslim Conference, to inform the president of the Conference of the above decision and to direct its representatives on the Conference Board not to participate in its meetings in future.

**Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—17th. & 18th. August 1942**

**DISSOCIATION FROM CONGRESS DECISION**

On the 17th. & 18th. August another meeting of the All India Ahrar Working Committee was held at Lahore after the arrest of the Congress leaders and the disturbances ensuing therefrom. The following is the text of the resolutions adopted at the meeting.

The Working Committee of the All India Ahrar-i-Islam has taken into consideration the situation that has arisen out of the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay and the resultant action of the Government of India. For the guidance of the workers and sympathisers of the Ahrar organisation and the general Muslim public, and as an advice for the Indian public, the working committee has arrived on the following conclusions:—

(1) In respect of the present world war, this working committee stands by the policy enunciated by it at the beginning of the war on the 11th of September, 1939, at Amritsar, in pursuance of which a large number of Ahrar workers and volunteers had to undergo imprisonment, and some of them are even now bravely bearing the rigours of incarceration. Even after the lapse of three years this working committee does not find any change in the circumstances which would justify any amendment or rescission of that policy.

(2) The All India Ahrar Committee in its meeting of February 21, 1942, decided to prohibit all civil disobedience in view of the internal and external situation faced by the country. At that time corn and other necessities of life were scant and dear and there was a danger of foreign attack and internal disorders.

In view of the situation arising out of the Congress decision of Bombay and the corresponding Government action resulting in riots and disturbances in the country, this Working Committee is more firmly of the opinion that the previous decision should be adhered to, and the Ahrar organisation should not undertake the responsibility of any aggressive movement as the present circumstances render it not only difficult but even impossible to keep the situation peaceful.

Therefore this working committee does not find it advisable to recommend to the All India Ahrar Committee to rescind its decision of February last.

(3) A reign of violence has been established in the country by the actions of the Government and a section of the Indian people. This Working Committee finds itself unable to support the violence of either party, and whereas it wants to impress on its countrymen the fact that desperate injury to lives and property is not approved of even by Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, it wants to impress on the Government also the fact that desperate shooting to control the situation and firing not only on excited crowds but even on people sitting in their

buildings and creating peace through terrorisation cannot be useful either for Government or for world peace, and therefore it should not allow its police and military to do things as they like. Temporary provocation should not cause Government to be panicky and desperate urging it to take action inconsistent with its delicate responsibilities, which action might look vindictive.

(4) Not only the freedom of India and other countries, but also a reign of justice and an equal and equitable struggle for the prosperity of all humanity is needed to ensure world peace; and the victory of any party in the present world war cannot guarantee its future peace or freedom as is evident from the aftermath of the last world war. So the policy of subjugating, or keeping under subjection, other nations cannot ensure for the benefit of any country for any long period of time.

(5) All Muslims generally, and the Ahrar workers and sympathisers especially, should bear it in mind that the present disturbed conditions have emphasised the need for peace and accord in the country, and so we should try to eliminate all factors provoking communal passions. And now when the Government and a section of the people are at logger-heads with each other, none should side with either party or become the tool of any other group in the country working for communal conflict.

Under the circumstances, instead of going to jails we should concentrate all our energies on service of the people, establishment of internal peace and safeguarding against impending dangers.

Similarly it is the duty of the Government and the people in conflict with it to prevent the creation of an atmosphere for communal disturbance, and not to search a weak prey for their anger and rage.

(6) Majlis-i-Ahrar has always stood for independence of India and other Islamic and non-Islamic countries, but under the present critical circumstances it considers all civil disobedience in the zeal to help the allies or in the hope of welcoming the Axis powers not only unnecessary but also inadvisable.

## The All India Azad Muslim Board

Resolutions—Delhi—1st. & 2nd. March 1942

### NATIONAL POLICY FOR MUSLIMS

A meeting of the All India Azad Muslim Board was held at Delhi on the 1st. March 1942 and the following resolutions were passed unanimously after a full-day discussion :—

"Since the last session of the Board, the cataclysm of war has advanced with giant strides and the whole world lies engulfed in a deluge of blood. India is no longer a distant spectator of the war, but finds itself within the zone of imminent danger. Questions which only two years ago appeared to be vital and claimed all attention have paled into insignificance. New problems of world-wide import have arisen and great and small nations and countries are uniting their forces and resources to save their freedom. Courageous efforts have to be made for new international alignments to develop and co-ordinate determined endeavours to meet and overcome the grim consequences of the war. To avert the fate of those who have succumbed to aggression, it is imperative that no effort should be spared to knit all the people of India into a united endeavour. The country's will should be galvanised and its immense potential effectively developed for the task of defending the country and thereby establishing its freedom in a world free of aggression. The Board is convinced that there is general unanimity in India that the country must forthwith cease to be a Dependency if this end is to be achieved and that it should have the freedom enjoyed by the other free countries of the world, including England and the Dominions. Representing nine constituent Muslim organisations and speaking for the bulk of the Indian Muslims, this Board fully supports this demand.

"Further, it feels constrained to conclude that the specious plea of the Secretary of State for India, and the British Government that the Muslim League is the authoritative spokesman of the Indian Muslims, and that its attitude and demands constitute an insuperable obstacle in the way of India's freedom is an indefensible subterfuge to mask the disinclination of the British Government to part with power. This serious gravity of the situation occasioned by the menace of an early invasion most imperatively demands that the British Government

should immediately recognise India's freedom and transfer real power to enable the representatives of the people to assume complete responsibility for the defence of the country as a whole in full and mutual collaboration with the other free countries.

#### SYMPATHY FOR MUSLIM COUNTRIES

"The Board has noted with keen regret that the conflagrations of war has enveloped nearly all the Muslim countries of the world and their independence has been held to ransom. From the eastern source of the Red Sea in the near Middle East no less than in Malaya, China, Russia, and certain parts of Europe, Mussalmans along with their other people are exposed to the horrors and severe ordinance of war.

"The Board conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the Muslims and other inhabitants of these countries who are suffering from the savagery of aggression. It earnestly hopes that the freedom of all the countries and nations which have fallen victim to old or new aggressors will be fully restored.

"It further desires to place on record its fullest sympathy with Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran in their present plight and hopes that all of them will emerge strong and free in a world free from aggression and exploitation."

#### Resolution—Second Day—Delhi—2nd. March 1942

##### CABLE TO MR. CHURCHILL AND CRIPPS

The meeting concluded on the next day, the 2nd. March, after three days' sitting.

The Conference passed two resolutions at to-day's session, one urging unconditional release of all detenus and the other, appealing to all Muslims that under the present changing circumstances, they should, for their national existence, unite and act unitedly in order to safeguard their national interests.

It was understood that a copy of the resolutions passed by the Board was forwarded to the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill, the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery, and Sir Stafford Cripps.

## The Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference

Calcutta—21st. June 1942

#### NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD'S OBSERVATIONS

"Having regard to the long fostered relations between the two sister communities of India, centuries ago, there is no reason why at this fateful hour, or at any other time, strenuous effort should not be made to bridge the gulf of difference that unhappily divides them still," observed the *Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad* presiding over the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference, held at the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 21st June 1942.

The *Nawab Bahadur* said that a true citizen born on the soil of India was he who was actuated by sentiment of patriotism to see complete understanding arrived at between these great communities living side by side in their resolve to stand firm in order to be benefited by the increasing glimmer of the dawn of India's salvation.

Confident in the fulfilment of their aims and aspirations, the *Nawab Bahadur* concluded by appealing to Indians to seek to dispel the gloom of disunion and distrust for the sake of their common good by becoming for ever united through trials and privations, through prosperity and adversity in the enduring service of their dear and beloved Motherland.

#### MR. FAZLUL HUQ'S OPENING SPEECH

Opening the proceedings of the conference, the Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. *Fazlul Huq* said that from the beginning of his political life he realised that there could be no salvation for India without Hindu-Muslim unity. At the same time he felt that for the freedom of India, the advancement of the Muslim community was essential. He felt that such unity and amity were even more necessary for the Muslims themselves. "The true Islamic spirit was based upon friendship and cooperation with neighbours, whatever their religion, race or colour. He admitted that he had always been a strenuous fighter for the rights of Moslems, but he knew that these were based on justice and even if some of his Hindu friends had at time misunderstood him, they now realised that he had always worked in the



best interests of the communities and the country. Today Bengal, among the Indian provinces, faced dangers of an order which people in other areas did not, perhaps, realise. In this danger, it was imperative that all Bengalees should unite in facing the common danger and the common enemy. A house divided against itself shall fall, and it was for Mr. Huq a consolation, even in the midst of the dangers and distress of today, that former political opponents had come together to share the service of the Motherland. Even dangers lost their terror when shared with friends and he was confident that the new unity established in Bengal would have far greater consequences.

#### CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Wishing the movement complete success the Congress president, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* in a message to the conference said:—

It is needless to say that in the present critical and grave times our province stands in need of no movement more than this. He added, 'It is unity and unity alone that is needed most at this juncture of common danger and let us agree that we have differences about future, but let us also agree that we can respond to the demands of the present. We have had enough of quarrels but it must not hinder us from creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence and goodwill at a time when the invader is knocking at our doors.'

#### LORD BISHOP'S MESSAGE

Welcoming the move, the *Lord Bishop of Calcutta* in a message said that the Punjab had set an example which, he sincerely hoped, Bengal would endorse by her own action.

#### RESOLUTIONS

The conference adopted a resolution emphasizing that the need for unity and solidarity of the people of Bengal had never been so pressing and immediate as to-day and it was only on the basis of such unity that they could hope to overcome the perils which threatened to engulf them.

It urged the people of the province to unite in the common task of safeguarding internal security and order, storage and distributing of foodstuffs and other essentials, and the provision of medical and other relief, irrespective of differences in caste, community, creed or political affiliation, and to carry on an intensive propaganda to stress the overwhelming identity of interests of the people in this crisis and also constitute peace brigades for despatch to places where there is any apprehension of communal trouble.

By another resolution the conference decided to set up a non-party and non-political organisation, and for this purpose a council of the Hindu-Muslim unity association was formed with about 100 members with direction to frame the constitution and to work out a plan and programme of action for the proposed organisation.

A third resolution stressed the need for creation of a permanent trust fund for publicity through speeches and pamphlets, creation of a literature of communal harmony and dissemination among the masses of greater knowledge of the common achievement of the two communities in the fields of cultural and spiritual activities.

# The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Lucknow—28th. February 1942

## NEW COMMITTEE ELECTED

The Old Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha met at Lucknow on the 28th. February 1942 in the after-noon at the residence of Sir J. P. Srivastava under the presidentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar and passed the last year's accounts and transacted such other formal business not taken up during the Bhagalpur session of the Maha Sabha. The dispute about the Ajmer Hindu Maha Sabha elections also came up for consideration and the matter was referred to Mr. V. Deshpande for arbitration.

The Committee met in the evening in the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall and elected the following office-bearers unanimously.

*Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* (Working President). *Dr. B. S. Moonje*, *Bhai Parmanand* Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, *Dr. V. Naidu*, Mr. B. Kharparde and Mr. Ganganand Singh (Vice-Presidents). *Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth* of Kotra (General Secretary). Mr. *Ashutosh Lahiri* and Mr. V. Ketwar (Secretaries).

The following constituted the Working Committee :

Rai Bahadur *Harish Chandra* (Delhi), Rai Bahadur *Mehrchand Khanna* (N. W. F. P.), *Lal Hiram Seth* (Agra), Sir P. Srivastava (Oudh), *Capt. Kesho Chandra* (Punjab), Mr. *Ramkrishna Pande* (Mahakoshal), *Dr. Ulgunkar* (Bombay), Mr. L. V. *Bhoputkar* (Maharashtra) Mr. *Patwardhan* (Karnatak), Mr. M. N. *Mitra* (Bengal), Mr. *Chandkaran Sa da* (Rajputana), Mr. *Kaliram Baraman* (Assam), Rai Bahadur *Venkataram Aiyar* (Madras), *Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Sastri* (Tamil Nad) M. *Rameshwar Misra* (Bihar), Mr. *Veermul Meghraj* (Sind), Mr. *Khannam* (Gujarat), Mr. *Subba Rao* (Andhra), Mr. P. C. *Joglekar* (Berar) and Mr. *Chandra Gupta Vedalkar* (nominated by the President).

## Resolutions—Lucknow—1st. March 1942

### IMMEDIATE GRANT OF FULL FREEDOM

The newly elected Working Committee met on the next morning, the 1st. March 1942, as also the All-India Committee

The following resolutions were passed by the All-India Committee after prolonged discussions :—

“The Hindu Mahasabha had called upon the British Government to put into practice the war aims professed by England and the Allies that they had joined this titanic struggle for establishing the principles of freedom and democracy. The Hindu Mahasabha regrets that Britain has failed to convince the people of Hindustan of the sincerity of her intentions and takes this final opportunity of warning the British Government that the tragic reverses in the Far East can be prevented in Hindustan by England granting fullest political freedom to India and securing the wholehearted sympathy and co-operation of the Hindus.

“Of all the tragic events in the present war, the fall of Singapore affects most vitally the question of Indian defence. The only effective measure to counteract the defeatist shock and rouse the Indian people with proper spirit in this crisis is a bold and unambiguous proclamation on the part of the British Government that India is granted full independence and co-partnership equal with Great Britain in the Indo-British Commonwealth and such a declaration must be immediately made by the British Government.

“The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha urges the British Government to realise that the sooner the British make India feel that fighting in alliance with Britain is fighting for India's independence, the better for both England and India.

“This All-India Committee demands the abolition of the India Office and of the India Council, the complete nationalisation of the Government of India on democratic lines, the concentration of political sovereignty in India and the transfer of the entire administration of India to Indian hands, including Defence, Finance, Foreign Affairs and relations with the Indian States.”

This resolution was proposed by Mr. N. C. Chatterji, seconded by *Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth* of Kotra and was carried unanimously.

## CIVIL DEFENCE

"In view of the deplorable unpreparedness of India in matters of defence, the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindu Sabhas throughout India and particularly in Provinces and Districts which are exposed to the dangers of air raids or invasion by foreign powers to organise civil defence parties and to take all possible steps to raise and equip a National Militia for preventing the ravages caused by possible air attacks, anti-Hindu hooliganism and internal commotion. The Hindu Mahasabha defence organisations should act in co-operation with the authorities and with the defence parties started by other political organisations. The Provincial Governments should bring about proper co-ordination between the civic and A. R. P. services and enlist public sympathy and co-operation and grant fullest recognition to the Mahasabha defence organisations and afford them facilities to organise and equip the Mahasabha volunteer forces. The Committee calls upon the Government to repeal the Arms Act and to provide the members of the defence organisations with arms so that they can form a real National Militia, able to withstand and cope with all possible internal emergencies."

This was moved by Mr. N. C. Chatterji and was passed unanimously.

## REPEAL OF ARMS ACT

"In view of the fact that the Government has so far failed to organise adequate defence of India, the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Government to : (1) repeal the Arms Act so that every Indian should be able, without any difficulty, to secure rifles and to learn their use to shoot down invaders as a second line of defence and guerilla warfare in support of the defence to be put up by the Government ; (2) encourage and provide funds for the organisation of a National Militia so as to enable every able-bodied Indian to do his part in the defence of his country ; (3) establish immediately factories for the manufacture of aeroplanes, motor cars and warships and to give help to the industrialisation of the country to bring about self-sufficiency in the matter of weapons for the defence of the country ; and (4) provide serviceable and non-serviceable rifles with ammunition free of charge to schools and colleges as a preliminary for training of educated youths."

This was proposed by *Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra*, seconded by *Pandit Ravenshwar Misra* and *Major P. Bardhan* and was passed.

## ANTI-NATIONAL SPEECHES

"From the speeches made and the statements issued by the prominent Congress leaders the Hindu Mahasabha apprehends that the Congress may accept some anti-democratic and anti-national agreement to placate the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha which is the only body to speak on behalf of the Hindus warns the Government that, if any such agreement is arrived at behind the back of the Hindu Mahasabha, it will be stoutly resisted by every possible means."

Proposed by Prof. *Despande* and seconded by *Pandit Vejalankar* and *Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna*, this was adopted unanimously.

## STUDENT-CONTACT-MOVEMENT

"Resolved that the Hindu Mahasabha should launch a strong Hindu-Student-Contact-Movement and should establish, aid, or actively support the Hindu Students' movement. The Mahasabha should form a Committee which should see that the rights of Hindu students are not violated in any part of India."

Moved by *A. K. Bajpai* (U. P.), seconded by *Nigam*, and supported by *Vaidyarat W. K. Dani* (Akola).

## MIGRATION OF KAZAKS

"The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha views with great concern the migration of several thousands of the Kazaks who are reported to have entered Kashmir with property looted from the adjoining territory. The Committee condemns the Government of India for maintaining them in India, and urges upon them that they should assist the Kashmir Government in repatriating Kazaks back to their own territory."

Proposed by *V. G. Deshpande*, and supported by *Mr. Indra Prakash*.

## PAKISTAN SCHEME IN ASSAM

"This meeting of the All-India Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that a deep-laid design to reduce the majority strength of the

Hindus in Assam and convert it into a Muslim majority province is being carried on systematically and effectively by colonising the province with Muslim emigrants from outside and that the organised aggression of these Muslim emigrants have been endangering the life and property of the Hindus in Assam. This meeting views with great apprehension the recent inauguration of the land development scheme by the last Sadullah ministry, which is really intended to abolish the "Line system" and to bring about the speedy realisation of the Muslim dream of "Pakistan" in the province of Assam. This meeting, therefore, warns the Assam Government that any attempt to modify or alter the "Line system" to the detriment of the interest of the Hindus in Assam will be resisted by the Hindu Mahasabha at all costs and calls upon the Assam Government to desist from pursuing such a suicidal policy at a time when complete cohesion among all sections of people is in their interest of fighting against the imminent foreign aggression."

Proposed by Mr. A. Lahiry and supported by Mr. P. Dewa, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. Kali Ram Burman.

## The Tamilnad Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Third Session—Coimbatore—20th. June 1942

### Presidential Address

Presiding over the third session of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference which met at Coimbatore on the 20th June 1942, Dr. B. S. Moonje said:

"We are meeting under most tragic and humiliating circumstances. It is tragic, because there is a fundamental change in the attitude of the British Government towards India and its future. We had not completely comprehended in all its implications the real inner meaning of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, when he used to say that the further devolution of power from the British to Indian hands must be subject to two stipulations—one was due fulfilment of the obligations imposed on the British by their historic connection with India and the other was that the constitution should carry with it the acceptance of the principal elements in India's national life. By natural instinct, as it were, the Indian political opinion suspected, from the frequent repetitions of these two stipulations, progressive deterioration in the British sentiment towards India.

### SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

"Latterly as matters developed, the Indian political opinion frankly declared that it read into these stipulations, the desire of the British to take back with one hand what they profess to give with the other and their cynical acquiescence in the indefinite continuance of disagreement and consequently of the present regime in India. But the cat was not out of the bag until, being cornered by the not very complimentary expression of American opinions, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India with what are known as the War Cabinet's proposals. But the fundamental soul of the proposals which was carefully prepared as a bait to the Congress to swallow was the freedom to the provinces not to accede to the Indian Union if they so desired. In its quite naked form, it meant the partition of India into several smaller sovereign States, that is the Balkanisation of India, so that these several sovereign States may be kept constantly quarrelling among themselves, thus providing a ready excuse to the Britishers to keep the Indian army and therefore the finance in their hands for ever. Having thus sown the seed of dissensions and civil war, Mr. Amery, turning round, takes somersault and openly says that 'the British system which we have developed in a homogeneous country is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India.'

"The meaning of it all in plain words is that the Cripps' mission to India has assured the Muslims that the British Government as such is prepared to concede Pakistan to them if they want it and having done this, it has further strengthened the mentality of antagonism in the Moslems towards the Hindus, because it is the Hindus who are alone opposing Pakistan."

## BALKANISATION OF INDIA

Referring to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's proposals for Hindu-Muslim unity, Dr. Moonje said:

"Our friend, Mr. Rajagopalachari, is and has been carrying on an intensive and fanatical propaganda for influencing the Hindus to concede Pakistan to the Muslims and thus agree to the partition of India. After Pakistan will follow, as night follows the day, Bangistan, Hurstan, Christianstan, and so many other 'stans' like them. Is it not Balkanisation of India? Is it not dethroning and degrading India from the high pedestal of a powerful and respected nation to the insignificant position of a mere conglomeration of principalities, feared and respected by none and threatened and dominated by every powerful nation? Who can say that it is not humiliating to the Hindus? Where practically all the Mussalmans, whether in the Congress or in the Muslim League, or whether nationalists or communalists, are speaking with one determined voice in favour of Pakistan and partition of India into various sovereign States, is it not derogatory to the dignity and prestige of the Hindus that one occupying the eminent position in the community like Mr. Rajagopalachari should come out openly to support Pakistan and to preach against what is practically held unanimously by the entire Hindu community in India as an harbinger of wreck and ruin? In fact, even his supporters admit that Mr. Rajagopalachari enjoys hardly any support in the rest of India except among Muslims. Practically all his colleagues in the Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others, are strongly opposed to him though not equally determined to risk the displeasure of the Moslems by starting a counter-propaganda. The irony of the situation, however, is that Mr. Rajagopalachari is maintaining that his only fault is that he is emphasising what has been consistently and continuously preached by Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress and outside in respect of Hindu-Muslim unity.

## SEPARATE NATION THEORY

"Here we as outsiders, must clearly see and analyse, as outsiders, as third persons, what has been actually said by Mahatma Gandhi and what are its clear implications. Mahatma Gandhi says, 'If the vast majority of the Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise and if they want to partition on that basis, they must have the partition unless Hindus want to fight against such a division.' Mr. Rajagopalachari has been ignoring the most relevant and significant part of the last sentence, that is, 'Unless Hindus want to fight against such a division.' Mr. Rajagopalachari and a few Hindus of his way of thinking may not have the heart to fight for the integrity and solidarity of India, but from the experience he has been gaining in this propaganda tour of his, he must admit that the Hindus are determined to fight to the last drop of their blood to maintain the traditional, religious and cultural solidarity of India and Indian Empire, that is, *Sarvabhoumatva* and *Ekrashtriyatva* of our Vedic prayers of the entire country, lying between the river Sindhu in the north and the sea in the south.

"Now I would like to deal with the whirlwind propaganda of Mr. Rajagopalachari in favour of the Pakistan of the Muslim League. Mr. Rajagopalachari believes that Japan will invade India and conquer it and that the British Government will not be able to put up an efficient and successful defence. Thus, he argues, if Japan succeeds and conquers India, the British Government will go and with it all hopes and plans of non-violence and non-co-operation, Central and Provincial Legislatures and their Ministerships, National Government and Defence Minister and everything that they were negotiating for with Sir Stafford Cripps. In fact, he believes, that, if Japan succeeds, India will be made a slave much more than we are at present. He, therefore, wants to fight Japan and defend India; but he has not got confidence in him and in the Hindu community to which he belongs. He, therefore, wants to combine with the Mussalmans. Mussalmans will not unite with him unless their demand of Pakistan is accepted. Therefore, Mr. Rajagopalachari readily accepts their demand of Pakistan and is terribly annoyed with the Congress for having rejected his proposals and, in its place, accepted Babu Jagat Narainlal's proposals for rejecting Pakistan.

## THE INVASION FEAR

"Now let us analyse his position and see how far he is right and where he is erring. The very first point that strikes me as peculiarly significant is why

Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, the Hindu, alone should be so terribly unnerved at the prospective Japanese invasion. Why should Mr. *Jinnah*, the Mussalman, not be unnerved ? On the other hand, he is perfectly calm, quiet and is maintaining his balance. If the danger is real, it should equally be a danger both to the Mussalman and to the Hindu. Because if, with the defeat and disappearance of the British the Independence will disappear, so also will be the case with Pakistan. Then why should Mr. *Jinnah*, who is so keen on Pakistan, remain so indifferent ?

"Mr. *Rajagopalachari* believes that, if the Madras Government had been in his hand, he would have raised a well organised militia throughout the Province. Saying is easy than actually doing it. Who would allow him to raise a militia ? Is there a National militia in Sind, or in the Punjab or in Bengal where the respective provincial governments are in the hands of the peoples of the respective Provinces ? And, what is more, all the three Prime Ministers in these Provinces are Moslems and they also want Pakistan. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that, if Mr. *Rajagopalachari* would be made the Prime Minister of Madras, he would raise a national militia all throughout the Province, even supposing that the Muslim friends of the Muslim League to whom he wants to concede Pakistan will be all co-operating with him. Where will he get the rifles and cartridges ? Will the Viceroy allow him, even if there will be a National Government in the Centre in collusion with the Muslim League ? The National Government will not be of the kind on which the Congress is insisting ; because Sir *Stafford Cripps* and the British War Cabinet have set their face against it with fanatic determination.

#### INDIA'S DEFENCE PROBLEM

"Mr. *Rajagopalachari* wants to defend India against the Japanese invasion. Sir *Stafford Cripps* says that 'this defence is a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government,' and that 'the defence will not be in Indian hands even if all the parties want it.' If the defence is not entrusted to the National Government, even of that kind which Congress is insisting upon, then what part of the defence will be left to it and to Mr. *Rajagopalachari* ? What the Government wants from us is our money and labour. It does not want us to control and guide our Defence System.

"If such is the limited scope of Sir *Stafford Cripps*'s proposals regarding what he designates as the National Government, a high sounding but meaningless name, then where is the chance for Mr. *Rajagopalachari* to create a National militia and to defend India from Japanese invasion ? This is all moon shine."

Proceeding, Dr. Moonje referred at length to the system of guerilla warfare and said that the Britishers were quite confident of themselves overwhelming and smothering the invasion of India by the short statured Japanese by matching the big-bodied Pathans and the tall Punjabi Mussulmans against them. They needed no military help from the civilian population as did the Russians and the Chinese. They only needed moral and military resources, that was, money, raw materials and labour which they expected the civil population of India should supply them profusely. If you could pray for the British victory whole day and night as Mahatma Gandhi advised, it would be an additional merit. Now the Mussalman knows it all and therefore is calm, quiet and composed and has not become panicky.

#### APPEAL TO HINDUS

Dr. Moonje appealed to the Hindus not to become panicky. Even if they conceded Pakistan as Mr. *Rajagopalachari* advised them, they would not have Hindu-Muslim Unity. The only message, therefore, that he could give them was "Rally round the Hindu Mahasabha and do as it tells you to do. The Hindu Mahasabha is your only saviour. Pay respect and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi, but listen only to the advice of the Hindu Mahasabha."

I would respectfully tell Mr. *Rajagopalachari* that, Dr. Moonje said, "that, in his desire to bring about Hindu-Muslim Unity, however noble and worthy it may be, the way he has adopted to bring it about needlessly cause utmost ruin possible to our Motherland and the Hindus. I would impress upon him the clear and definite expression of opinion of no less a person than Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* who, in his article in the Twentieth Century under the caption, 'Mr. Amery and the Bombay Conference', says, 'For the British generally to agree to the demand for dissection of India will be, I maintain, an act of black treachery to India.' Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* does not conceal the fact that, though he is born

a Hindu and a Brahmin, his whole culture is Persian, that is, Islamic; still he says that the dissection of India will be an act of black treachery if a Britisher were to agree to it. What have the Hindus to say? Have they not any religion and culture of their own and could not they be equally determined to save them from being smothered by Pakistan, in spite of the fact that a Hindu, Mr. Rajagopalachari, is vehemently and fanatically supporting it?"

## The Akhand Hindusthan Conference

Annual Session—Delhi—1st. February 1942

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"The dangers of the hour must awaken the wisdom of all communities and interests, and ought to make us believe that we should not allow future ambition to frustrate the programme of present safety", declared Mr. K. M. Munshi, presiding over the Akhand Hindusthan Conference held at Delhi on the 1st February 1942.

Mr. Munshi continued: "What then is the way? At present, any hope of permanent settlement of the claims of the Muslim is wishful thinking. I am afraid, even the conditions which would enable the Nationalists and disruptionists to come together with mutual confidence do not exist. Any effort to solve the political deadlock in the Congress provinces will also, I am afraid, meet with failure. Unless the Congress participates in a National Government, pledged to war first, I do not see any possibility of responsible governments in the Congress Provinces." Criticising the Pakistan demand, Mr. Munshi observed: The defence of the integrity of the country against external aggression and internal disruption must rule out any possibility of there being more than one Central Government in the country. But, in order to allay the fears of the Muslims, the Central Government can be left with only those powers necessary and incidental to Defence, External Affairs and upholding of the constitution, and no power except of an advisory character to interfere with such activities of the Provincial Governments as do not bear upon those Central activities. The religious and cultural freedom of every subject, whether Hindu or Muslim, can be secured by giving statutory recognition to fundamental rights relating to freedom in religious and cultural matters." But, proceeded Mr. Munshi, another proposal was being whispered about as a possible alternative to disruption, and that was to give 50 per cent representation to the Muslim and 50 per cent to the Hindus and others at the centre. "This fifty-fifty scheme is the more sinister aspect of Pakistan" Mr. Munshi asserted.

Mr. Munshi reviewed the changes in India since the last session of the conference, and pointed out that since the formation of the new Coalition Ministry in Bengal, none of the provinces in India was governed by a "party whose object was the disruption of India."

Visualising post-war conditions, Mr. Munshi said that after the war, Defence was bound to be internationalised by being placed in the hands of an effective World Federation. This would mean that the Indian Army, in external matters, like other allied armies, would be under a Regional War Council, helping to maintain international law and order.

Mr. Munshi adverted to "certain forms of non-co-operation in the provinces where responsible government is still functioning", and said this created not only an anomaly, but produced an undesirable effect on Hindu-Muslim relations. The Congress members in the Sind Assembly supported a War Ministry. In the Punjab, the Congress Party studiously absented itself from the Assembly. In Bengal, it attended the Assembly on specific issues. Except in Sind, the Congress parties did not help or hinder Governments. He urged that either the Congress parties in these provinces should be left to make their own coalitions and take charge of the Governments or be asked to get out and make room for those who could do so. Either of these two courses would have a very sobering influence. Mr. Munshi, proceeding, observed:

"Let us drop our timid, fugitive outlook on life. We are not slaves, nor are we the down-trodden of the earth. Let us fix our gaze steadfastly on our past,

which was great and the future which is glorious, and above all, live in the present as men. No one can intimidate or enslave a race of 400 million men pledged to strenuous defiance of all adverse conditions.

"The war opens to us a vista of immense possibilities. The war must end. A new international structure must arise on its ashes, which will end the era of greed and lust for exploitation of men by men. The moral order, for which India stood and stands, is an over-arching reality of life, which defies onslaughts. We have not raised the tower of our ambition on the foundation of other people's enslavement and why should we fear?"

Concluding, Mr. Munshi said: "Hindustan was not born to die. It did not live so long in order to be disrupted or destroyed. It would not have lived so far, had it not had a message to deliver. Let us, therefore, hold fast to its integrity, and to the culture which is its splendid heritage. Let us resist all that seeks its destruction."

#### Resolutions

The Conference adopted the following resolution :

"This Akand Bharat Conference believes in one indivisible united India, and strongly condemns the Pakistan scheme which aims at the vivisection of India and declares unequivocally that such like anti-national and communal schemes will not be accepted under any circumstances. This Conference strongly appeals to the various communities that they should raise their united voice against the Pakistan scheme.

"This Conference is of opinion that in the future National Government of India, the religious freedom of all communities should be equally safeguarded and just treatment accorded to all, irrespective of race or religion."

The Conference was addressed among others by *Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Mahashe Krishna, Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Sardar Raghubir Singh* and Prof. *Indra*, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The speakers declared that they could not tolerate division of India, and would sacrifice everything for safeguarding a united India, and, if Swaraj was to be won, that would be won for Indians and for India, and no division like States, British India, or for Harijans, Hindus or Muslims could be accepted.

## The Sikh Polity

### The Sikh All Parties Committee

#### CRIPPS' PROPOSALS REJECTED

The Sikh All-Parties Committee in a representation to Sir *Stafford Cripps* on the 3rd. April 1942 declared that the proposals are unacceptable to them because : "instead of maintaining and strengthening the integrity of India, specific provision has been made of separation of provinces and constitution of Pakistan and (2) the cause of Sikh community has been lamentably betrayed.

#### FOUGHT FOR ENGLAND

Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in every battlefield of the empire, and this is our reward, that our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position has been finally liquidated.

Why should a province that fails to secure a majority of its legislature, in which a religious community enjoys statutory majority, be allowed to hold a plebiscite and be given the benefit of a bare majority? In fairness this right should have been conceded to communities who are in permanent minority in the legislature.

Further why should not the population of any area opposed to separation be given the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit?

We are sure you know that Punjab proper extended upto the banks of Jhelum excluding Jhang and Multan districts, and trans-Jhelum area was added by conquest of *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* and retained by the British for administrative convenience. It would be altogether unjust to allow extraneous trans-Jhelum



population which only accidentally came into the province to dominate the future of the Punjab proper.

#### PUNJAB POPULATION

We give below the figures which abundantly prove our contention :—

From boundary of Delhi to banks of Ravi river the population is divided as follows :—

Muslims	...	...	45,05,000
Sikhs and other non-Muslims	...	...	76,46,000

From Delhi boundary to the banks of Jhelum river excluding Multan and

Jhang districts :—

Muslims	...	...	82,88,000
Sikhs and other non-Muslims	...	...	93,18,000

To this may be added the population of Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, which is about 26 lakhs. Of this the Muslims constitute barely 20 per cent and this reduces the ratio of Muslim population still further.

We do not wish to labour the point any more. We have lost all hope of receiving any consideration. We shall resist however by all possible means separation of the Punjab from All-India Union. We shall never permit our motherland to be at the mercy of those who disown it."

### Central Akali Dal's Statement

#### CRIPPS' PROPOSALS ANTI-NATIONAL

*Sardar Kharak Singh*, president of the Central Akali Dal, in a statement issued from Lahore on the 1st. April 1942, said that the proposals of the War Cabinet not only concede to all intents and purposes the separatists' demand for partition of India but actually encourage the idea of separatism by holding out a hope to every religious community that wherever they are even in a bare majority, Muslims can form a separate communal sovereign State. At present this idea of separatism has only a frail hold on some sections of the Muslim community but once this principle is agreed to be conceded, it is bound to spread throughout India and then, not to speak of one Pakistan, as many Pakistans may be established as there are provinces or states in which any religious community is in majority. The acceptance of these proposals will, therefore, mean the complete frustration of the national movement in India.

This scheme, adds *Sardar Kharak Singh*, is so anti-national that it could never be acceptable to the nationalist minded Sikhs but it becomes all the more obnoxious and totally unacceptable as it does not provide for an effective safeguard of the rights of the Sikhs.

## Communal Pact in the Punjab

#### Premier Explains Terms

The terms of the Pact which has been arrived at between *Sardar Baldev Singh*, leader of the United Punjab Party and *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan*, were announced by the Premier at a press conference held at Lahore on the 15th. June 1942.

The terms, which are embodied in a letter addressed by *Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan* to *Sardar Baldev Singh*, relate to facilities for Jhatka, teaching of Gurmukhi, legislation regarding religious matters, service under the Punjab Government and Sikh representation at the Centre. The terms are so formed as to apply equally to all communities in the Punjab.

#### DETAILS OF THE PACT

In connection with the question of Jhatka, *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan* proposes, with the approval of the Cabinet, to issue instruction that in Government institutions where separate kitchens exist or can be provided for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, and where facilities exist for obtaining meat, every community should be free to cook and use meat slaughtered according to their own rites, subject only to such restriction as may be necessary to avoid injury to the feelings of the other communities.

As regards the teaching of Gurmukhi as second language in schools, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan says that it will not be possible to give effect to this suggestion forthwith, but he agrees that there should be no objection in adopting and giving effect to it as soon as may be possible. Any formula in this connection will, of course, apply to communities alike.

As for legislation relating to religious matters, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has agreed to set up a convention that in matters, which exclusively concern a particular community, that community alone should have the right to decide if the matter, when it comes before the House, should be proceeded with or not. It can be left to the members of that community to take a decision at all stages of such legislation.

As regards recruitment to the Services, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan states that the Government has already fixed the proportion for various communities, including the Sikhs, who have been allotted ten per cent share. It is the duty of every Minister to see that no departure from this formula is countenanced.

As for Sikh representation at the Centre, the Premier has assured Sardar Baldev Singh that if and when an expansion or change in the present Executive Council is contemplated, the Sikh claim will, as hitherto, have his full sympathy and support. He shall also be glad to support the Sikh claim for due share in the Central Services.

#### PREMIER'S UNDERTAKING

Releasing the terms of the Pact for publication, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan made statement welcoming and cordially reciprocating the gesture of goodwill made by Sadar Baldev Singh and endorsing his appeal for mutual understanding between the various communities. On behalf of his colleagues and himself, he gave a solemn assurance that the Government would not only welcome co-operation from all classes and parties in this behalf, but was determined to give a lead by not countenancing any controversial measure, either in the Legislature or outside, for the duration of the war.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan recalled that, at the very outset of the war, he suggested the formation of All-Party Governments in all Provinces and offered to form one in Punjab. Unfortunately, the proposal did not commend itself to the major Indian political parties. "So far as I am concerned", said Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, "I still welcome the co-operation of all groups in the Assembly, and, at any rate, we can still do a great deal by co-operating at least, in matters of common concern and interest, for instance, civil defence, internal security, creating a sense of confidence and security among the masses and checking and contradicting false and exaggerated report and rumours."

#### PLEA FOR AN ALL-PUNJAB FRONT

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan appealed to all his Punjab fellow-citizens to follow the laudable lead given by Sardar Baldev Singh and said: "It is the duty of all patriotic citizens to help the Government by lending their unstinted support to all measures devised for securing and maintaining public peace and for the protection of life, property and honour of the people. It is the Government, which is primarily responsible for the safety and security of the person and property of the citizens and it has made adequate arrangements for the purpose. Voluntary help from those who have hitherto kept aloof, for one reason or other, will, however, add to the efficiency and efficacy of these measures, and is earnestly solicited. I beg of all parties, classes and communities to shed their suspicion and sink their differences. This is no time for political or communal controversies and rivalries. Let us unite and establish an All-Punjab front in the service of our country and our Province, and demonstrate to the world what a united Punjab can do to save humanity and its cherished ideals of freedom, justice and equality, from the evil forces of Fascist lust and aggression."

Elucidating his reference to controversial measures, the Premier said that it was primarily meant to apply to economic legislation. Any amendments, however, which might be necessary to the efficacy of the Act already passed or to stop any loophole found as a result of judicial decision or otherwise would not be banned. He emphasised that the intention was that no further controversial legislation would be sponsored by the Government.

#### GOVT. NOT CONCERNED WITH POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES

In reply to another question, the Premier made it clear that the Govern-

ment as such was not concerned with political controversies, and was not identified either with Pakistan or anti-Pakistan. So far as fair and *bonafide* political propaganda was concerned, everybody had the freedom to carry it on with due regard to law and order. If a conference in favour of Pakistan or against Pakistan were convened and addressed without any risk or danger to the peace of the Province, there could be no objection to it, but if there was risk of breaking of heads, it must be averted.

Amplifying his reference to Jhatka, the Premier said that this was merely a restricted application of the resolution unanimously passed in 1937 by the United Conference on which all communities were represented. This did not, however, give anybody the right to slaughter an animal in a Government institution.

Among those present at the Conference were Sardar Baldev Singh, *Sir Chhotu Ram*, Revenue Minister, and *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana*, Minister for Public Works.

#### Sikh Leader's Statement

*Sardar Baldev Singh*, in a statement to the press, says that in view of the assurance given by the Premier and in view of the vital necessity of preserving the internal peace of the Province and facing the imminent danger of external aggression, he feels it his duty to appeal to all communities, and particularly the Sikhs, to co-operate with the Punjab Government at this critical juncture in establishing communal harmony, so that the peace of the Province may be secured and a united front be created for winning the war. As an earnest of the keen desire to create a united front, he offers his own and his colleagues' whole-hearted support and co-operation to the Premier and his Government in all that he may undertake in achieving this object.

## The All India Nationalist League

Working Committee—Delhi—26th. February 1942

#### Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League met at Windsor Place, Delhi, on the 26th. February 1942 under the Presidentship of Mr. *Jamnadass Mehta*, M. L. A. (Central). At the outset, Rao Raja Dr. *Shyam Eehari Misra*, in view of recent developments, withdrew his resolution circulated in the last meeting held in October 1941, pertaining to the formation of a committee for framing the Indian Constitution.

The Working Committee discussed Mr. *Jinnah's* latest statement on Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's farewell message to the Indian people and his criticism of the non-Party Conference resolution. After a prolonged discussion, the following resolutions were adopted.

The invitation from the Maharashtra through Mr. *L. B. Bhopatkar* to hold the second annual session of the All-India Nationalist League at Poona, was accepted and the Working Committee fixed July 31, August 1, and 2, 1942, as the dates for holding the second annual session of the League at Poona on the occasion of Lokmanya Tilak's Anniversary as the League is meant to represent the Tilak School of thought in advocating the principle of "Responsive Co-operation" in Indian politics.

Those present included Mr. *Akhil Chandra Datta*, Mr. *Laichand Navalrai*, Mr. *L. B. Bhopatkar*, R. B. *Mehr Chand Khanna*, Rao Raja Dr. *Shyam Behari Misra*, *Kunwar Ganganand Sinha*, R. B. *Kunwar Guru Narain*, Mr. *Chand Karan Sarda*, Mr. *R. D. Jain* and Mr. *Ganapat Rai*. The Committee concluded its session late in the evening.

#### MUSLIM LEAGUE CRITICISED

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League regrets that at the recent meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi, assertions were made and decisions taken which must be characterised as untrue in fact and unsound in principle. They can only lead to the postponement of the day of India's freedom and therefore of Muslim freedom.

The Committee rejects the insinuation made in the Muslim League resolution that the demand for the formation of a National Government for India during the war, is inspired by anything but the highest motive of patriotism in the interest of the people of India including Muslims. The Committee cannot accept the claim of the Muslim League that it represents the Muslims of India as a whole.

This is clear from the fact that in four provinces of India out of eleven, viz., Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Orissa, the Muslim League's 'theory of two nations' in India is repudiated by the existence and functioning of Coalition Governments which consist of Hindus, Muslims and other communities; that in the N. W. Frontier Province where the Muslims form the largest majority the Muslim League has failed and is incapable of forming a government pledged to the doctrine of Pakistan; and that in the remaining provinces there exists a strong volume of Muslim opinion organised to resist that reactionary doctrine.

In the opinion of this Committee, therefore, the formation of a National Government represents the highest common agreement of Indian opinion on the best method of solving the political deadlock in the country, and strongly urges upon the British Government to give effect to it forthwith.

The Committee welcomes the Farewell Message given to this country by Marshal *Chiang Kai-shek*, and thanks him for exhorting the British Government to expedite the transfer of real political power. The Committee further considers Mr. *Jinnah's* criticism of the Marshal's message as detrimental to the best interest of India and a deplorable lapse from good taste.

#### CHIANG'S VISIT TO INDIA

(a) The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League records its appreciation of the visit of Generalissimo and Madam *Chiang Kai-shek* to this country as heralding a new link between India and China which are already connected by ties of culture and civilisation from ancient times and assures the people of China of India's whole-hearted support in all possible manner in their heroic resistance to the Imperialist greed of Japanese aggression, and wishes that China will emerge triumphant from the struggle.

(b) The League cannot help deploring the omission of the Government of India in not bringing about an interview between the distinguished visitors and Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

### Working Committee—Delhi—6th. April 1942

#### Cripps' proposals Unacceptable

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, held at Delhi on the 6th. April 1942, after a discussion lasting eight hours on the *Cripps'* proposals, adopted a memorandum to be presented to Sir *Stafford Cripps*.

The Committee welcome the unequivocal declaration made regarding the future status of India. It embodies all the essentials of a free and independent country with the option of remaining a member and an equal partner with the other members of the British commonwealth of nations.

The committee, however, strongly object to the description of the future Indian State as a new Indian Union. India is not a union but single territorial unit with a uniform historical and cultural background. In framing the future constitution of India that fact of national unity should be the only basis, that unity is a reality to start with and not as aspiration to be achieved hereafter if possible.

Dealing with the right of provinces to join the Indian Union the Committee say that the various provinces are assumed to be natural territorial units entitled to the right of self-determination but India as a whole is denied such right in advance and as a matter of fact the British War Cabinet is trying to impose on this country its own views on the question of Indian unity. Indian disunity is the starting point in this proviso when quite contrary is the fact. India as whole is not allowed to self-determine but it is left to the administrative provinces to decide whether they are part or parcel of India or not, and they are openly encouraged to believe that they have only to say no and they will be free to remain outside the Indian Union.

This is a travesty of Indian self-determination and has given rise to profound misgiving in the minds of the Indian nationalists regarding the *bona fides* of the British War Cabinet in making such an offer to this country.

The vaunted principle of self-determination is, therefore, a perfect make-

believe and the scheme stands out as an ill concealed attempt to pander to communal and religious intolerance at the expense of the unity of India.

The Committee declare that the new proposals are the same for all practical purposes as the declaration of August, 1940. Their camouflaging under the mask of self-determination is so transparent that no nationalist will be taken in. They give a wholly false impression of being based on the principle of self-determination and virtually concede the fantastic doctrine of 'Pakistan', which under no circumstance will this country be prepared to tolerate.

The Committee emphasise the one glaring omission, *i. e.*, the failure to provide for the people of the Indian States in the scheme of self-government and assert that it has the dubious merit of turning administrative divisions in India into independent provinces on the one hand and of planning down on the other, 120 million States people for all time into a position not far removed from slavery. The All-India Nationalist League regrets that the scheme as it stands today, is unacceptable.

As for a Defence control the committee suggest that the principle of an Indian being in charge of the Defence portfolio must be accepted without reservation and as a matter of principle it realises that the allied front in this war is one and united and once our national sentiment is respected by vesting the Defence portfolio in an Indian, the country would be prepared during the currency of the war to agree that the actual control may remain in the hands of his Majesty's Government, if simultaneously a representative of the Indian Government is to sit on the imperial War Cabinet as a full member.

## Madras Backward Classes' Conference

Fourth Session—Madras—31st. January 1942

### CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

The fourth session of the Madras Backward Classes' Conference was held at Madras on the 31st. January 1942 at the Victoria Public Hall with Sir A. P. Patro in the chair. A large gathering was present on the occasion.

Sir A. P. Patro said that the foremost duty of every Indian to-day was to co-operate fully with the Allied powers in the fight against Nazism and to help in defending India against aggressors. Japan was bound to go down in the end with her Axis partners. He urged the people not to believe false rumours spread by foolish people. Everything possible was being done to defend India, and he would affirm that the defence arrangements here were sound.

As for the Indian political tangle, Sir A.P. Patro said there was "no irreconcilable difference between India and Britain after the declaration of August 1940." The present was not the occasion to bargain with Britain, engaged as she was in a life and death struggle. India wanted proof of goodwill and Great Britain had already assured the people of the goal of India. The defence of India ought to be India's first concern now. After the war, India might become freer and attain full Swaraj. Swaraj was not a thing to be conferred by another country; it must be worked out and established by the people themselves. The present times required unity and mutual co-operation to defeat the enemy and establish freedom for all suffering nations. Continuing, Sir A. P. Patro said that the backward classes should not quarrel with other communities. But they should work for a classless society. Caste, communal and racial spirit were great obstacles to the growth of nationalism in India and wisdom lay in combating these. The backward communities had a valuable contribution to make in the war by virtue of their military traditions and their technical skill. They should have, he said, due share in the recruitment to the various branches in the army, as well as in the fruits of victory.

Sir A. P. Patro then emphasised the need for removing illiteracy through widespread diffusion of elementary education and adult education, and in this connection urged that the members of backward classes should be given all possible educational facilities by way of fee concessions, scholarships, meals for poor children, etc. The need for effective rural reconstruction work, including promotion of handicrafts and small industries, was very urgent. Attention should be

paid to the amelioration of the lot of the scheduled classes. It was a pity that nothing effective had yet been done for them. He wondered if the Hindu Maha Sabha included within the scope of its work this section of the Hindus. In his view, there was no need for "the mockery of a Hindu Maha Sabha", seeing that "the great Indian National Congress represented Indian feelings and sentiments" and was "a national organisation as far as it goes, and the only accredited organisation for India." The Muslim League spoke for the Muslims.

Power must and would come, the speaker proceeded, when the people were united. If all of them came together on a basis of social justice and equality, Britain could no longer withhold Swaraj from Indians. India might have a national government or a coalition government; but that would be unreal, so long as the bulk of the population comprising the Backward Class were neglected. The members of these communities should organise themselves, learn to rely on themselves, keep away from all political parties, and take a leaf from the Congress in the matter of organisation. The task before them was great. The power of the dominant classes and of the British Bureaucracy and racial pride must disappear; a new synthesis must be effected. Quoting *Gandhiji*, Sir A. P. Patro said that the message of "Back to Villages" must be spread and implemented with all the force and vigour possible.

#### RESOLUTIONS

The Conference then adopted a number of resolutions. An expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and support to His Majesty's Government was conveyed through the first resolution. The next resolution was one of condolence touching the death of Rao Bahadur *M. S. Nagappa*, sculptor.

On the motion of Mr. *S. Deivasikhamani*, the Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Government to give consideration to the demands put forward from time to time by the Conference.

Mr. *V. M. Ghatikachalam* moved a resolution that the communal G. O. should be modified in view of the change in the conditions since it was first adopted. The resolution was adopted.

Other resolutions passed by the Conference related to restoration and extension of fee concessions and other facilities for the educational advancement of the members of the backward classes; granting separate representation in the services to members of the communities.

The last resolution requested the Government to at once devise measures for the relief of weavers through supplies at reasonable prices of yarn, through improved market facilities and through other measures for providing them employment.

Mr. *Ramaswami Naicker*, addressing the gathering, said that the members of the Backward Classes should, as a first step to their social advance, shed caste and other distinctions in their own ranks and learn to stand united. They should promote inter-dining and inter-marriage with one another and get rid of all superstitious and out-of-date beliefs which retarded progress.

Mr. *Rangiah Naidu* said that much of their social, educational and economic backwardness was traceable to the country's political subjection. He appealed to them to unite in working for India's liberation.

In bringing the proceedings to a close, Sir A. P. Patro said that to reform themselves would be the surest means of reforming the whole society. "Do justice to those below you before you claim justice from those above"—this, he said, should be their guiding principle. With a vote of thanks the Conference terminated.

## The A. I. Depressed Classes' Conference

Eighth Session—Meerut—1st. February 1942

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"We stand for the country's independence, but at the same time we stand for our own freedom; we stand to end our social, religious and economic exploitation, and stand for equality in Hindu society", observed Mr. *Jagwan Ram*, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, and Secretary, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee,

presiding over the eighth session of the All-India Depressed Classes' Conference held at Meerut on the 1st February 1942.

Mr. Jagiwan Ram regretted the adamant attitude of the British Government, which seemed to be in no mood to come to terms with the real representatives of the people. He said that the Congress had again extended a friendly hand to the Government, and it was to be seen how the Government responded.

Proceeding, Mr. Jagiwan Ram expressed the opinion that the minority communities had lost confidence in the major community, and it was for the major community to restore that confidence. Therefore, the responsibility for solving the communal tangle fell on the majority community to a very great extent. "As for ourselves, the members of the Scheduled Castes, we assure our countrymen that our community will never stand in the way of a communal settlement by advancing unreasonable and unjust demands", he added.

Mr. Jagiwan Ram deprecated the attitude of the Caste Hindus towards the Scheduled Castes, in not allowing the members of the Scheduled Castes to secure representation on elective bodies even proportionate to their numerical strength. Therefore, the members of the Scheduled Castes legitimately and justifiably demanded statutory provision for their proportionate representation in all elective bodies of the country as well as in Government and semi-Government services in the future constitution of the country.

Mr. Jagiwan Ram regretted the non-inclusion of a member of the Scheduled Caste in the expanded Viceroy's Council, and said that the only reply which could be given to such an insult was to withdraw the Scheduled Castes representative from the War Advisory Council and such other bodies.

## The All India Kisan Conference

Sixth Session—Bihta (Patna)—30th May 1942

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"There is no longer any question of helping Britain's war. It has now become the bounden duty of every Indian to defend his Motherland against Japanese aggression and to secure all possible help from England, America, China and Russia in organising armed resistance against the enemy". Thus observed Mr. Indulal Yagnik, presiding over the sixth session of the All-India Kisan Conference, which commenced at Bihta, about 18 miles from Patna, on the 30th May 1942. Mr. Yagnik added: "Let us realise the truth that no nation can secure or retain the priceless heritage of freedom that is not prepared to defend itself successfully on the battlefield". "There might be amongst us", he continued, "a few, who may be believing that Japan's desire is to liberate us. Let them take to heart Japan's ghastly record in China, Korea, Formosa, and other colonies that it has conquered. Japan is no philanthropist. Its one aim is to exploit and enslave India. The most narrow-minded patriot must therefore prepare to give a fitting answer to the challenge of the invader."

### THE WAR EFFORT

Explaining the attitude of the Kisan Council towards the war, Mr. Yagnik said: "Hitler's attack on Russia in July last year and then Japan's declaration of war against Britain and America introduced new elements in the national and international situation. Russia, China, England and America are now allied together in a total war for the final destruction of the Axis Powers. While each of the Allied States in naturally inspired by the instinct of self-preservation, there is no doubt that they together represent principles of liberty and democracy in sharp contrast to the ruthless barbarism preached and practised by the Fascist Powers. Moreover, we of the Kisan Sabha, could not but identify ourselves wholeheartedly with the Soviet Union. We instinctively feel to-day that our hopes and aspirations and those of the toiling millions of the world, would receive a great setback if the Soviet light was extinguished from the surface of the earth."

Mr. Yagnik continued, "It is gratifying to note that these thoughts and feelings are shared by most parties and leaders of the country. Leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru agree even to-day with most Socialist, Labour and

Kisan workers in proclaiming their sympathy with the indivisible front of the United Allies and wishing a shattering defeat for the Axis Powers. We are all, of course, not unmindful of Britain's past misdeeds and niggardliness towards India. But these things should not be allowed to cloud our estimates of Indian freedom in the context of world conditions. It is these considerations shared by an overwhelming majority of the people of India that induced the Central Kisan Council in February last to revise its negative attitude towards war and exhorting the Kisans of India to align themselves on the side of Russia, China and the Allied progressive forces of the world.

#### RAJAGOPALACHARI'S FORESIGHT

Mr. Yagnik asserted that for a total war to be fought on a national scale a National Government was essential and referred in this connection to the Cripps' Mission, which, he said, made it clear that the British Government was determined to act within the framework of the August Declaration. It also revealed the points of difference between the political parties: also that the "Congress demand for Cabinet responsibility at the Centre was unacceptable to the Muslim League." He added: "Mr. *Rajagopalachari* quickly diagnosed the cancer that was eating into the body politic of India and boldly came out with a remedy to forge national unity and establish a National Government in the country."

"The unity of India," Mr. Yagnik went on to say "must surely rest not on mere geographical basis, but on the unity of heart and head of its people. We all passionately desire that all classes and communities should live together in voluntary and amicable partnership as members of an undivided family. But how shall we achieve our purpose by denying to any the right to partition the family state if they are determined to do so"?

Criticising the principle of non-violent non-co-operation of the Congress, Mr. Yagnik said: "However grand and impressive the method might sound in our ears, it will prove nothing short of an invitation to the aggressor to walk into the country, take possession of it and do what he liked with it. And the Japanese Fascists are shrewd enough to exploit this method for their own nefarious and predatory ends."

"The people of India and particularly the peasantry", he declared, "must unequivocally repudiate this idealistic, but utterly futile doctrine which has proved completely inadequate to dislodge the British power from India during the last 20 years." Referring to the suggestion that British and Allied Forces should be withdrawn from India at the present critical moment, Mr. Yagnik observed that this would not only amount to an invitation to Japan, but would bring about a countrywide anarchy. In this connection he referred to the Hur menace and observed, "People, who tacitly support the loose talk of welcoming anarchy and the withdrawal of armed forces would be brought to reason at the first sign of real danger to their interest."

#### "RAISE TRAINED SOLDIERS"

Mr. Yagnik pleaded for vigorous war effort and propaganda and urged the Government to raise at least five million trained soldiers by the end of this year. He said "Let not the want of up-to-date arms present an insuperable barrier. Fighting units can be trained and equipped even with spades and crowbars" and asked "If the Viceroy exhorts the people to fight the Japs even with their bare will, why should his Government wait for an increased production of firearms to extend military and civil defence training to millions in the land? He called upon the kisans to organise themselves on an anti-Fascist Front, which should be created in every village and be broad-based and include only genuine anti-Fascists. He wanted the districts like circles or talukas to be equipped with strong sabhas and committees to protect Kisans' rights and interest in these areas and suggested a ten point programme for uniting various elements in the District Peoples' Defence Committees, comprising "fight against Fascism"; communal unity; relief to kisans; unification and training of volunteers; demand for arms and home guard; provision of food to people; grow more food campaign; preservation of peace and order; and formation of National Government."

The kisans were the real inheritors and masters of the land, the natural guardians of its frontiers, and contributed the greatest man-power to the fighting forces of the State, concluded Mr. *Yagnik*. He wanted the kisans to carry out their mental and moral rearmament and urged the Government to help them to do this by relieving them of pressing burdens, such as indebtedness, eviction from their lands, and other grievances.



## Resolutions—GOODWILL MISSION

The Conference adopted a resolution, moved from the chair, welcoming the attempts made by the Friends of the Soviet Union to send a Goodwill Mission to Russia and China. The resolution urged the Government to give every facility to such an attempt and hoped that it would strengthen the hands of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of India, Russia and China.

## NAGPUR RESOLUTION RATIFIED

The Conference also ratified the Nagpur Resolution of the Central Kisan Council supporting war against the Axis and demanding a National Government for the effective prosecution of such war.

While the official resolution, endorsing the Nagpur resolution, was being moved the business of the Conference had to be suspended for a few minutes owing to a disturbance created by a section of the audience demanding rejection of the Nagpur Resolution. This section of the crowd, however, was cordoned off by the kisan volunteers and was conducted outside the pandal.

The resolution was moved by Mr. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A. (Central), and seconded by Mr. Bankim Mukherjee.

## RELEASE OF KISAN PRISONERS

Another resolution was adopted "viewing with alarm that while the Japanese invasion is daily growing into an imminent danger, the bureaucratic Government do not show any realisation of the needs of the hour or that of changing the policy for a really popular one so as to inspire confidence in the people and strengthen resistance against the Japanese invaders."

"Civil liberties have not yet been restored", added the resolution, "nor have the Kisan workers, students and other political workers been released as yet. Thus while Chittagong is being bombed by the Japs, the Government refuse to release the Chittagong Raid Case prisoners and their fellow politicals."

"In Manipur which is directly menaced by the Jap aggression and is directly facing war danger, *Dirawat Singh*, the only mass leader of Manipur who is capable of rousing the people of Manipur to active resistance to Jap aggression, is not yet released."

"The All-India Kisan Sabha is more particularly pained to see", continues the resolution, "that while the Kisan Sabha and its workers have, at the Nagpur meeting of the Central Kisan Council given a new lead in organising people's opinion against Fascism and Fascist aggression, the Kisan prisoners convicted and security prisoners or "restrictees" are still denied liberty to propagate their views and Kisan meetings, rallies, demonstrations, etc., in provinces like Bengal and Assam, which are directly menaced by the Japanese, cannot be held without the permission of the authorities and organisers of such rallies are arrested on mere technical trivialities as evidenced at Khulna, Jessore and Midnapore."

Protesting against such "repressive policy pursued by the Government at this critical hour", the resolution urges upon the Government to release all the political prisoners, State prisoners and detenus unconditionally and lift the ban on those who are interned or placed under restriction, to give up the policy of arresting anti-Fascist persons and withdraw cases against such workers.

Second Day—Bihta (Patna)—31st. May 1942

## EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS

The Conference resumed its sitting for the second day on the 31st. May 1942 and passed the following resolutions:—

A resolution adopted by the Conference on the evacuation policy of the Government states: "The All-India Kisan Sabha recognises that as the threat of invasion is growing imminent to India, particularly to East India, and the coastal areas of India, it might be necessary in some places and under certain circumstances to evacuate civil population for military purposes as also to ask the civil population "to deny" themselves such means of existence and conveyance like boats, cycles, carts and foodstuff, etc., which might fall into enemy hands and injure the national defence against the invaders."

"The All-India Kisan Sabha, in acknowledging the need of such evacuation and "denial," maintains that these should in all cases be planned in advance and based on popular principles so as not to hit the people or their defence efforts or their morale of resistance against aggression and thereby defeat the very purpose of such measures."

"The Sabha, therefore, views with concern the evacuation policy that was pursued in practice without plan and without such principle in certain coastal and strategic areas where peoples in many villages of Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Khulna, Jessore, 24 Parganas and some villages of Balasore were evacuated at 24 hours' notice from their hearths, leaving their crops and lands behind without any facility for their conveyance and resettlement in life and wherein many supposed-to-be threatened areas people were suddenly ordered to surrender their bicycles, boats, etc.

"The Sabha has also noted in some cases the order of the Government to give compensation to the people affected by such evacuation and 'denial' policy and in welcoming such measures, points out that such compensation should be fixed by tribunals with popular representatives, should be immediately available to the people affected and be adequate.

"The Sabha urges all its workers in all such areas", the resolution continues, "where the evacuation or 'denial' policy is being enforced to stand by the people, explain to them the causes and needs of the same as necessary to secure for the people the compensation and relief as required and in all cases to see that such measures do not hit the people and thus cause in them resentment against the very measures and weaken their will to resist the invaders.

"The Sabha, in this connection, directs its workers to see that in all cases where the military comes closer to the people as a result of the troops being placed in such areas a healthy relation is developed between the people and the troops and prevent untoward happenings."

#### NATIONAL GOVT. TO RESIST FASCISM

The imperative necessity of establishing National Government at the Centre and the Provinces is stressed in a resolution on the political situation adopted by the Sabha. The resolution also lays down a programme of action to be followed by the Kisan Sabha in the light of the present situation.

The resolution exhorts the kisans of India "to maintain dignity of their manhood" and save their Motherland from the bloody claws of Fascist hordes" and declares, "The aim which the Japanese Fascists pursue in common with their brothers—German Nazis and Italian Fascists—is the conquest and enslavement of all the countries and their people and the subjection of every country to a common Fascist enslavement and the crushing of every vestige of people's resistance everywhere".

After referring to the fate that has overtaken Singapore, Malaya and Burma, the resolution says that in order to prevent the same tragedy occurring in this country, the establishment of a National Government at the Centre and the Provinces on the basis of a Congress-League settlement is essential.

The resolution directs the Kisans to "strive for national unity and put pressure on the Government to concede the national demand" and observes, "Armed resistance can be effectively organised only on the basis of national unity and under the leadership of a National Government. The Indian people should, therefore, refuse to take the present deadlock created by the failure of the Cripps' Mission as a settled fact. That fact must be unsettled. Our chief political bodies must now resolutely turn their backs on politics of neutrality and passivity and must make renewed efforts to achieve national unity with a view to making our demand for National Government irresistible and mobilising for an all out resistance against Fascist aggression."

"The Sabha, therefore, calls upon the kisans", continues the resolution, "to carry on agitation urging the Government to establish National Government at the Centre and in the Provinces and finally to remove all restrictions imposed by the Arms Act: organise and permit the formation of coastal guards and guerilla forces, take over all lands that are not used for food cultivation by big landlords and place them under Government control and place unoccupied lands at the disposal of the poor peasants and landless workers; and take over all stocks of grains and other necessities and sell them to co-operative stores and popular agencies."

The resolution directs the kisans to develop and co-ordinate all measures of civil defence, organise co-operative stores and societies as central pivots of the new social order, strengthen the Kisan Sabha and carry on active anti-fascist propaganda.

# The Chamber of Princes

Annual Session—New Delhi—16th. March 1942

## H. E. The Viceroy's Address

The annual session of the Chamber of Princes was held at New Delhi on the 16th March 1942. *H. E. The Viceroy* addressing the session said :—

Your Highnesses,—It is my privilege to-day to preside, for the fifth time during my tenure of office, over the Chamber of Princes, and it is with real pleasure that I see so goodly a gathering of Your Highnesses assembled here to-day. My satisfaction is the greater because the time itself demands that those in authority in this country should meet and take counsel for the common good.

A good attendance is also appropriate to the celebration, as it were, of the Chamber's coming of age. It is just over 21 years since this Chamber was inaugurated here in Delhi by his late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the close of whose long career of devoted public service is so fresh in our recollection. I notice that, in the course of your proceedings, Your Highnesses propose to pay what I know will be something more than a formal tribute to his memory. For myself, I will say only this. Few of us who are here to-day can have been present at that inauguration ceremony, but we shall all do well to bear in mind the eloquent words in which His Royal Highness then described the purpose of this Chamber and the lofty ideals which he set before it.

One passage in that historic speech has struck me as peculiarly relevant to the circumstances in which we find ourselves to-day. He Royal Highness spoke of the King-Emperor's confidence that in good times or evil the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes could always be counted upon, and recalled how "when most was needed, most was given." I am very sure that in the closing months of his long life His Royal Highness must have derived much comfort from the manner in which it has been demonstrated by the present generation of Princes that those words are as true now as they were 21 years ago.

In India, too we have the loss of old friends and colleagues to mourn. By the death of His Late Highness of Cutch the Princely Order has lost a distinguished and venerated member, a ruler endowed with singular charm of personality, who so long ago as 1921 had the distinction of representing India at the Council in London, as well as at the Assembly of the League of Nations. We mourn also the passing of Their Highnesses of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari and Dhrangadhra, to whose bereaved families and States this Chamber will, no doubt, offer its condolences, as well as a message of welcome to those upon whom their great responsibilities will now devolve. And in this category of new rulers of whom we look to carry on the high traditions of their ancestors, I would include the young Maharajas of Kolhapur and Bijawar to whom His Majesty's recognition has been accorded since the last meeting of this Chamber.

## TRIBUTE TO CHANCELLOR AND PRO-CHANCELLOR

There is, however, one sphere in which, for the time being at least, the old order will not change nor give place to new. I refer to the circumstances, which, to the best of my belief, are unprecedented, in which Their Highnesses the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber are to continue in their high offices. In the ordinary course of events, elections would by now have taken place and the results would have been announced during our present session. A proposal was, however, made by certain members of the Standing Committee, in accordance with a provision to that effect, which had been wisely included in the Chamber's Constitution, that the terms of office of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor should be extended. The views of all members of the Standing Committee were then, as required by the regulations, formally invited, with the result that the requisite proportion having signified their consent, Their Highnesses of Nawansagar and Bikaner were asked to continue in office for a second term.

We have an English proverb which tells us that it is unwise to change horses in mid-stream. At this time we in India are crossing a very turbulent stream and I do, indeed, feel that it would be regrettable, from the point of view of this Chamber and of the States in general, if we lost the services of the two Princes

to whom, if I may speak for Your Highnesses as well as for myself, we all owe so great a debt of gratitude. I do not need to tell you about the treasure-house of wisdom and experience which His Highness of Bikaner has acquired in the course of his long and most distinguished career.

As for His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib, I cannot praise too highly the cheerful alacrity with which he has responded to our incessant demands upon his time and patience. In fact, the necessity for his advice and support at headquarters has recurred so frequently that he must have come to look upon Delhi and Simla as a kind of second home. I think, therefore, that I shall be rightly interpreting the sense of opinion in this Chamber by conveying to both Their Highnesses an expression of our gratitude that in deference to the wishes of their brother Princes, they have consented to continue in the performance of their duties as Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor.

#### PROBLEMS BEFORE INDIAN STATES

I shall refer later to the war situation and to the part played by the Princes in that connection. But in these critical times, it behoves us to remember factors which, though not directly connected with the present grave trend of events, are, nevertheless, of immense importance from the point of view of the Indian States. I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion, and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their own healthy development, but also, if I may strike a graver note, their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian Polity, which has yet to be evolved. I shall, therefore, speak as briefly as possible regarding three matters which, during the past year, have continued to engage the earnest attention of myself and my advisers—amongst whom I would include your distinguished Chancellor.

First, I regard it as my duty to repeat in as few words as possible what I have said in previous addresses to this Chamber regarding the absolute necessity, so far as the smaller States are concerned for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency, which is beyond their individual resources. In my last address, I remarked that steps to this end had already been taken in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results. The last year has seen further and encouraging progress, but I regret to observe that the progress has been mainly apparent in one area only.

Elsewhere, there are schemes to this end under consideration; there are other large areas, comprising many States which, in my judgment, can certainly not afford to stand aloof in this matter, where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge. It is my duty, therefore, to urge all concerned to press forward in this matter, and to realise that when I urged upon this Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert.

#### SAFEGUARDING STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION

Secondly, I should let Your Highnesses know that I have had under consideration a scheme designed for the safeguarding during the initial years of a young ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration. A definite policy still remains to be formulated; but I have reached that preliminary conclusion that the object in view can best be achieved by a formal constitution, under which all State business would be transacted in a Council of Ministers, over which the ruler would normally preside and whose recommendations he would not disregard or override without good reason. So great are the powers and responsibilities to which rulers succeed at an early age, and so numerous the pitfalls which beset their footsteps, that no one who has the best interests of the States at heart could, in my opinion, take exception to safeguards of this nature, designed as they are mainly for the purpose of inculcating into young Princes the habit of orderly and methodical disposal of business.

#### CIVIL LISTS AND PRIVY PURSE

Thirdly, and lastly, I should like to say that I was delighted to learn recently that, in spite of all other preoccupations, the vexed question of civil lists and privy purses has again been receiving the active attention of Your Highnesses. This problem, of deciding what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of privy purse expenditure,

is one of the greatest complexity and delicacy. The general principle that such distinctions ought to be made was unanimously accepted at the session of this Chamber in 1929, after a full debate on a resolution very eloquently moved by His Highness of Bikaner. Experience has, perhaps, since shown how difficult is the task of translating principle into practice. Nevertheless, it ought to be tackled with courage and resolution. I applaud, therefore, the foresight and statesmanship of those among Your Highnesses who are making such determined efforts in that direction. It would, indeed, be a notable achievement if those efforts were to lead to the formulation of some systematic plan likely to commend itself to the rulers as a body and such as I or my successor could confidently recommend for acceptance by this Chamber and thereafter by all individual States. I trust, therefore, that the endeavour will be energetically pursued and that, in order that we may not be at cross purposes in so vital a matter, the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Adviser into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached.

#### PRINCES AND THE WAR EFFORT

I address myself now to the sterner topic of the war and all that it means to us. When I last addressed Your Highnesses, it was my privilege to acknowledge the inestimable value of the co-operation and generous support of the Indian States to the war effort of India as a whole. The last twelve months have seen the war reach the threshold of India and have added greatly to the demands for every kind of service and sacrifice made upon us all. The response of the States to these demands, which must become more insistent as the tempo of the struggle quickens, continues to be worthy of their great traditions; their contribution covers every field of India's war effort and embraces every form of service. Several of Your Highnesses have visited our Indian troops in different theatres of the war,—visits which have been as highly appreciated by our officers and men as, I am sure, they were instructive and encouraging to Your Highnesses.

It is also a matter for special pride that the Princely Order includes some who have served, are serving, or are preparing to serve, as combatants with His Majesty's forces in the field. There is one particular case, which I think Your Highnesses would wish me to mention, namely, that of the elder son and heir of a member of this Chamber, who met an untimely death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. To His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, I would like to offer, on behalf of this Chamber as well as from myself, a sincere expression of our deepest sympathy.

#### UNSTINTED CONTRIBUTION

Apart from the personal services of rulers and members of their families, the man-power contribution of the States, whether to the Indian Army or their own State forces has been of the highest value; in money their support continues to be generous and unstinted; in material, be it aircraft, house accommodation, rolling stock, launches, the produce of their forests, mines and factories or the provision of comforts for the troops, they have done everything in their power to meet, and indeed to anticipate all of the many calls made on them. Whatever difficulties and dangers lie ahead, I am confident that the great measure of support which the Indian States have given so freely and so spontaneously will be maintained and even augmented.

#### CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORT WITH BRITISH INDIA

I referred, in my last address to Your Highnesses, to the efforts made to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance, and expressed the hope that the steps taken to ensure the closest co-operation between the States and British India would be of mutual benefit. Since then the scope of the measures taken to achieve maximum co-ordination has steadily expanded. The most signal instance of this united front has been the participation of representative Princes in the deliberations of the National Defence Council, and I welcome this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the readiness of those rulers, in spite of their many pressing preoccupations at this time to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla, in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important council of war. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of the personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before.

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India.

#### CO-OPERATION IN CIVIL DEFENCE MEASURES

To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States. I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air. While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, in others it is unquestionably a grim and imminent possibility which must be faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter, which so closely affects the safety of its people.

"I am aware that some of Your Highnesses have expressed some disappointment at the shortage of modern arms and equipment available for supply to Indian States Forces training units. Steps have been taken to make good this deficiency so far as the situation permits, but Your Highnesses will agree with me that it must be left to General Headquarters to decide how best such supplies of arms and equipment as are available can be utilised. Some of Your Highnesses have from time to time, expressed a desire that Indian States Forces units should be given a more active role than had in their judgment been allotted to them. The recent fighting in Malaya, culminating in the fall of Singapore and the loss of many of our valuable troops, including a number of units of the Indian States Forces will, I think, have convinced Your Highnesses that a regiment employed in such a role as guarding an aerodrome is rendering vitally important service and may at any moment find itself at grips with the enemy. I trust, therefore, that Your Highnesses will appreciate that all of your units serving with His Majesty's forces, whatever role be allotted to them, are contributing with equal value to the common object.

#### CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

"When I addressed you in this Chamber last year, I said in referring to the different conditions of service obtaining in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army, that, "in uniformity lies simplicity and efficiency". Since then, several proposals of importance to that end have been made to States maintaining Indian States Forces and have been accepted, although in certain cases with some reluctance and delay. I fully realise that proposals designed to eliminate such differences as still exist between the conditions of service in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army may not always be welcome, but I wish to assure Your Highnesses that they are made solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the Indian States Forces and are intended to effect only for the duration of the war, after which the whole scheme under which those forces are embodied will come under review in the light of the experience gained. Meanwhile, in the present grave emergency I am confident that Your Highnesses will not hesitate to agree temporarily to forego, in the common interest, prerogatives and privileges, however greatly they may be valued, should they in any way impede India's war effort. I desire, in this connection, to mention particularly the commendable action of certain States in the Eastern States Agency in voluntarily delegating authority to the Resident to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation, provided that such decisions are communicated to them immediately afterwards.

#### CONTINUOUS REINFORCEMENTS NECESSARY

The flower of India's manhood is to be found to-day in the Indian Army and the Indian States Forces, but I need not remind Your Highnesses that a

constant stream of reinforcements must be maintained and that the need for augmenting our present forces is insistent. Above all, young men of best type are required to come forward and be trained to lead our troops; modern war demands a high degree of training and initiative from military leaders, and I hope that Your Highnesses will do everything in your power to ensure that institutions such as the Pre-Cadet School at Indore, which have been set up to enlarge the supply of potential officers, are fully supported. I trust also that Your Highnesses will not allow the need to maintain a reasonable margin of safety in regard to your local arrangements for internal security unduly to hamper the making of the utmost possible contribution to the forces which India requires to repel external aggression; regard to local arrangements for internal security is natural and prudent, but in the present emergency, the interests and safety of India as a whole demand that every able-bodied man and every unit that is not essentially required for the maintenance of internal tranquillity should be made available to resist and attack and finally to defeat the common enemy.

That final victory is only a matter of time I entertain no manner of doubt. But I would emphasise that the speed and success with which that goal will be attained, and in fact the very safety of India, her dignity and her standing in the eyes of the world, will in no small measure depend upon the attitude of her people to the threat of aggression. There has been peace in this land for so long a period that we had perhaps become too prone to believe that nothing could disturb it, too sceptical of the need for making sacrifices for its preservation. That peace is now rudely threatened, and it behoves us all, and not least Your Highnesses, who are the hereditary wardens of India's martial traditions, to show that India has the strength and determination to face and defeat the common enemy.

#### NATIONAL WAR FRONT

With that in view, I earnestly invite the support and co-operation of Your Highnesses in the National War Front. Your Highnesses will have read my message. The objects of the National War Front—which I believe will attract innumerable adherents throughout the length and breadth of India—are to maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it; and in particular to counteract Fifth-Column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance; and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown. I trust that the National War Front will derive its strength and vitality from the patriotism of private citizens and public-spirited leaders. It will be their task not only to resist the insidious forces of evil, but to assume the initiative and to inculcate the principle that no form of defence is more effective than attack.

The indomitable Prime Minister of Great Britain has asked:—"What sort of people do our enemies think we are?" Our enemies shall learn if they have not learnt already to their cost, what kind of men this land of India breeds. India has vast material resources. She has mighty allies. She has a great soldier for her Commander-in-Chief. She has the loyalty and bravery of her sons who are heirs to the superb traditions of the Indian Army and who are already writing the first chapters of a glorious record for the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force,

#### SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

Within the last few days, India has received a message of new hope for all who look to see her take her rightful place among the free nations of the world. There is now coming to us across the world a Minister who, in Mr. Churchill's words, carries the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and will strive in their name to secure the necessary measure of assent to the conclusions on which they are agreed. In Sir Stafford Cripps, India has a trusted friend on whose fairness she can rely, a statesman who has already carried out with conspicuous success one important mission in a distant land, and who is animated with a burning zeal for the defeat and final extinction of the aggressors and all they stand for. Your Highnesses can count on his readiness to give the fullest considerations to the views which you will doubtless lay before him, and I know that I can rely on you to give him a warm welcome and your whole-hearted co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities. For you know full well that on you, the representatives of Princely India, lies, as on us all, an obligation

to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her testing time of trial and danger.

**Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—17th. March 1942**

**LATE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT**

The Chamber adopted three resolutions to-day. One resolution recorded the Chamber's "profound sense of grief at the demise of the Duke of Connaught, who inaugurated this Chamber." The resolution requested the Viceroy to convey to their Majesties the King and Queen the "deepest sympathies in their sad bereavement."

The resolution was moved by the Chancellor, the *Jam Saheb*, who referred to the "ties of personal attachment which bind the Indian Princes to Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress." The *Jam Saheb* also referred to the inaugural speech of the late Duke, and characterised it as 'a land-mark in our proceedings.' The *Jam Saheb* said that that speech indicated "the high place which the Indian Princes and their treaties rightly occupy in the estimation of the illustrious House of Windsor." The *Jam Saheb* added : "To-day, we mourn this loss ; let us all honour his memory by maintaining the high traditions and expectations with which, in the name of the King-Emperor, his late Royal Highness inaugurated this Chamber."

The resolution was seconded by the *Maharaja of Bikaner*, who said that the Duke's death was a personal loss to him as he knew His late Royal Highness since his early days.

**TRIBUTE TO DEPARTED RULERS**

The second resolution placed on record the "heartfelt sorrow of the Chamber" on the death of the Rulers of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari, Cutch and Dhrangadhara. The Chamber congratulated the Rulers of Cochin, Kolhapur, Manipur, Bijawar, Cutch and Dhrangadhara on their accession to their respective gadis.

**RESOLUTION ON THE WAR**

The Chamber of Princes next adopted an important resolution relating to the war. The resolution reiterated "the firm determination of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India to continue to render every possible assistance to His Imperial Majesty and his Government for the successful prosecution of the war and for the defence of their Motherland, until final victory is achieved and the high principles of justice and sacredness of treaties and covenants are vindicated."

The resolution was moved by the Chancellor the *Jam Saheb*, who asserted that the Princes were pledged to do all they could and were determined to spare nothing within their power for war effort. He said : "Difficulties and dangers will and may come. We are ready and willing to meet them. In fact, they are a part of the game in a gigantic struggle like the present." Speaking from personal testimony he paid a very warm tribute to the bravery of the Indian soldiers and declared : "Let them be assured that we follow their movements and heroic efforts with pride and affection and that their homes and families are our valued trust."

Proceeding, the Chancellor said that the war had reached India, and apart from other consideration, "to-day, India calls, and, God willing, the Indian Princes will not fail to respond and, should it be necessary they will defend their Motherland according to their best traditions."

The resolution was supported by the rulers of *Patiala*, *Rampur*, *Mandi* and *Alwar*, all of whom reiterated their faith in the final victory and declared their determination to make the maximum contribution to war effort in man, material and money. The *Maharaja of Patiala* emphasised that no quarter should be shown to obstruction to war effort. The *Raja of Mandi* stressed the importance of a "Home Front."

The resolution was unanimously passed.

**PRINCES AND CRIPPS' MISSION**

The resolution on Sir *Stafford Cripps'* visit and the attitude of the Princes to proposals for constitutional reform was moved by the Chancellor and carried unanimously.

The *Jam Saheb*, moving the resolution, declared that the Princely Order was not unmindful of the fact that in this total war, India, as much as other Allied countries, must put in its total effort so that speedy and final victory might be achieved. "We realise that such a total effort can only come through a whole-hearted collaboration of all the main elements that go to make the national life of this great sub-continent. If the integrity of the country is to be



fully safeguarded, it is essential that all parties should sink their differences and get together to organise all the available resources of India for defence."

The *Jam Sahab* explained that the Princes had, on several occasions, publicly associated themselves with the general desire to secure for India the fullest freedom and the highest status under the aegis of the British Crown *pari passu*, they had emphasised "and are emphasising again to-day that any scheme, to be acceptable to them, must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, engagements and Sanads." The Chancellor said that the India of the future, on which, "we have set our gaze and in which patriotic Indians of different classes, parties and interests can cheerfully offer their best in the service of the Motherland and in its defence, must inspire in them a sense of security, self-respect and pride, a spirit of common citizenship and of comradeship in arms essential, as much for defeating the enemy to-day as for the working of any stable constitution in the future. For the achievement of this ideal, if it be necessary, theories of constitutional purism must yield to the peculiar needs of human element in India and to the exigency of the grave situation that faces us."

On behalf of the Chamber, the *Jam Sahab* declared that they should lend to the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government, the consideration to which they were entitled. He concluded: "Shall not the greatest gifts of Indian leaders be harnessed to the constructive work of the nation against the common enemy? Let us put our shoulders to the wheel to serve and save India to-day, without prejudice to the right of pressing our respective points of view in the ultimate constitution, which we shall ourselves frame on the basis of a Free India."

The Maharaja of *Bikaner*, seconding the resolution, repudiated "the insinuation in certain quarters that they stand in the way of the constitutional advance of our country." His Highness cited his own efforts in 1917, in support of his contention that the Princely Order had urged a generous measure of constitutional reform for India.

After quoting Gandhiji's speech at the Second Round Table Conference, His Highness said that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 differed in certain important aspects from the one to which they had originally agreed. The Government of India Act scheme "fell through, so far as the States were concerned, as in our opinion, it did not afford adequate and effective protection to the States in regard to their sovereignty, internal autonomy and their rights arising out of the treaties etc. to develop their resources and to improve the economic condition of their subjects." His Highness declared that the constitutional advance of British India should not be at the expense or to the detriment of the Indian States. He said that, subject to those reservations, the Princely Order would be prepared to make on this occasion too their fullest contribution.

The resolution was supported by the Rulers of Sangli, Mandi and Dewas (Jr.) and passed.

The last resolution, which was also moved by the Chancellor, and was seconded by the Nawab of Rampur, related to the extension of time for appeals, etc., by the Ruler or the Government of a State in cases where the period of limitation expired during the continuation of the war.

The Viceroy promised to give due consideration to the resolution.

#### CHANCELLOR'S REVIEW OF CHAMBER'S ACTIVITIES

The Chancellor, in his review of the work done by the Chamber during last year, explained that much solid work was achieved in co-ordinating, and where needed, stimulating the war effort of the States. He quoted percentages to show the economic, educational and political progress of the Indian States. He claimed, for instance, that the general incidence of taxation in the States had been lower than in British India. Primary education was free in almost all the States, and the laws of the States which were members of the Chamber had been modelled generally on the lines of British Indian laws. Arrangements had also been made to examine Central or Provincial legislation affecting the States. The *Jam Sahab* invoked the Viceroy's good offices to resolve the few points of doubt or difficulty relating to the application of British Indian Income-tax law to the Rulers and subjects of Indian States and certain questions relating to the resolutions on Courts of Arbitration.

A vote of thanks to the Chancellor was proposed by the Maharaja of *Bikaner* and supported by the Rulers of Patiala and Panna. It was carried. The proceedings of the Chamber then terminated.

# Federation of Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Delhi—8th. March 1942

## Presidential Address

Our experience of the Roger Mission to India has been none too happy and we have, therefore, to look at the reported American technical mission to explore the possibility of furthering the industrial progress of India with a bit of suspicion," declared Mr. G. D. Birla, addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, held at Delhi on the 8th. March 1942.

Mr. Birla, continuing, said that if Americans were given unrestricted facilities to establish industrial concern in India, albeit for war purposes, when Indians were denied such facilities they had seriously to consider the position. He urged the Federation to examine the question in all its bearings. He also drew attention to all the implications of the "scorched earth" policy in view of threatened enemy attacks. He also pleaded for a closer examination of the situation created by the acute problem of evacuees. In view of their urgency he asked the Federation to authorize the incoming President to take up these matters directly with the authorities concerned.

Sir Chuni Lal B. Mehata, President of the Federation, and Mr. D. Khurana endorsed Mr. Birla's views and the Federation gave permission to the incoming President to take up the questions with the authorities concerned.

## Resolutions

### EXPANSION OF KEY INDUSTRIES URGED

The Federation at its session to-day, passed a resolution in which, while recognising that some progress had been made by India in the expansion of certain existing industries and the establishment of some new industries for the supply of essential war requirements, the Federation deplored the absence of any initiative or planned effort on the part of the Government of India towards the establishment of any important defence or heavy industries. The Federation, therefore, declared that in view of the experience gained since the outbreak of the present hostilities regarding the dependence of this country on the import of its requirements in several important and vital spheres, the needs of India, both for its defence and continuance of normal life, demanded the establishment and expansion of defence industries, such as the manufacture of aircraft, automobiles, ships, tanks and munitions, as well as heavy and key industries such as locomotives, machinery and machine tools, heavy chemicals, etc.

The Federation urged upon Government the desirability of utilising India's sterling credit towards the purchase and transfer of necessary plant and machinery from the United Kingdom or under the Lease and Lend Act from the U. S. A. for the early fulfilment of these essential requirements for achieving a strong and self-reliant national economy as well as making India an arsenal of the east. The Federation urged that the fullest facilities should be given by the Government of India for the import of machinery, spare parts, machine tools and the necessary raw materials and for obtaining technical personnel from abroad for the establishment of such industries.

Mr. Gaganvishari Mehta, moving the resolution, emphasised that the development of heavy and defence industries was essential not only from India's own standpoint but also that of the British Commonwealth. That indeed was the spirit in which the self-governing dominions were developing their resources and building up their industries. He quoted from statements made by Field-Marshal Smuts and Mr. Curtin and said that these recognised the supreme national necessity of self-sufficiency and contained no sermon against too rapid a pace of industrialisation, such as had been heard in India. Australia and Canada had made enormous strides since the war began.

### EASTERN GROUP COUNCIL MUST BE REORGANISED

Discussing the obstacles in the way of industrialisation in India, Mr. Mehta quoted from a number of writers including Mr. Guy Looock, a member of the Roger Mission and Director of the Federation of British Industries, who, in an account of the Mission's work, said that "no steps have been taken to expand production as a result of the Mission's visit which are not essential for war

purposes and he saw to it that on the whole post-war interests of British industry are not likely to suffer so greatly as was at one time expected." That proved that even in the midst of a total war, British industrialists and exporters were thinking not in terms of victory but of trade and future competition in the postwar period. The development of India's war potential as also of Australia to a certain extent had been retarded by this predominant motive of Britain and by over-centralisation of production. There had been established in Cairo another Middle East Supply Council which frankly announced its interest in post-war consideration of promoting British trade and was assisted in this purpose by the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation whose activity extended to India and tended to compete with Indian traders and exporters. Mr. Mehta contended that in view of the alteration in the Pacific situation the Eastern Group Council should be reorganised and converted into a department of production under the Government of India.

Sir *Rahimatullah Chinoy*, seconding the resolution, referred to the doubts expressed by some speakers at yesterday's meeting regarding the exact scope and nature of the assistance and co-operation to be given by the proposed American Mission. These doubts and fears, he said, should be cleared "and if we get the necessary reassurance that no foreign vested interests would be created, but that America would facilitate the strengthening of industrial war effort under Indian management and control by giving the necessary technical help and supplying essential machinery, the assistance should be availed of."

Sir *Rahimullah* referred, earlier in his speech, to certain observations made by persons actively in touch with the Eastern Group Supply Council, and said that these observations strengthened the fear that representatives of His Majesty's Government associated with the supply problems were to a certain extent obsessed by considerations of post-war effects of industrial potentialities. He, however, thought this was not the time for the apportionment of the blame for the past but to think of the future. The resolution, he urged, was mainly concerned with the future and suggested the lines on which future efforts should be directed.

The resolution was supported by Mr. *D. Khaitan* (Calcutta), and Mr. *Sankalchand G. Shah* (Bombay) and passed unanimously.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF INCOME-TAX AND E. P. TAX LAWS

The Federation passed a resolution noting with regret that the manner in which the income-tax and excess profits tax laws were being administered at present had caused and was causing great discontent among the Indian assesses all over India and urged that in order to redress the grievances of the assesses, action on the following lines be immediately taken by the Government:

1. That Indian assesses and European assesses be in every way treated in exactly the same manner.
2. That the Appellate Assistant Commissioners and the Appellate Tribunal be placed under the control of the Law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court instead of the Finance Department:
3. That the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay be forthwith abolished:
4. That the Income-Tax Act and the Excess Profits Tax Act be in their application, interpreted according to the recognised judicial rule of interpretation, i. e., fiscal law should be interpreted in favour of the subject;
5. That explanations given by the assessee and statements of fact made by him be treated with due regard and be not twisted against the assessee and adverse inferences be not drawn from imagination or upon suspicion;
6. That no arbitrary action be taken about the registration of firms or about the separation or jointness of families.
7. That accounts audited by qualified auditors be normally accepted and assesses should not be harassed by calling for books of accounts, etc., and such explanations only as may be necessary for the assessment of income may be asked.

1. That a statement of total wealth be not demanded whether under Section 37 of the Indian Income-Tax Act or otherwise.

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi*, who moved the resolution, narrated how his efforts in the Central Legislative Assembly had not borne any fruit and detailed the number of hardships experienced by Indian assesses at the hands of the Central Department of Income-Tax in Calcutta and Bombay.

*Pandit Jawanlal* of the East India Jute Association, Calcutta, who claimed to have intimate knowledge of the alleged arbitrary manner in which Income-tax

authorities were behaving in Calcutta, declared that a wave of disgust and despair had been caused among the commercial community in Calcutta and expressed the opinion that unless immediate steps were taken to remedy the position the situation was bound to assume an aggressive form more or less on the lines of the Beopari Mandal agitation in the Panjab.

Mr. M. A. Parikh and Mr. Ramgopal Gadhodia further supported the resolution.

#### SCORCHED EARTH POLICY IN INDIA OPPOSED

Vigorous opposition to any possible adopting of a "scorched earth" policy in India was voiced by Sir *Purshottamas Thakurdas* supporting a resolution recommending to the Government "to encourage by subsidies or otherwise the cultivation, in place of short staple cotton, of wheat, cereals and such other crops as are needed for internal consumption and are readily saleable".

Persons returning from Singapore and Malaya, said Sir *Purushottamas*, had spread reports regarding what had been done there presumably under the orders of the areas concerned. "I can understand 'scorched earth' policy in Russia where every factory belongs to the State. In India, where factories are put up by private capital and enterprise, I should like to put it bluntly: Do the Government expect that the masses and classes will contentedly look on when these factories on which their livelihood depends are scorched?"

He had only touched upon the subject but he wished to bring home to the Government that unless they felt diffident of retaining India they must give protection and inspire confidence among middlemen and capitalists who had sunk their money and handled the material. If the Government's policy was such as would demolish confidence they had to thank themselves. The Government of India should beware and think seriously before adopting "scorched earth" as a copy of what had been adopted in Russia and other countries.

#### PLEA FOR CULTIVATING FOOD GRAINS

Speaking of cotton, Sir *Purushottamas* referred to the efforts made by the Indian Central Cotton Committee to grow improved staple cotton in those areas which once were growing short staple cotton and said that as a result of those efforts very substantial progress had been made in Khandesh and C. P. and Berar. Referring to the present position in Bombay, he said that the Government of Bombay had definitely informed the trade that there was no likelihood of the Government giving any wagons for transport of short and fair staple cotton from the interior to Bombay. It was therefore most urgent that the cultivators should turn to growing foodstuffs. It was urgent also because of the acute and increasing scarcity of foodstuffs all over India. Taking rice alone, we used to import fifteen to twenty lakhs of tons and as far as he could see there was no prospect of getting this next year. The question was, how was this quantity going to be replaced by us? Nature had not been kind to us this year and many areas had not done well at all in the matter of cultivation. There was not in his opinion sufficient food grains physically to go round to the vast population of the country.

In passing, he mentioned that in addition to the shortage of food grains, we had to send food grains abroad to the armies and to civil populations there. "No Indian would mind this, but the Federation should protest strongly that the policy of allowing the children of the soil to starve and enabling people outside to have a banquet should not be tolerated. We want to do our best to the civil population of an Allied country but not at the expense of our civil population which is not vocal". Hunger, he warned, was more dangerous than a ferocious tiger. He warned the powers that be that, guided as they were in the provinces by Advisers to Governor and in the absence of representatives of the people in most of the provinces, it would be wrong to overlook the danger they faced. They should conserve every maund of food grain in India until the next crop was harvested. If this warning was disregarded the Government themselves would regret it more than anyone else. Of course people would also suffer.

He referred to the situation in Delhi, where he was told that the distribution of food grains was very bad, although it was the seat of the Government. He wanted the Executive Council and the Viceroy to think of the problem seriously.

#### WAR RISKS INSURANCE

There was a nervousness among people who handled raw materials, said Sir *Purshottamas*, based on a letter issued by the Government of India informing

insurance companies that the war risk insurance policy did not cover the risk of seizure of goods by the enemy, while it covered the risk of bombing, etc. Those among officials and members of the European commercial community with whom he had discussed the matter agreed that it was commonsense that insurance against damage by the enemy should include the risk of seizure. The resolution was passed. The session concluded.

## A. I. Organisation of Industrial Employers

### 9th. Annual Meeting—Delhi—8th. March 1942

#### Presidential Address

"After a preliminary period of adaptation, Indian industry is now more fully geared to a war time economy than ever before, and it is enjoying, as is natural in the circumstances, a period of moderate prosperity," said Sir *Shri Ram*, President, All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers, speaking at the ninth annual meeting held at Delhi on the 8th. March 1942.

The President proceeded: "There is a lot of facile and superficial talk about opportunities which the war has afforded for industrialisation but it does not appear to be fully realised that industrialisation is only possible when the requisite machinery is available. War has doubtless created new opportunities, but the Government of India have not devised adequate measures to meet the difficulties it has interposed in the way of import of machinery so indispensable a pre-requisite to the establishment of new industries. It is true that we have expended some of our consumer-industries to an appreciable extent; we can now feed the army that is said to march on its stomach. We can also clothe that army, but we cannot, I am sorry to say, yet equip that army with the weapons which it requires to fight with.

#### SERIOUS GAPS IN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

There are serious gaps in our industrial economy, gaps which limit our advance in industrialisation and which may, in fact, determine our survival as a nation. These gaps are capital industries, such as the manufacture of machinery and tools, of ships, of aircraft, of automobiles, of railway locomotives, of chemicals, of coal distillation and of fermentation industries generally. Even here, however, small pioneering efforts of private enterprise have been made with but little encouragement from Government. I refer to the shipbuilding yard at Vizagapatam, which hopes at first to turn out four ships of 10,000 tons a year and later on sixteen, to the aircraft assembly factory at Bangalore, which hopes, in due course, to produce all the types of planes required for the defence of India. Some foreign concerns have had, of course, assembly plants for automobiles, but we still do not and cannot produce a single internal combustion engine or tanks of any size, which count for so much in this war.

"Under the difficulties the country has had to face, she has done commendably, but a great deal of progress in the industrial sphere still remains to be made and the responsibility that rests on the Government, if our war effort is to be more substantial, is still quite considerable. The value of these industries is not confined merely to war time needs. Swords can easily be turned into ploughshares, the aircraft that may be produced will be useful in peace time for civil aviation, for faster communications; internal combustion engines now required for tanks etc., can be used in lorries, buses and tractors; ships which may now be used for the transport of troops and supplies may be employed for the shipment of our produce and manufactures in coastal and foreign trade. The transformation of a war time economy to peace-time civil needs requires only a slight readjustment.

#### LACK OF MILL-STORES AND SPARES

"Already the difficulty in replenishing our requirements of mill-stores, spares, renewals and tools is retarding the further expansion of our industries and may indeed prove a serious setback to our war effort, if satisfactory arrangements are not made by the Government for the import of these. If, therefore, the Government expects industry to maintain its level of production and to improve its output further, it would be necessary to provide adequate facilities for industry to obtain machinery, spares, tools, etc., either under the lease-and-lend arrangements or on cash basis.

"While our grievances against the Government for its acts of omission in this

matter is a serious one, industry itself is culpable for its neglect in not providing for such a contingency. I will give only one example. The cotton textile industry of the country is almost a century old, and the value of the stores, spares and machinery it now requires each year, runs into many crores of rupees, yet during all these years the industry has not thought fit to ensure its supplies within the country, either by itself establishing on a co-operative basis or by helping to bring into being subsidiary industries such as the manufacture of bobbins, healds, belting, shuttles, card cans, loom sundries, reeds, etc., leave alone machinery and spares. On the other hand, there is unfortunately, a prejudice against indigenous products. If the industry had done so, it would have now found itself independent of imported supplies, and, in an emergency like the present, would not have been placed in the position of being gravely inconvenienced for want of these stores."

## The International Chamber of Commerce 13th. Annual Meeting—Delhi—8th. March 1942

### Presidential Address

The danger of excessive dependence on export markets and the need for rapid industrialisation, with a view to creating a more balanced adjustment between industry and agriculture coupled with a conscious crop planning programme were stressed by *Sir Chunilal B. Mehta*, President, Indian National Committee, International Chamber of Commerce, at its 13th annual meeting held at Delhi on the 8th. March 1942.

*Sir Chunilal* said, "The wartime requirements of self-sufficiency in food and raw materials are bound to stimulate agriculture in most industrial States during this war and it is hardly likely that the war-expanded agriculture would be 'let down' by their statesmen after the return of peace. It is idle to hope, therefore, in my opinion, that India's transitional export trade in staple agricultural produce could be revived to anything like the pre-depression level of 1928-29 in the post-war years. It follows from this that rapid development of Indian industries with a view to creating alternative or additional markets for the traditional Indian exportable surpluses of raw materials, such as cotton and oilseeds, within the country itself, has become more a matter of necessity than a matter of choice. I, therefore, strongly urge upon the Government of India the necessity to seize the present opportunity to stimulate the development of all kinds of industries, which would provide an assured market for most of our exportable surpluses of raw materials and agricultural products within the country itself. I am aware that there are many difficulties, such as the availability of machinery, skilled labour, etc. in the way of inaugurating a large-scale programme of industrial development during the war. But I am sure that a co-ordinated and strong lead by the Government of India, in consultation with industrialists would enable the country to take the maximum advantage of the situation created by the elimination of Japan and relative disappearance of foreign competition from the Indian market, to develop major and minor industries in the country."

Speaking of the necessity of a number of production adjustments in the country's internal structure, *Sir Chunilal* said that in view of the shrinkage of the export markets and increasing production of finer and higher quality piecegoods in India, efforts should be intensified to stimulate, to the utmost possible extent, the production of longstaple cotton and to discourage the short staple growths. Similarly, the curtailment of the area under jute by substitution of rice would also be necessary to bring peace-time supply of jute more in accord with the reduced world demand, consequent on the serious decline in the value and volume of international trade in recent years. In his view, therefore, a conscious and deliberate crop planning would have to be an integral part of the programme of industrialisation with a view to minimising the hardship and the difficulties of the transition period.

## The A. I. Muslim Chamber of Commerce First Annual Meeting—Bombay—11th. March 1942

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"We must not be backward in contributing our full quota to the nation's defence measures, and we must do everything by precept and example to sustain our spirits and keep our morale high", said *Sir Sultan Chinnoy* presiding over the

first annual general meeting of the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry held at Bombay on the 11th. March 1942.

Sir Sultan made it clear that the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce was founded in no spirit of rivalry to any other organisation. It was to supplement India's commercial activities as a whole and to strengthen and foster them that the institution had been formed.

A people's happiness in the last analysis, said Sir Sultan, depended not so much on their commercial prosperity. Hunger was among the greatest motive forces of life and any effort calculated to raise the standard of the people and to bring back to India again some of her ancient prosperity and greatness should be welcomed by all patriotic Indians. Industrial advance must go hand in hand with political progress. In a sense it should precede it, for without industrial organisation political freedom was a poor thing which could not be fully enjoyed. He said that it was the intention of the Chamber at an early date to appoint a Muslim Industrial Commission to investigate the resources to the best advantage.

Referring to the war, Sir Sultan said that recent developments in the Far East and in Burma had greatly increased our own peril. "The war is at our very doors and while I have no intention of saying anything alarmist I think we should indulge in very dangerous complacency if we do not realise that at any moment now the enemy may strike at our ports and cities. Let us be realists and face this eventuality calmly and with clear minds".

After emphasising the need for contributing fully to the nation's defence, Sir Sultan said: "That is necessary if we are to emerge successfully through the crisis which faces us. None of us expect that we can survive the ordeal unscathed. That is a fact which businessmen in other sections of the community fully recognise." Sir Sultan Chinoy endorsed the views expressed by *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas* in regard to the application of the policy of "scorched earth" in India. He said that while the business community was willing to sacrifice much for the successful prosecution of the war, at the same time it expected the careful avoidance on the part of the Government of "senseless sacrifices" which were calculated to ruin irreparably the country's industrial structure and spell unhappiness and poverty for many millions of innocent citizens.

Turning to the political situation in India, Sir Sultan said that prosperity, political or commercial, could only flourish in an atmosphere of goodwill and contentment. Therefore it was in the interests of businessmen, Muslims and Hindus, no less than in the interests of all sections of India's people, to help in restoring communal amity without which political and even industrial progress would be difficult. He declared that the Muslim Chamber of Commerce would use its good offices for achieving co-operation and co-ordination.

## The A. I. Trade Union Congress

19th. Session—Cawnpore—8th. February 1942

### PT. NEHRU'S OPENING ADDRESS

The 19th session of the all-India Trade Union Congress commenced at Cawnpore on the 8th. February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. V. R. Kalappa. About 200 delegates from almost all the provinces and representing different affiliated labour organizations and trade unions participated in it.

'We cannot shut our eyes to the bloodshed that is going on all over the world, and to the loss of human lives which is taking place on account of the present war,' observed *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* opening the 19th session of the all-India Trade Union Congress. *Pandit Nehru* said India was not responsible for the good of any other country. The first concern of Indians was to see that their country was free.

*Pandit Nehru* referred to a slogan which he had heard being raised, that this was a people's war and the 'workers of the world should unite.' He added that this was not the slogan of kisans and mazdoors of this country. He pointed out that if the mazdoors of the world would have united, the world's map would have been different. They should first fight for the freedom of their own country.

India's premier organization had rightly expressed its sympathies towards other countries like China and Russia, but now the first question before them was the freedom of India. And India would not yield to British imperialism. Proceeding further Pandit Nehru said that in case India was free, she would have decided by her own will to move side by side with Britain. But at this stage the country had no other alternative but to fight with all those who ever tried to keep her in slavery. He added that he totally disliked the German rule and Nazism. Britain had made India incapable of any defence. In the event of India being attacked by any other foreign country she would continue to resist. She was fated to oppose all until she was free.

Pandit Nehru further pointed out that India would have developed industrially if she was free but the British Government never allowed her to industrialize, and placed handicaps in the work of the National Planning Committee of which he was the president.

In conclusion, he paid tributes to Cawnpore for its contribution in the Satyagraha movement. He urged the Trade Union Congress to take decision on matters which affected the working class. He was of the opinion that any decision taken against the will of the country would create divisions and prove disastrous.

The session of the Congress was attended by prominent delegates from all the provinces including Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. V. V. Giri, Mr. Bankim Mukherjee, Mr. Ashok Mehta and others. Dr. P. P. Pillai of the Indian branch of the International Labour Office and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya were present by special invitation.

#### PANDIT BALKRISHNA SHARMA'S ADDRESS

'We are meeting at a time when the whole world is in flames. The present world conflagration is only a culmination of man's stupid greed and avarice,' declared Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, chairman, reception committee of the all-India Trade Union Congress, welcoming the delegates to the conference.

Continuing, he said that a glimpse of the development of trade union movement in India will convince any impartial observer that the capitalistic classes as such have always opposed vehemently even the most humane reforms in the conditions of work of the factory workers. A rapid survey of the legislative proposals and the manner in which they were received by the employers will convince anybody that something much more than mere legislation was required to set right the various problems that faced society. The existence of so many associations of employers, their sudden growth after the trade union movement in India came to its own was a clear indication of the spirit of deep-rooted antagonism between the employers and the workers. Had the employers been more circumspective to raise the wages of the workers in proportion to the rise in prices after the great war of 1914-18 the history of trade unionism in India would have been different.

It is necessary, therefore, that the capitalist and for our purpose the Indian capitalist should readjust his sense of values. It will not do to remain in opposition to trade unionism any longer. Why, at the end of this war, he may find that his capitalist mode of life has not only outgrown its usefulness but has become a positive menace to human progress.

Let the Indian workers learn a lesson from the present world developments and it would be wise and proper for the capitalists to begin to think in new terms in relation to his attitude towards his workers.

Continuing, Pandit *Balkrishna* counselled the mazdoors and labour workers to concentrate their efforts in the direction of solid organisational activities. They had, he said, spent much of their time and energies on agitational channels. Bitterness in thought and speeches had taken them nowhere. They should therefore stop swearing at the capitalist, and if he does not change time will throw him overboard.

Concluding, he said that he felt like going whole-hog with Britain in this war. But the blindness of the British statesmen had left them no alternative but to stick to the Bombay resolution of the all-India Congress Committee.

#### DR. PILLAI'S SPEECH

Speaking at the opening session of the all-India Trade Union Congress, Dr. P. P. Pillai, director of the Indian branch of the international Labour Office, who was present by special invitation, emphasised the critical nature of the present times, outlined the important part Indian labour had to play in achieving victory



for democracy and the significant contribution that I. L. O. was making in the difficult sphere of post-war social reconstruction.

Dr. Pillai said that the rude impact of war and an objective view of its developments in the Malayan and Burman theatres compelled Indian labour to take stock afresh of the situation and to define the ultimate principles and objects for which it stands. The totalitarian powers were challenging the very principle of democracy, the Nazis and their criminal collaborators were clearly out for world domination and they had no place in their scheme of things for independent nationalities. This will not suit India or Indian labour.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Workers are not anti-British or anti-any-other-nation. But they are anti-Imperialistic under whatever name it may go. They are against all kinds of Imperialism be it the authoritarian form of the British or totalitarian form of the German. Nor does imperialism change its character, if it comes from the East instead of the West. In other words, Indian workers who are a subject people cannot prefer one kind of Imperialism to another said Mr. V. R. Kalappa, presiding over the session.

"What we are mainly concerned with is the foreign policy and foreign policy alone of the belligerent countries. One may say that foreign policy reflects the character of a Government. This may be partially true. But history shows that a foreign policy leading to aggression has not been confined to any particular form of Government. We are, therefore, concerned with the policy of aggression from whatever quarter it may emanate and not with the peoples or their Governments. All talk of anti-Fascist front will lead us nowhere."

"The non-existence of political strikes on war issue is interpreted to mean loyalty of the Indian working class to the British Imperialism and support to war efforts. It is true that the workers engaged in munition factories, production of war material and transport services have not laid down the tools. But they are working to support war efforts but for their living. Neither Government nor votaries of Imperialism under the cloak of anti-Fascism are justified in misinterpreting the poor workers who sell their labour which is their only possession just to eke out their existence.

"In these circumstances there was no justification whatever for some of our comrades to break away and start a rival organisation under the guise of anti-Fascist front, so soon after unity was achieved after ten years of hard struggle. In order to avoid future splits unity was based on some sound democratic principles that all political questions as well as questions of strikes and affiliation with any foreign organisation be decided by three-fourths majority. A decision by three-fourths majority makes it impossible for any particular section or group to get any resolution passed through a snap vote. Nor can the Congress be swamped by any one union however large its membership may be, as representation is not in direct proportion to numerical strength but graduated. Nor can workers in any particular industry dominate the organisation as representation is on trade group basis which restricts the maximum number of members on the General Council to eight for each group of Industries such as Railways, Shipping, Cotton Textile, Mining, Engineering etc. Similarly the number of delegates also are restricted on a graduated scale, without depriving small unions representation.

#### RECRUITING SERGEANT

"It has also been complained by some that the A. I. C. U. O. has not given a lead on War issue. What other lead is possible under the existing circumstances than merely state the position of the organised workers and leave it there? The critics certainly do not mean a lead for political strike. Do they, then mean that the Trade Union Congress should play the veritable role of a recruiting sergeant and convert all the affiliated unions into recruiting depots?

It is contended that by supporting war efforts of the British, Fascism could be destroyed, Socialism would be established in Great Britain and it would follow suit in India. This prospect is extremely alluring. Nazis came to power only in 1933. What prevented Great Britain from establishing Socialism before that date?

The prospect of establishment of Socialism in all the countries of Europe including Germany and Italy is also held out. To say that by defeating Herr Hitler, Nazism or Fascism will be wiped out and Socialism established is to go

even beyond the Atlantic Charter which has been drawn as the war aim of the Democracies. But the pro-British propagandists can afford to promise what their masters have not contemplated as they (former) are not required to deliver the goods.

#### RELEASE DETENUS

Recently some political prisoners, mostly convicted for offering Satyagraha, have been released. But the non-release of the detenues and other political prisoners convicted for their alleged or professed leanings towards Socialism or Communism is thoroughly unwarranted by circumstances and morally unjustified. Most of the Labour Leaders have been convicted, though under the Defence of India Act for their normal trade union activities. The position of the detenues is even worse. If there is any unchallengeable evidence against the detenues why does not the Government place them on trial? Is it not merely for their ideologies, the detenues and other political prisoners are made to lose their liberty and sacrifice their all.

#### Second Day—Resolutions—Cawnpur—9th. February 1942

##### ATTITUDE TO WAR

The session of the Congress concluded on the next day after adopting a number of resolutions including the recognition of the demand for Trade Unions and Factory committees, release of political prisoners, condemning repression in Bengal, appealing to workers not to be panic-stricken during an air raid, demanding an increase in basic wages and grant of dearness allowance, disapproving the policy adopted by the Government by introducing and enforcing ordinances and legislation affecting labour without consulting representatives of labour.

The Trade Union Congress decided to maintain the *status quo* in respect of its policy towards the war.

Both the resolutions on attitude to war, one sponsored by the Communists offering unconditional support in the war effort and the other moved by Mr. *Mrinal Kanti Bose*, expressing the opinion that in view of the situation created by the aggression against Russia, immediate transfer of power to the people is essential, to enable the workers of India to take part enthusiastically and effectively in the defence of India, were lost as they failed to secure a threefourths majority as required under the constitution for making any change in the policy of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Mr. *Bankim Mukerji*, who moved the resolution urging support to the war effort, dwelt at length on the changed situation and pointed out that the war had changed its character and had ceased to be an imperialist one. It had become a people's war, he said.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, supporting Mr. *Mrinal Kanti Bose's* resolution, said that in case they supported the war effort unconditionally it would not carry them far. No help could be effectively and enthusiastically given until India was free.

Mr. *V. R. Kalappa*, at the end of the discussions in his speech, said that he could quite agree with his Communist friends that it was a people's war for Russia, but it could never be a people's war for India. By adopting the resolution supporting war effort, they could only give moral help. No substantial help could be possible as long as this country was a slave.

On votes being taken, both the resolutions were lost. The Congress then terminated.

## The All India Manufacturers' Conference

### Second Session—Poona—21st. March 1942

#### Welcome Address

The second session of the All India Manufacturers' Conference was held in Poona at the specially erected and decorated pandal on the grounds of the Tilak Smarak Mandir on the 21st. March 1942. Sir *M. Visvesvaraya* presided and Mr. *G. V. Purankar*, the Chairman of the Maharashtra Industrial Association, welcomed the delegates, in the course of which he said:—

"On behalf of the Maharashtra Industrial Association, which is the Regional Council of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation for the ten districts of Maharashtra, I cordially welcome you to this second session of the All-India Manufacturers' Conference. I need hardly say anything to you about the city of Poona where this conference is holding its session. This historical city, once the capital of the Peshawas, is hallowed by the association of the Late Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, Lok. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who rendered invaluable services to India's national renaissance.

"The reason that seems to have weighed with the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation to hold its second annual session in Maharashtra is, that we have been able to set up here a Regional Council to carry on the work of the Organisation in this part of the country and ours is probably the only regional body that has so far been officially affiliated to it. Our enthusiasm in this matter, I must admit, is indeed due to our consciousness about the backward industrial condition of our region and the consequent urge to do something that will help the province to rapidly industrialise itself. When we attended the first conference in Bombay last year, we found that the programme which it outlined under the able guidance of Sir M. Visvesvaraya was such which even if partially put into practice was sure to create the much needed industrial mindedness among the people which ultimately would bring about industrial uplift of the country.

"In this connection I should like to observe that India's body economic will not be well developed unless proper attention is paid to the industrial growth of its component regional units. The development of one limb at the neglect of the growth of the other would not make a healthy and a strong body. The same is the case with the sound industrial development of a sub-continent like India. We from the various provinces, therefore, should strive our utmost to develop our respective regions, keeping in view the ideal of the proportionate and all round development of India's body economic. This, of course, presupposes harmonious working and, co-ordination of efforts among the various regions and it is the function of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation to strive to this end.

#### Presidential Address

*Sir M. Visvesvaraya* in delivering his presidential address observed :—

"The foremost topic which colours all our thoughts today is the war. Enemy activities have already extended to the borders of this country. I am sure it is the ardent wish of all who have assembled at this Conference that at a critical time like this, India should render all the help it is in her power to give, to enable the Allies to win the war.

"As this country has in the past neglected the production of armament machinery and has also taken no precautions to develop the Military capacity of its people, we are today exposed to the dangers of foreign invasion. Before the war, Government were placing orders for goods required in India with German or American firms whenever England herself could not supply them and now since the commencement of the war and after the close of deliberations of the Eastern Group War Supply Conference, the tendency has been to obtain the necessary raw and semi-raw materials required for the war from this country and to place orders for all heavy armament machinery, motor trucks, aero-engines, etc., which require capacity and skill, with the other countries of the Empire or with the United States of America. It is probably not widely known that many of the manufacturers even in those countries, who have come forward to execute the orders, have admitted that they did not know the job themselves but had to learn it after accepting the orders.

"We are informed that an American mission is coming out to this country in connection with the rapid development of munitions production. It is hoped that the Government will soon acquaint the country with the precise scope and functions of this technical mission. The Indian industrialists are naturally anxious to know whether opportunities will be given to them to develop heavy armament industries with the help of this mission.

"Financial prosperity in Great Britain and America, depends largely on the systematic and continuous working of numerous business and financial organisations, operated by skilled groups of people with the co-operation and encouragement of Government. There is no organisation worth the name in this country to help industrial development. The attention given by the Central Government is casual and fragmentary. The Provincial Governments which are supposed to be entrusted with this duty, have no resources and many of them have shown no will.

"The public should wake up to this perilous state of things, and our main lines of development should in future, be (1) to encourage the starting and working of industries of every kind—small, medium and large scale, either as owners' concerns, partnership concerns or joint-stock companies; (2) to create in each region or area an efficient industrial organisation to enable new occupations and new units of work to spring up speedily; (3) to provide institutions, agencies, facilities and conditions for training a large proportion of the population for industrial life; and (4) to start preparing the country for post-war reconstruction in which industries must necessarily play an important part."

#### Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously by the Conference.

#### INDUSTRIAL POLICY

In as much as the security and economic prosperity of the country depend to a very considerable extent upon sound industrial development, this Conference strongly urges upon the Government of India to institute, without delay, a well-planned and dynamic industrial policy calculated to lead to the rapid establishment of new industries and the progressive expansion of existing ones.

"With a view to implement such a policy, this Conference recommends to the Government to take, amongst others, the following active measures:—

(1) to urge upon the Provincial Governments to bring about the establishment in each Province, of at least one heavy or key industry, that may be found suitable to its economic resources and conditions, in addition to such other industries that may be existing already;

(2) to definite guarantee of protection by (a) adequate tariffs on competing imports and (b) by grant of subsidies, subventions, etc., to existing industries and to those that may be started hereafter;

(3) to give freely import licences, essentiality and priority certificates, and otherwise give assistance for importing from abroad industrial plant, machinery and other essential materials so far as they do not materially interfere with the War effort;

(4) to direct all Government and semi-Government Departments to continue to purchase even after the War, only indigenous manufactures;

(5) to exercise, to the same extent as is done by other progressive Governments, strict control over all concerns owned and managed by non-Indians whose activities are detrimental to the economic interests of the country.

#### STATISTICS

This Conference is of opinion that paucity of data about economic activities in general and industrial development, in particular, makes it extremely difficult to arrive at a correct appreciation of the actual and potential resources of this country. The Conference, therefore, strongly urges upon Government,

(1) to re-organize and widen the field of activities of the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics on lines similar to those of the Government Bureaux and Departments of Statistics in industrially advanced countries;

(2) to introduce the necessary legislation making it obligatory on all industrial and commercial establishments to supply relevant statistical information to the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics; and

(3) to issue, in an intelligible form, timely reports of statistics so collected.

#### INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

In the opinion of this Conference the development of industries, specially small and medium-scale ones, in this country is retarded not so much from lack of capital as through lack of adequate financing organisation. With a view to the speedy establishment of new industries and to mitigate the difficulties of existing ones, this Conference urges upon the Government:—

(1) to establish Central and Provincial Industrial Funds for providing long term finance to industries on the lines similar to those obtaining in industrially advanced countries;

(2) to so amend the Insurance Act of 1938 as to give more latitude to Life Assurance companies in the matter of investments of their funds and thereby enable them to invest in industrial enterprises a larger proportion of their funds than has been possible hitherto.

#### SEPARATION OF PORTFOLIOS FOR INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

In view of the deplorable industrial backwardness of the country, an immediate

and radical change is called for in the Government's Administrative machinery concerned with industries. This Conference, therefore, urges upon the Government to separate the portfolio of Industries from that of Commerce and place the Department of Industries under a separate non-official Indian Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council, who should be charged with the duty of initiating and putting into operation a comprehensive and country-wide plan of industrialisation and co-ordinating the activities of the various Provincial Departments of Industries.

#### ECONOMIC COUNCILS

This Conference is of opinion that Economic Councils composed of representative businessmen, industrialists and economists, assisted by adequate executive staff, should be established, both at the Centre as well as in the Provinces to formulate, advise upon and influence the economic policies and activities of Government.

#### WAR RISK INSURANCE AND COMPENSATION

In view of the imminent danger to which this country is exposed as a result of war and the likelihood of considerable damage that might be done to industrial property not covered by the existing War Risk Insurance Scheme, this Conference urges upon the Government to issue forthwith an ordinance providing cover for such damage to all industrial establishments by a comprehensive Government War Insurance Scheme with provision for adequate and early payment of at least a part of the necessary compensation.

#### APPEAL FOR PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

Affirming its belief that rapid and comprehensive industrialisation is the only effective means of attaining economic prosperity and national security of this country, this Conference appeals to all trade and commercial organisations, all leaders of national movements, the Press and all citizens interested in the welfare of the country to take part and help in the constructive work of industrialisation in the following directions :—

- (1) to mobilise available capital, talent and material resources in each region for its industrial development in the first instance, and also to take part in similar work in wider spheres wherever possible ;
- (2) to collect industrial statistics and carry out surveys of natural resources and other factors of production by regions ;
- (3) On the basis of information so collected, to prepare a plan for the rapid development of existing industries and the establishment of new ones ;
- (4) to disseminate correct information about the Government's industrial policies and organise effective public opinion thereon ;
- (5) to help in the removal of grievances of industries ;
- (6) to popularise the use of Swadeshi products through industrial museums, exhibitions and other forms of propaganda ;
- (7) to review, annually and, wherever possible once every quarter, the work done and progress achieved in advancing the cause of industrialisation in each region.

The Conference is of opinion that to carry out this programme, representative Regional Bodies should be organised wherever possible, on lines similar to those indicated in the Constitution of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation.

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# India Debate in Parliament

H. of Commons—London—24th. February 1942

## Sir George Schuster's Suggestion

The future of India figured prominently in the House of Commons debate held on the 24th. February 1942.

*Sir George Schuster* (Liberal National) said that there must be a sound Government in India during the war. "We have to support unity and urge suspension of political and personal controversies", he declared. "We have to say to the Nationalists : 'Set aside these things, and during the war unite and face the common peril.' But how can we expect them to respond to this ? How can we convince them that we are honest in our intentions to work during the war for the political freedom they desire ? The way forward was not so simple as England seemed to think (cheers). It is all very well to say 'Promise Dominion Status by a certain date'. That provides a satisfactory answer to none of the questions. 'I say, if India can build up her own essential unity, nothing on earth can prevent her having independence if she wants it', continued Sir George "and it is our duty to do everything we can to build up her strength and unity. She will see that it is to her advantage to remain linked to our group. Merely to promise Dominion Status on a certain date, is not going to make England's amends or solve the Indian problem".

Sir George Schuster read a personal letter from Mr. *Jinnah*, Leader of the Muslim League, which ran as follows : "Let me impress on you that the partition of India demand, the Muslim idea, is not only a political reality—it is our creed and our article of faith. We shall not rest content until we have achieved our goal. We shall not agree to submit to an Indian united Central Government and be treated as an Indian minority under the heel of a permanent Hindu majority, which virtually means Hindu Raj."

Sir George added that one might deeply disagree with that attitude, but one could not ignore it. These were fundamental questions which could not be settled by any easy formula, and could not be set aside or reconciled during the war. "What we ought to do is to get a strong National Government to work during the war and convince India that we are determined to play our part in establishing her freedom."

"The British Government has tried and I believe, honestly, to do what was possible under war conditions", proceeded Sir George Schuster. The British Government said that they could not, pending an agreement, set up a new constitution, but they desired, within the framework of the existing constitution, to set up an Executive Government which was really representative of the Indian people. It was a great advance which was made last year, but that was not enough. Many political leaders would not join as members of the Executive Council. They regarded it as subordinate to the Viceroy and not as a new Indian Cabinet. Sir George Schuster, however, urged that another effort be made. Had they not a special opportunity now ? Here, in the British Government, an important step had been taken. The urgency of the war had justified an exceptional procedure in the formation of a Government. Would not the urgency justify a similar procedure in India ? He suggested the setting up of a small War Cabinet, consisting of the Viceroy and Ministers without portfolio, charged with the general direction of the war, leaving departmental responsibility unchanged to the existing Council.

Sir George Schuster continued : "Surely, there is some hope that the main political leaders would join such a Cabinet. It would have an entirely new significance. To join it would give a real share of power, and yet in no way commit them as regards the form of the final constitution of India. Such a plan would face up to the urgent realities of to-day and the vital need for co-operation in the war effort of the British, the Muslims and the Hindus."

Sir *Alfred Knox* (Conservative) asked if Sir George had any idea whether leading Muslims would agree to this, and if they would not agree, would it not put the British Government in another false position.

Sir George replied that he had no knowledge what leading Muslims would do.

Sir George Schuster continued : "It is futile to expect that you could lay down any final form of constitution which would receive in advance the approval of Muslims and Hindus. If only a start could be made, the whole controversy might

be lessened in favour of co-operation for the common purpose and gradually a constitutional basis for permanent co-operation could be evolved.

"It is no use saying that India is already behind the war and basing the statement on the evidence of the flow of recruits or the work of war factories or on the lack of response to nationalist political agitation. What do these things mean? A million men in the army out of 400 millions! Indians have always been ready to take work when work is available at reasonable wages. That is not the spirit of energy and sacrifice, that is not the spirit of national unity which will see India through the war. They must have the spirit of energy and sacrifice which inspired China and Russia—the spirit which carried on even to the point of the destruction of their cherished homes if that was the only way to defeat the enemy. It is blindness to expect such a spirit, unless you had a real National Government leading it."

## **H. of Commons—Second Day—25th. February 1942**

### **Sir Stafford Cripps' Reply**

On the next day, the 25th. February, after Mr. Pethwick Lawrence (Labour), had stated that the debate had emphasised the essential unity of the nation, Sir *Stafford Cripps* rose to reply.

Replying to the debate, Sir *Stafford* made his first speech as the new Leader of the House. "In all sincerity, I am most anxious to make the criticism, and co-operation of the Members of Parliament fruitful from the view of our joint effort to win the war," said *Stafford*. "I shall regard my position as Leader of the House as having for its object the interpretation of the views of the House to the War Cabinet (Hear, hear), and also the views of the War Cabinet to the House.

But there is one matter which all members of the House will bear in mind. We have to work out our solutions together and both sides or all views and opinions must compromise in the eventual working of our common policy and action which is to be put into operation. There are some who wish for rapid and violent progress, some perhaps even in the Cabinet itself and they cannot have all they wish. But no more can those who desire to remain static have their wish either (Cheers). One side must go forward just as the other must hold itself back if we are to march forward along the common front. I have been in the past a critic myself of many things and Governments and I fully appreciate that both critics and supporters alike are out to help to win this war and to make each one in his own way, that contribution which he best feels able to make to the united war effort."

Sir *Stafford*, continuing, said: "Perhaps it may be that with a totalitarian Parliament, the conduct of the war might be easier for those who are in charge of it. But we are fighting for something different from totalitarianism and for something that we believe to be better. If, however, we are determined to preserve and use to the full our machinery of democracy, we must not be afraid to examine its workings (Hear, hear), with a view to creating from it a machine of maximum efficiency for our purpose, whether that purpose be victory in the present or reconstruction in the future. We must no more allow deficiencies or antiquated methods to interfere with our democratic machine than we must with our military machine and I am certain we can make this House of Commons an even greater and more inspiring body for the people of this country than it has ever been in its history if we are prepared to adapt our methods and our mentality to the urgent needs of the present times."

Sir *Stafford Cripps* continued, "The Prime Minister, in opening this debate, had stressed the darkness in the present stage of the war. Despite the gallantry of the many Allies who are helping us to-day in the Far East—the Dutch, the Chinese and the Americans—it is rightly stressed that the added onslaught of the Japanese to the already enormous effort of Germany and her satellite Powers has cast upon us a burden that is heavier than any which we have yet borne. It is not the last straw. And it will not break the back of the British people (Cheers). We are no less confident to-day of our ultimate victory but for weeks, it may be for months, we shall pass through times of acute anxiety and difficulty. And it is because of this present state of affairs and the prospect of the coming months that we must brace ourselves in that effort for victory."

Sir *Stafford* proceeded, "Now the great majority of the people of this country have been working their hardest in their various spheres to give every help they could. But there still remains a minority of people who appear to regard their

personal interests in a manner which is not consonant with the totality of effort which is required if we are to come through the present difficulties with success.

"The Government propose to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent abuse of the wishes of the majority of the people by any small or selfish group. Such incidents as dog racing and boxing displays amongst them are completely out of accord (Loud cheers) with the true spirit and determination of the people in this crisis of their history and steps will be taken to see that such and similar activities are no longer allowed to impede the solid and serious intention of the country to achieve victory. Personal extravagance must be eliminated together with every other form of wastage, small or large, and all unnecessary expenditure. In the realm of war effort itself, no person can be allowed to stand in the way of efficiency or swiftness of production and we must, without regard to the interests of individuals, keep up the tempo of our war effort on every side.

"A number of members have commented in this regard on the presentation of home news on the wireless, and have stressed the need for giving the public as true a picture of the events as possible whilst, of course, guarding against disclosure of facts which would be of assistance to the enemy in the prosecution of the war.

"The Government are wholly in accord with the necessity for presenting a true picture to the people, because they are confident that the people of this country are firm and courageous enough to face facts, however unpleasant they may be. At the same time, the House will, of course, realise that care must be taken not to create an atmosphere of undiluted depression when events are temporarily against us. We must stress, throughout, our absolute conviction of our ultimate success provided everyone of us plays our full part in its achievement. I will discuss with the Minister for Information the question as to what improvement can be made in the presentation of home news as it is now sent out over the wireless. (Cheers). "I now come to the question which has vexed the minds of members from all sides of the House—the question of India. The Government are as much concerned, as is everybody else, with the whole question of the unity and strength of India in the face of the dangers which now threaten that country, and they very fully realise that it is important that this country should do its utmost, in the present circumstances, to make a full contribution towards that unity. I think, however, that it would not be profitable to debate so important and vital a question now in a partial manner. The Government hope that such a debate will be possible very shortly upon the basis of a Government decision in the matter.

"The question of Colonial policy has also been raised. I am sure the new Colonial Secretary will reconsider the methods of colonial administration and the policies of the colonial empire.

"Two further points about India were raised with which I should like to deal," went on Sir Stafford. "The first is the question whether the training of Indian troops has been adequate and the second whether industrial development has been adequate. So far as the question of troops is concerned, man-power is available in India and training facilities are available too. Difficulty has arisen over the question of equipment and as soon as that can be supplied, the number of troops can be increased.

The question of industrial development is one which Government regard as of great importance and, although there are difficulties in view of the great effort in production that has to be made in this country and in other parts of the Commonwealth, I will enquire into the matter with a view to seeing whether something is necessary to be done to expedite that development.

Sir Stafford Cripps dealt with the position in Malaya and said that it had been suggested that it was not right to send troops there at the last minute in order to try and save the situation. "Had facts turned out otherwise, and had those troops not been sent, I wonder what would have been said in this House. (Cheers). There would have been universal condemnation of the Government for not making an attempt to save that most valuable base in the Pacific. Another question which has been raised is that of policy as to the continued use of heavy bombers and the bombing of Germany. This Policy was initiated at a time when we were fighting alone against the combined forces of Germany and Italy. It then seemed that it was the most effective way in which we, acting alone, could take the initiative against the enemy. (Cheers) Since that time, we have had an enormous access of support from the Russian armies who, according to the latest news, have had yet another victory over the Germans (Cheers), and also from the great potential strength of the United States.

"Naturally, in such circumstances, the original policy has come under



review, and it is indeed kept constantly under review. Government are fully aware of other uses to which our resources could be put and the moment they arrive at a decision that circumstances warrant a change, a change in policy will be made. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether there is that degree of co-ordination of the three Services through the Chiefs of Staff in the field which is satisfactory at the present time. No doubt, as long as there are three Services there will be occasions when it may appear that co-ordination has not been 100 per cent but every effort is being made and is continually made to improve that co-ordination. In the Libyan campaign, probably a higher degree of co-ordination than ever before has been reached between the Army and the Air Force. Everything possible will be done to increase that active co-operation."

Sir *Stafford Cripps* referred to the question raised by Sir *Percy Harris* about making public news regarding the Japanese treatment of civilians in Hongkong and Malaya. "I think anyone who has followed the course of the Sino-Japanese war for the last four and a half years (Cheers) should have no doubt as to the sort of people against whom we are fighting in the Far East", said Sir *Stafford*. "But so far as the rumours to which Sir *Percy Harris* referred are concerned he will realise that there are in this country many hundreds of thousands of people who are intimately affected as regards the conditions through their relations and friends and it would neither be right nor kind to give any publicity to any such rumours until they can be completely substantiated. The Government have, therefore, considered it right to encourage in any way dissemination of those rumours. Moreover, we hope that whatever the conduct of the Japanese may have been in the past, they may show themselves now more humane and decent in their behaviour to the captured populations and prisoners."

Dealing with production, Sir *Stafford Cripps* said: "The Government are fully conscious of the most valuable part that the skill of the workers can play in assisting the management and they have already, in some cases, taken steps by setting up Workshop Committees in order to release this valuable co-operation. They are anxious that this co-operation should be encouraged to its fullest extent throughout every industry in the country."

Discussing the points raised by members about Cabinet reorganisation, Sir *Stafford* said the new War Minister, Sir *James Crigg*, would sit in the House of Commons as soon as a seat could be found for him (Cheers). The new Minister of State, Captain *Lyttleton*, would exercise the function of supervision, co-ordination and the giving of vigorous initiative over the whole field of production.

Regarding the relationship between himself and Mr. *Attlee*, Deputy Prime Minister, Sir *Stafford Cripps* said that he would deal with all matters concerning the business of the House and Mr. *Attlee* would, in the absence of the Prime Minister, answer all other questions addressed to the Prime Minister. The War Cabinet exercised the fullest power of deliberation and members of the Cabinet had every opportunity of forming independent views upon any question of strategic importance or any other question prior to the taking of decisions. As the Prime Minister had said, the responsibility was a joint and a real responsibility. "The Prime Minister, as the Minister for defence," continued Sir *Stafford Cripps*, "operates under the authority of the War Cabinet and the Defence Committee and in every case the official decision is that of the War Cabinet itself". It was the intention of the Government to continue the Department Reconstruction but the precise arrangements as to the responsibility for its direction had not yet been decided by the Government.

Concluding, Sir *Stafford* said, "We are now passing through a period of difficulty and anxiety, to which there probably has been no equal in our history. We shall not be borne down by those difficulties or worn out by those anxieties (Cheers), because we are all constant and determined in our purpose to win through. In the hard months that lie ahead, the House can, and will, I am sure, give to the people of this country a great lead in determination, freedom and constancy of purpose." (Cheers).

The debate concluded and the House adjourned.

## H. of Commons—London—11th. March 1942

### Cabinet Plan for Indian settlement

#### MR. CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT

The following official statement on India was made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Churchill on the 11th. March. 1942:—

"The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made Britain wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader.

"In August 1940, a statement was made about the aims and policy which we are pursuing in India. This amounted in short to a promise that, as soon as possible after the war, India should attain Dominion Status in full freedom and equality with this country and other Dominions under a constitution to be framed by Indians by agreement amongst themselves and acceptable to the main elements in the Indian national life. This was, of course, subject to the fulfilment of our obligations for the protection of minorities, including the Depressed Classes, and our treaty obligations to the Indian States and to a settlement of certain lesser matters arising out of our long association with the fortunes of the Indian sub-continent.

"However, in order to clothe these general declarations with precision and to convince all classes, races and creeds in India of our sincere resolve, the War Cabinet have agreed unitedly upon conclusions for present and future action which, if accepted by India as a whole, would avoid the alternative dangers, either that the resistance of a powerful minority might impose an indefinite veto upon the wishes of the majority, or that a majority decision might be taken, which would be resisted to a point destructive of internal harmony and fatal to the setting up of a new constitution.

"We had thought of setting forth immediately the terms of this attempt by a constructive contribution to aid India in the realisation of full self-government. We are, however, apprehensive that to make a public announcement at such a moment as this might do more harm than good. We must first assure ourselves that our scheme would win a reasonable and practical measure of acceptance and thus promote concentration of all thoughts and energies upon the defence of the native soil. We should ill serve the common cause if we made a declaration which would be rejected by the essential elements in the Indian world and which would provoke fierce constitutional and communal disputes at a moment when the enemy is at the gates of India.

"Accordingly we propose to send a Member of the War Cabinet to India to satisfy himself on the spot by personal consultation that the conclusions upon which we are agreed and which we believe represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose. The Lord Privy Seal and the Leader of the House, Sir *Stafford Cripps*, has volunteered to undertake this task. He carries with him the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and he will strive in their name, to procure the necessary measure of assent, not only from the Hindu majority, but also from those great minorities amongst which the Muslims are most numerous and on many grounds pre-eminent.

"The Lord Privy Seal will at the same time consult with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation, bearing always in mind the paramount responsibility of His Majesty's Government, by every means in their power, to shield the people of India from the perils which now beset them. We must remember that India has a great part to play in the world struggle for freedom and that her helping hand must be extended in loyal comradeship to the valiant Chinese people, who have fought alone so long. We must remember also that India is one of the bases from which the strongest counter-blows must be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression.

"Sir *Stafford Cripps* will set out as soon as convenient and suitable arrangements can be made. He will command in his task the heartfelt good wishes of all parts of the House, and meanwhile no words will be spoken or debates held here or in India which would add to the burden he has assumed in his mission or lessen the prospects of good result. During Sir *Stafford Cripps*' absence from Parliament, his duties as Leader will be discharged by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. *Eden*."

## H. of Commons—London—28th. April 1942

### Cripps Explains Breakdown of Indian Negotiations

#### MR. AMERY'S REPLY

In the House of Commons, on the 28th. April 1942 Sir *Stafford Cripps*, Lord Privy Seal opened the debate on his mission to India (See p. 257).

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. *Amery*, winding up the debate said: A

just tribute has been paid to Sir *Stafford Cripps* for conspicuous ability and sincerity, and not the least, the good temper with which he discharged his difficult mission. No more fitting ambassador could have been sent, not only because of his position as a member of the War Cabinet but also because his sending, marked in a peculiar degree the unity of outlook and policy with regard to India, which has been reached by the Government, and I might add, which has been reached by Parliament and public opinion in this country. I say advisedly 'reached,' because the mission and the unanimous policy for which Sir *Stafford Cripps* endeavoured to secure acceptance were not sudden improvisation to meet a critical external situation, the deathbed repentance of an unregenerate imperialist. They were the natural, and indeed, the inevitable culmination of the steady development during these last few years of thought and feeling about India and India's political aspirations. The Act of 1935, which was fiercely contested by us at the time, was a great piece of constructive statesmanship which might by now have carried India far on the road towards complete freedom, if it could have been implemented.

But we have all along, since then, moved beyond it. We no longer think in terms of India's progressive advance towards full control of her own destiny by stages decided here and under the Constitution laid down by this House. We think instead in terms of India's inherent right to that freedom under a Constitution of her own devising. It is because Indian leaders have, I think, not fully realised hitherto, or not fully believed in this change in our outlook and in its bearing upon their relations both to ourselves and to each other, that mission of Sir *Stafford Cripps* has, I believe, been of such permanent for the future whatever its immediate outcome. The primary task assigned to Sir *Stafford Cripps* was to remove all doubts as to the sincerity of our purpose.

We had already declared, at the very outset, almost of the career of the present Government, that we wished India to attain the some full freedom as is enjoyed by the Dominions and for that matter, by ourselves, and to do so as soon as possible after the war under a Constitution of Indian devising. That pledge was subject only to stipulations. One stipulation was that the Constitution should provide for the due fulfilment of the obligations imposed on us by our historic connection with India. The other was that Constitution should carry with it the acceptance of the principal elements in national life. Indian political opinion was not prepared to believe that we really meant what we said. It read into the stipulation about the obligations, an intention to superimpose on the Constitution, conditions and safeguards, which would, in effect, make it no longer the Constitution of a free country, to take back with one hand what he professed to give with the other. Again, it read into the stipulation about agreement a cynical acquiescence in the indefinite continuance of disagreement and consequently of the present regime in India.

The main object of the draft Declaration was to set these suspicions at rest. The full meaning of Dominion Independence was set out in the Preamble in terms taken from the famous Balfour Declaration of 1926. Moreover, Sir *Stafford Cripps* has already pointed out the provision in Section C. for settling by treaty all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands and not only emphasised Indian equality of status, but expressly laid down that terms of the treaty should not restrict the power of the future Indian Union to decide its relationship to the rest of the Empire; in other words, to restrict its *de facto* power to secede from the Commonwealth. How could we have gone further than that?

Again, in order to meet the charge that we deliberately wished to postpone a settlement we put forward two suggestions. One was that failing previous agreement between the leaders of Indian opinion and the principal communities on some other form of constitution-making body we would set up one defined in Section D of the Draft Declaration immediately on the cessation of hostilities. The other point is to answer the charge that we were giving minorities and more particularly the Muslim element, a veto on all progress. There was only one way of cutting the Gordian Knot—as Sir *G. Schuster* called it—and that was to tell the majority that they were free to go ahead and achieve full freedom without waiting for the minority. It was made equally clear to the Muslim minority—an element, I might add, of over ninety million people—that if they could not find the Constitution of the new Indian Union acceptable to themselves, either at the outset or upon further reconsideration, they were not to be denied the prospect of an equal freedom. In this respect, we were only following the familiar Dominion precedent.

The Canadian Federation was originally formed by four only of the present Provinces. The others joined in the next few years. On the other hand, Newfoundland has always remained outside. The Australian Commonwealth and the South African Union afford similar examples of making special conditions for entering, or else standing out altogether. In the case of the India Act of 1935, it left the States free to stay out, but provided for the adhesion of a minimum number of States before the Federal provisions of the Act came into force. This restrictive provision also was practically waived in the draft Declaration.

Our ideal undoubtedly remains an united All-India, including States as well British India, sufficiently united at any rate, to present a common front to the outside world. The unity which we have given India, the unity of law, of administrative procedure, of economic and transport policy, is an achievement of which we have every right to be proud, but we would sooner see India, divided and free than keep her various elements for ever against us and against each other under a sense of impotent frustration.

The practical arguments for unity are undoubtedly overwhelming. I have little doubt that they would prevail if it were not for the deep-seated fear of the Muslims to which the Member for Horsham, *Earl Winterton*, eloquently referred, that their distinctive culture and way of life would be at the mercy of the permanent Hindu majority. The root of that fear which, as the Member for Aylesbury, *Sir S. Reed*, said we must banish, lies largely, I believe, in the assumption so often made that unity implies a Central Executive on the British model, an Executive responsible in theory to a parliamentary majority but responsible, perhaps in fact to a party caucus behind the majority. Yet our British system, which we have developed in homogeneous country, is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India. There is no sealed pattern of freedom. The United States, Switzerland, the former German-Austro-Hungarian Federation and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may all supply useful precedents for Indian statesmanship to study.

What, indeed, is needed, perhaps even more than new constitutional methods, is a new spirit of compromise. It is by making Indian statesmen conscious that the solution of the problem is their own undivided responsibility and not ours, that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to emerge. Our main concern was to indicate a solution for the future, which left no doubt as to our own intentions, and we struck as fair a balance between the contending points of view as it was possible to attain. We did so because it was only in the light of a solution recognised as essentially sincere and fair, even if not wholly acceptable to any one section, that there could be any hope of co-operation in the present of Indian political leaders, either with ourselves or with each other to face the crisis in front of India. Even so, it could only be 'a question of cooperation, effective participation and active and constructive help'—to quote the language of the draft Declaration—within the existing Constitution. It could not be a question of control free from the ultimate responsibility of Parliament here, exercised there through the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. It could not be that both for practical reasons, which have been given in connection with Defence by my Right Honourable friend but above all, for the reason that there was no agreement as to who should exercise that control.

The demand for National Government put forward by the Congress has been repeated in more than one speech in this House. But such a National Government would have been responsible in the last resort neither to Parliament here under the existing Constitution, nor to an agreed, and what the Member for Walsall called, a fairly-balanced Constitution in India, but only to its own majority—a majority presumably of the Congress or, at any rate, of the Hindus. That demand whether made by *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* and his colleagues, or by the Congress was the one thing which the Muslims and other minorities were determined, at all costs, to reject. They were and are convinced that such a Government would, in fact, prejudice the whole future situation to their detriment. There was, therefore, never any question in our view of conceding that demand, because it was, in fact, if not in intention, a demand which precluded all agreed co-operation in India.

*Mr. Davies* : Is not the Right Honourable Gentleman aware of the resolution passed by the Indian Congress at Poona, where absolute assurance was given on the very point with which he is dealing—that the minorities would certainly be considered ?

*Mr. Amery* : The minorities, unfortunately, did not accept the resolution.

Within the limits of the ultimate responsibility of the Viceroy and Parliament, who in the matter are in a sense trustees for the future Constitution of India, Sir *Stafford Cripps* was given the widest latitude. Indeed, as the House will have appreciated from the White Paper and from his own speech, he went to the utmost length in order to meet the wishes of the Congress. There was no more that he could offer.

Sir *Stafford Cripps* has given the House a full and most lucid account of his negotiations and of the reason for their breakdown. I will not cover the ground again. There is only one point I would add, but it is perhaps a most significant and illuminating point in the whole story. Sir *Stafford Cripps* flew many thousands of miles to meet Indian leaders, in order to arrive at an agreement with them. Indian leaders in Delhi moved not one step to meet each other, either without him or in his presence.

They made no attempt to reach an agreement among themselves. The Congress demand for National Government was declared by its President to be the unanimous demand of the Indian people. Why then was no attempt made to afford evidence of the unanimity by bringing forward, in concert with the Muslim League and other parties, an agreed proposal? For the simple reason that it could not have been done. That is an aspect of the situation which we must face. We do not do so for the purpose of imputing blame to any Indian section. The Member for *Walshall* very truly said that it was by no means an easy matter for men, whose life had been concentrated in opposition to each other, to come to a speedy agreement. Even in this House we had to be at war for many months before a National Government was secured. We have got to face this aspect, however, in order to realise why it was impossible for Sir *Stafford Cripps* to meet the demand for a so-called National Government.

While the Cripps Mission failed on its immediate object in the wider sense, I believe, it has been very far from failure. It has been, if I may adopt an epigram of his own, the epilogue of an old chapter in which contending elements in India have attempted to attain their ends by belabouring His Majesty's Government and also the prologue of a new chapter in which Indians are beginning to realise that the key India's problems is in their own hands. Since Sir *Stafford Cripps* left India, Mr. *Gandhi* has summed up the point quoted by Sir *Stafford Cripps* in a striking passage, in which he has declared that the attainment of Independence was impossible until Indians have themselves solved the communal tangle. The Declaration is, I think, a sufficient answer to the speeches which have been made suggesting that it is we who have exaggerated, if not invented, the communal issue.

Mr. *Davies* (Merthyr Tydfil): Is Government accepting all that Mr. *Gandhi* says?

Mr. *Amery*: I do, because he says what I have spent two years in saying. Even more important as evidence of the new approach are the resolutions which were passed at the statesmanlike instigation of Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, ex-Premier of Madras, by the Congress members of the Madras Legislature. By the first of these resolutions the All-India Congress was urged to waive its objection to the Muslim League's claim for separation, if eventually persisted in, for the sake of removing every obstacle from the way of establishing a National administration. By the second, the National All-India Congress Committee was requested to permit an approach to the Muslim League, with a view to the re-establishment of Popular Government in the Madras Province. It would appear that this patriotic and courageous declaration has met with the disapproval of the Congress President and Pandit Nehru. It may be that their attitude will be sustained by the All-India Committee, which is to meet in the next few days. It would never have been taken but for the visit of Sir *Stafford Cripps*.

Mr. *Davies*: How many were present when the resolution was passed? Only 32 out of 206 passed that resolution.

Mr. *Amery*: No Thirty-nine out of 42 of them. At any rate, will any body suggest that it was an undesirable resolution or that the desire on the part of the Congress members to come to reasonable terms with their Muslim colleagues to re-establish a free Government in their Province first and make progress with a free Government of India was wrong? If only three had supported, I should honour them for doing so.

It has been asked what is precisely meant by the withdrawal of the Draft Declaration. What we have certainly not withdrawn is our main object and purpose, namely, that India should, as soon as possible, obtain full freedom under

constitutional arrangements of her own devising and suited to her own peculiar conditions. On the other hand the particular method which we suggest for arriving at a constitutional settlement, more particularly the present provincial basis both of setting up a constitution-making assembly and for non-accession, is not meeting with sufficient support for us to press it further. It may be that alternative methods might arise which might form a better basis for the definition of boundaries and might give representation for smaller elements, such as Sikhs, whose natural aspirations we appreciate. It is for Indians themselves to improve on our suggestion if they can. As regards the interim situation, the particular proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps, in order to secure the whole-hearted co-operation of the Congress as well as the other political parties have, of course, lapsed, but the Viceroy will, no doubt, always be willing to consider practical suggestions within the frame-work of Section (E) of the Draft Declaration put forward by responsible party leaders, more particularly if put forward as the Member for Ince, Mr. G. Macdonald, suggested jointly and based on a broad measure of agreement.

It is, indeed, upon the agreement and initiative of Indian party leaders that any further advance must depend. The Member for Walsall raised the question of the desirability of re-establishing Self-Government in those Provinces in which the Congress has refused to carry on. That, of course, is most desirable. It would have been a natural consequence of the success of the Cripps Mission. The door is open now and remains open.

Mr. Macdonald asked what exactly did 'the door remains open' mean. Suppose the Congress Party in those very Provinces agreed themselves to carry on Self-Government, would the British Government agree?

Mr. Amery: Yes, if in any of those Provinces the Congress Party are prepared to assume the responsibilities of Government and give that help to the prosecution of the war, which they have declared they wished to give, we are only too ready to let them resume office under those conditions.

Meanwhile, the Government of India must get on with the immediate task before it. I must make it quite clear that our anxiety to secure a wider measure of active co-operation from the political parties in India by sending out Sir Stafford Cripps in no way implies any lack of confidence in the ability or energy of the Executive Government of India. On the contrary, His Majesty's Government have the most complete confidence in the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, who has handled continuously a difficult situation with prudent wisdom, and whose vigorous initiative has been invaluable in everything bearing on the conduct of the war. That confidence extends no less to the existing Executive Council. The Indian members, who form the majority of that Council, are men of high ability and experience in active politics, in administration and business. Their patriotic willingness to stand aside for others who might command a greater measure of organised political support is something that we have sincerely appreciated, as they, I feel sure, recognise the value we attach to their continued service to India at this critical time.

What I have said of the Indian members applies equally to the European members and, indeed, to the whole of the administrative service. Indian and British, which have wrestled so ably with the innumerable problems carried by war conditions.

The member for Ince and the Member for South-East Leeds, Major Miner, have made the suggestion that the work of the India Office might be transferred to the Dominions Office. I think that suggestion is based upon a very insufficient realisation of the work of the India Office. The main work of the India Office does not consist in controlling, restricting and interfering with India. Its main work is that of an agency in this country on behalf of the Government. The Government of India have in peace, and even more in war, a great army to maintain, part of it directly drawn from this country and largely equipped from this country. In order to secure from the Government of this country and to give what India needs, she requires a very considerable military staff.

India has neighbours which make the foreign policy of this country a matter of vital interest to her. From that point of view, again, she has to have considerable staff here to keep in touch with the Foreign Office and see that India's interests are not neglected. Further, there is a vast range of economic problems which vitally concern India and with regard to which it is important to her to see that the policy of this country does not neglect Indian interests. All these matters, if India were a Self-Governing Dominion, would still have to be carried on, but carried on by an enlarged High Commissioner's Office, like the Offices of Australia.

House and Canada House. But as long as the ultimate responsibility in these matters rests with the Secretary of State they must be conducted under his immediate eye, and he is still what the High Commissioners for Dominions are in that sphere, at any rate the chief agent and the representative of the Government of India and of the interests of India.

Mr. *Gordon MacDonald* : This is a very important point. Is this being put forward as a conclusive argument? Are we to understand that the High Commissioner should not do what is now being done by the Secretary of State? Would it not be right to remove the root cause of all the trouble, mistrust and suspicion, and so give an indication of our sincerity?

Mr. *Amery* : The reason is that the Dominions Office, which deals with only diplomatic and not administrative problems, could handle the problem of India if other matters were handed over to representatives of the Indian Dominion Government. Meanwhile, to make an unreal pretence of the administration impossible that we were really changing the situation would be a mere sham and camouflage which would fail to impress any one.

Major *Milner* : Has not India a High Commissioner here?

Mr. *Amery* : Yes, for those economic purposes which are entirely within the discretion of the Government and Legislature of India, and they cover a wide field, but they do not cover the field of those matters which must, for the time being, still be the responsibility of the Secretary of State.

To come back to India : We rely also no less upon the Commander-in-Chief, Sir *Archibald Wavell*, and upon all ranks in the fighting services of India. The Indian Army has a great tradition, of which those serving in it are justly proud. In this war it has won new glory upon many a hard fought field. Side by side with it, its record has been shared by the troops which the Indian Princes have, with their accustomed loyalty, placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Government of India. India's younger services, the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Air Force, have already proved their quality and earned high commendation from all whom they have served. It is upon these trained and properly equipped services, together with their old British and newer Allied comrades in arms that India must rely for her defence whether on her outer marches or in the case of actual invasion. In the latter event, the army can undoubtedly receive great help from the general body of the population.

The steadfastness of the public in the face of danger and its eagerness to co-operate with the military authorities in every way including the whole field of civil defence, and to secure all information and in guerilla operations—all these things can be invaluable aid to the operating of the regular troops. We are glad to believe that Indian political leaders are anxious to give that aid, even if they are not prepared to co-operate on the lines which, in our opinion, would give the best results. All the same, it is to the trained officers and men of her regular forces and their effective and adequate equipment that India must look for her security now and in the years to come. These were matters into which the Lord Privy Seal also looked during his visit to India and the information and the suggestions he has brought back will be of the greatest value to us.

## House of Lords—London—3rd. February 1942

### Meet Congress Half-way

#### LORD FARINGTON'S SPEECH

The situation in India was debated in the House of Lords on the 3rd. February 1942 when *Lord Faringdon* (Labour) drew the attention of the Government to what he called one of the most urgent problems of the present time. He complained of complacency, and said that the situation 'was daily becoming more critical but nothing was being done to meet it.

Turning to the negotiations between the Viceroy and the Indian leaders, Lord Faringdon deplored the fact that His Majesty's Government should have thought fit to declare war on behalf of India without consulting the leaders of Indian public opinion. This, he believed, to be one of the most disastrous of the many unfortunate steps taken in regard to India since the outbreak of the war. A series of concessions had been offered by the Viceroy, who finally increased the size of his Council, giving the majority to Indian Members. But this offer still seemed insufficient to the Congress Party, for the very good reason, as the



Congress Party had said in effect, that Indians could not be expected to fight for other people's freedom when it was denied to themselves.

It was, Lord Faringdon said, one of the complaints of Indians that industrialisation of their country had been handicapped by the jealousy of English industrialists. India had paid handsome dividends for anything done for her by Britain and in addition to interest on something like a thousand millions sterling invested in India, that country paid annually something in the neighbourhood of 138 million sterling to this country. It was a substantial sum. Britain was under a considerable obligation to India.

Lord Faringdon referred to the appalling poverty in India, and said that nevertheless Britain had been responsible for what progress there was in India and for her education and instruction in the art of government, and it was a compliment to us that Indians should wish to model their political institutions on those of Britain.

It seemed very unfortunate, Lord Faringdon added, that His Majesty's Government had not been able to make the promise of self-government for India more concrete. Unhappily, usefulness which the Atlantic Charter might have had in India was completely ruined by the statement by the Prime Minister that it did not apply to India.

Lord Faringdon said that he wished to suggest some practical steps towards ending the present deadlock, the danger of which became so pressing in the past few months, underlined by the situation in Malaya, from where one heard that the people of the country took little interest in the war.

Lord Faringdon then referred to the former Premier of Burma, U Saw, who spoke to him of the extremely difficult position he (U Saw) would have to face if he returned to his country without some concession. "Evidently, he was unable to take home at least some satisfaction of his moderate demands. He is now accused of plotting with the Japanese. We are not given details. It is clear, however, that it would be the obvious thing for Japanese statesmen to approach disgruntled Burmese statesmen, particularly one in the outstanding position of Prime Minister. Whether he did a deal, or was in the process of doing a deal with the Japanese, we have not been told, but to call him a fifth columnist misses the fundamental issue, which is that we have failed to gain the affections and support of these peoples."

"The first of my suggestion," Lord Faringdon said, "is that the Government should state unequivocally that it is their intention to give India self-government not at any future date, but now. It would seem that there are persons with whom Indian leaders would negotiate. Let these persons and the Government be prepared to completely Indianise the Viceroy's Council, including Foreign Affairs and Defence. Let them be prepared to treat such a council as a Provisional Government, and let it be part of the duty of that newly elected Council to take the necessary steps for the calling of a Constituent Assembly or a constitution making conference. Finally, I would suggest that the Government should say that when this Assembly had reached a conclusion, the results of this Indian Constitution-making would be introduced into Parliament as a Government measure, to be passed through Parliament within at most three years after the termination of the war."

Lord Faringdon said that the Government had declared that if the two principal parties in India would come to a settlement, the Government would ratify that settlement. But that was a somewhat unfair attitude. The Muslim League which claimed to speak for Muslims had put on paper demands which clearly could never be accepted by the Congress. But the Muslim League in fact did not speak for the Muslims of India and it was important that people in Britain should realise that, and should not prevent an Indian settlement by playing into the hands of the Muslim extremists. It seemed that the Muslim League could not represent a majority of the Muslims in India, and its present plan for the partition of India seemed to him to be not only impractical, but definitely retrograde.

Lord Faringdon concluded by referring to the statement by *Pandit Nehru* on January 23, which seemed to him to be "a declaration of absolutely primary importance, which His Majesty's Government should meet half way."

The *Marquis of Crewe*, Leader of the Liberal Party, said that he could not help feeling that Lord Faringdon overstated the matter somewhat when he treated the Congress Party as the real representatives of India. Nevertheless, the demands of the Congress had not been prepared for engaging in any form of negotiation which could be described as such.

The Marquis did not think it possible to blame the Viceroy for having started



a series of conversations between all the different parties, because if the Muslim League were taken as representing the extreme Right, then the Congress could be said to represent the other side. More sober feeling had been expressed in Bombay.

As to the demand that the Government should make a statement, he said that the powers of the Government in making statements were extremely limited as no Ministry could pledge a future Government or Parliament by saying that a constitutional change could take place at a particular time. All that the Government could do was to say what they were prepared to do so long as they existed.

The Marquis thought that the most hopeful line of advance was by extension of the powers of the Indian provinces and limitation of the duties and functions of the Central Government as far as possible.

The speaker thought it was the desire of the Congress that suffrage should be universal, and hoped the Government would go as far as they possibly could to satisfy the real opinion of India and take action as soon as possible.

Lord Wedgwood, in his maiden speech as a member of the Upper House, said that he wanted three things as far as India was concerned. Firstly, the disgrace of having the Japanese overrun India must be avoided. Secondly, they should get total Indian help now. Thirdly, he wanted to see India friendly and free.

Lord Wedgwood asked the House to consider the manifold advantages of "granting constitutions, province by province." He said that he would have the Government recruit for the Indian army and workshops up to five million people, offering them, in the Churchillian manner, nothing, but blood and toil and tears and sweat for their co-operation. He would double the pay of every man in the regular Indian army, keeping half of it until the end of the war and giving it to the soldiers in land, so that they would have something to fight for.

The speaker concluded by asking the House to do something to break down the colour bar which was destroying the finest empire the world had ever known.

Lord Sankey said that the people of India were begging us not to keep India always in a state of tutelage. Not one could withhold the price for the magnificent help India has rendered to our fighting forces. The Indian army had been largely Indianised. Would it not, he asked be wise to try some further Indianisation of the civil authority? If the leaders of moderate opinion in India would put up a reasonable plan, acceptable to themselves and to the major Indian parties, they would have rendered a public service.

Lord Rankeillour (Conservative) asked how, after two years of the stress of war, the Viceroy, who had a task of immense difficulty, could be asked to carry out such a programme as Lord Faringdon had suggested. The Viceroy could not act without some Indian concurrence. One proposal put up would mean giving a blank cheque to the Congress and the other to the Muslims of vivisection of India.

Lord Rankeillour added that the Viceroy had been asked to make gestures. He had made gestures. He had called Indian Members to his Council. He had freed political prisoners, and it had availed him nothing more than did for Britain the remittance of Southern Ireland's debts and the handing over to them of ports.

Lord Cecil said there was profound anxiety as to the fulfilment of the promise of Dominion Status, and he wondered if something might not be done by transferring the great apparatus of the Government known as the India Office to the Dominions Office, which would, at any rate, be something positive and definite in the fulfilment of the promise.

Lord Hailey said that this was no time for manoeuvring or standing on punctilios. We should be as bold as we were in the case of Syria in making our declarations. It had been said that constitutional changes could not be carried out in war time, but the most momentous declaration in Indian history, that of 1917, was made during war, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was signed in 1918, the most critical part of that war. It would, however, be exceedingly difficult to solve the deadlock without some idea as to what they were aiming at. The India Act of 1935 was the fruit of more careful and prolonged consideration than the British people had ever given to any Dominion or empire constitution. That constitution was the Federation of a United India. What place, Lord Hailey asked, was to be assigned to the Indian States were we now to agree, at the instance of the Muslims, to divide up that united India.

Lord Hailey thought that a satisfactory declaration by His Majesty's Government, either giving the date or prescribing the method whereby the two parties in India could decide that they had arrived at a stage when a declara-

tion of that nature would help them to come together, would be a very strong argument.

Lord Hailey asked if the differences between the Government and the principal political parties in India could have impaired the war effort. We had often, he said, been told that, but for these differences, India would have been far better prepared. But, he said, whatever had been the relations between the Indian Government and the British people, Indian political parties would not have been found ready to incur the expense of mechanising a modern army. There was compelling urgency to end these political differences, and attempt some form of reconciliation if the war effort was not to be seriously impaired. He asked if it was not possible that the position could be readjusted by making the provinces themselves constituent units of construction in the Central Legislature.

Lord Catto (Liberal) deprecated talk about Indians hating the British. "These people do not hate us. I am perfectly friendly with these political leaders, and for forty years, Lord Hailey was one of the best loved men in India."

Lord Catto added that India was blessed with vast resources in manpower, war material and manufacturing capacity, but her war effort had not been developed on a scale consistent with those great resources. This apathy was mainly due to the existing political situation. Many Indian leaders still did not feel that this was their war, and without those men to house their fellow countrymen, it was difficult to bring home to the peoples of India the political situation and to get the maximum war effort. The apathy will continue unless we can solve the constitutional problem and the promise of Dominion Status is fulfilled. There were, he said, only two things of real importance. The first was that whatever the solution, it must, in fact, be only Dominion Status. The second was that the Central Executive must be so constituted that it cannot be under the sole control of any one community.

## House of Lords—London—29th. April 1942

### DEVONSHIRE ON CRIPPS' MISSION

The main object of the Draft Declaration which Sir *Stafford Cripps* took to India was to overcome Indian suspicion that the British desire for a prior agreement among Indian politicians was a device to postpone Indian Self-Government, declared the Under-Secretary of State for India, the *Duke of Devonshire*, opening the debate on India in the Lords on the 29th. April 1942. He added, "I believe we have achieved a very valuable result in this direction."

The Cripps Mission had been wrongly interpreted in some quarters as an eleventh hour act of repentance in Britain, brought about by the war situation in India. "It was nothing of the kind. It was actually the continuation of a policy consistently pursued by the British Government for many months, indeed years."

The Duke of Devonshire continued: Sir *Stafford Cripps* found himself confronted with a number of conflicting claims from various leaders of Indian opinion. The Lord *Privy Seal's* task was to find some means by which these differing, even conflicting elements could be brought together to determine their own future. He went out with a Draft Declaration, framed with a view not only to securing the agreement of as many sections of opinion as possible, but also—since we have been definitely accused of relying on Indian disagreement to perpetuate our rule in India—containing provisions which would prevent the refusal of a large minority to co-operate from holding up the majority in their demand for self-government.

"Sir *Stafford Cripps* has told of the various stages of his discussions and the difficulties which arose. On all minor difficulties he had absolutely an unanswerable case. The difficulty arose in the division of the responsibilities of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government here—how they were to be divided and proportioned. Sir *Stafford Cripps* got over that difficulty by offering to Indian political leaders seats for representative Indians on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council. He was then confronted by a further less tangible and even more difficult problem. In modern practice the Commander-in-Chief in India is also the Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council, the one man who has functions and activities which may bring the two halves of his personality into active conflict. The Indian demand was that the functions and activities of the C-in-C and Defence Minister should be divided, that his political function should be transferred forthwith to Indian hands, while his military activities should remain untouched. Any

such separation would be a very long and complicated operation and one which, at this critical moment of war, would throw into utter chaos the whole gradation in India."

The Duke of Devonshire claimed that the Mission was not a failure. "I believe it has done very much to destroy suspicions both in India and elsewhere that we were not really in earnest when we said we wanted a united India enjoying self-government." The Duke thought that the Mission had also had an educational value of the same character for some Indian politicians. The presence of Indian representatives in Washington and Chungking was another instance of India's steady constitutional advance.

"India is not standing still. Its progress is a continuous one. I suppose that in the whole history of the world no nobler or more magnificent chance was ever offered than that of trying to create out of the vast sub-continent of India a free united and self-governing nation," concluded the Duke of Devonshire.

Referring to what he called a "technical breakdown" Lord *Crewe*, Liberal leader, said it never seemed to him that there was a hopeful chance that the Declaration would find immediate acceptance. Sir Stafford Cripps was the most suitable choice and no responsibility for the breakdown devolved on him. Lord *Crewe* thought it incredible to suppose that Indian leaders—skilled and experienced men,—could have believed that His Majesty's Government could possibly accept the abrupt and immediate change involved in their counter-proposals. The last word must rest as now with the Viceroy-in-Council. The Cripps expedition was not a wasted effort. India's constitution would work out well, but it must take some time to reach full growth.

Lord *Strabolgi* said he was puzzled by the sudden failure of the Mission when it seemed on the point of success. "We cannot leave things as they are. Canada was able to develop her system of government slowly, but I do not think India can afford to-day to remain as it is."

Dealing with Defence, Lord *Strabolgi* thought that the British Government should have seized with both hands the offer by leading Indians to organise the people for the defence of India. He was of opinion that the new move should come from British and not from Indian politicians and that negotiations should be immediately reopened.

Lord *Salisbury* said that if agreement had been reached now, it would have been nothing short of a miracle, but Sir Stafford Cripps had achieved something more important. He had established the sincerity of this country in the eyes of Indians and the world.

Lord *Hailey* said the British Government had gone to very great lengths and had regained the political initiative which it had been thought we had lost, and we were now in a position to invite the co-operation of many Indian elements which hitherto had been deterred from associating themselves with us more fully. We had re-established our credit with the outside world.

In Lord *Hailey's* opinion, the breakdown had come because the Congress were not able to secure leadership for themselves. The other issues raised were merely a convenient method for obscuring that fact. Real progress was impossible until Indians themselves had further solved the communal tangle.

The *Earl of Warwick* (Conservative), in his maiden speech, said that the emancipation of India further than that proposed by the Government meant the handing over the population to only three per cent of the population without any reservations at all. He urged the Government to remind the Indian extremist that "even the most benevolent people have the right to be roused and that it is impossible for us to be forced to accept an agreement against good sense and reasonable judgment at a time of our most acute adversity."

Lord *Rankeillor* said that he would have been more anxious if the scheme had been accepted because there would have been difficult and complex problems to be got over in future, whereas now they had been brought out and there was time to discuss their solution.

Lord *Catto* said the purpose or intention of the Declaration could not possibly be misunderstood and it was a sincere attempt to battle with conditions as they actually exist. Sir Stafford Cripps had grappled manfully with the difficulties. Unless the ideals for which we are working are soon brought to fruition, distrust would again arise.

Lord *Samuel* (Liberal) paid a tribute to Sir Stafford Cripps' strenuous efforts. He viewed with great anxiety the provision in the proposals that any province was free to vote itself out of the Indian Union. This, he said, would lead to the rais-

ing of regional armies and he was gravely concerned with the possible consequences of this policy. It would merely settle one minority problem and create a dozen new ones. "India must act as a unit and internecine conflict and war must be avoided. The Viceregal position means in fact that he combines the role of a Constitutional Monarch with that of Prime Minister and a separation of these two functions must be an essential part of any functional change in the constitutional structure of India." The air had been cleared and he most earnestly hoped that fresh endeavours would be made.

Viscount *Bennett*, former Canadian Prime Minister, said there was nothing in the Statute of Westminster which contemplates the independence of the Dominions. "There is nothing there that implies separation, but there is a section in that Statute that expressly recognises that supremacy of this Parliament before any Dominion ever becomes independent.

Lord *Simon* emphasised the sincerity with which the negotiations were conducted and the fact that the inherent complexities of the Indian political problems had been brought home to the world. "Indian political reformers have naturally tended to develop their ideas for Indian Self-Government strictly upon lines that had been followed by British institutions. The British scheme of Self-Government is not the only scheme in the world. It does not follow that you will necessarily arrive at the best solution by treating a model with which we are familiar as though it were a 'sealed pattern.' The plan upon which we laboured so hard is rejected by the Congress for exactly the opposite reason for which the Muslim League rejected it, which is a very significant and disturbing fact. The difficulty can only be solved by exercise by Indian leaders themselves of the highest gifts of statesmanship and goodwill. The British Government will gladly do everything it can, but Indian politicians are right when they say that the responsibility for framing the constitution and getting over the difficulties must primarily rest with them."

It would be a complete error to say that there was not a great deal of good feeling between individual Muslims and Hindus. "No doubt developments will be on the way, but do not imagine that it will come without strain," pointed out Lord *Simon*. "Sweep out the British members (of the Viceroy's Council) as I dare say it is quite right to do, but you do not solve the problem. You create a new difficulty. The important thing in this new proposal of the British Government is that it recognises that there is only one method, that is, leaving Indians to frame their own constitution. I do not see how anybody could go further than this. In that plan we undertook to accept and to implement forthwith the constitution so framed. We selected the method of treaty, because there can be nothing more level between two partners than treaty."

Lord *Simon* emphasised that a British-framed scheme was liable to be rejected as an attempt to foist a constitution on India. On the other hand leaving the framing of the constitution to India left the British Government open to a quite unfounded charge that it was relying on communal differences and feeling quite safe that they would be unable to achieve their purposes. "Therefore, we offered the scheme of a constitution-making body. We will strain every nerve, as the Viceroy does, to make the best arrangement Indians desire for this constitution-making body. Nothing can be plainer from the Government plan than that it is not proposed and is not thought to be possible to make constitutional changes in the Government of India during the war." There is no analogy between the responsible government in this country, by which the Commons could turn out a government and the form proposed by the Congress, many of whose members are not in the Central legislature.

"You cannot have Responsible Government unless the Ministers are responsible to somebody," continued Lord *Simon*. "You would have a Congress majority placed in the Centre which cannot be removed and which is responsible to nobody except the Congress organisation...I apologise for keeping your Lordships for so long. This is a subject which fascinates everybody who has ever had to deal with it. We must strive our very utmost to fulfil that which we have set out to do."

Referring to the Indian leaders' declarations that come what may, the Indian people would never accept Japanese domination, the Lord Chancellor concluded, "It may be out of these trials and tribulations that more light will come and, when it does, nobody will have more reason to rejoice than the British Parliament."







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